A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD

1815—1910

United Service Institution of India.

BY

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To

EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON

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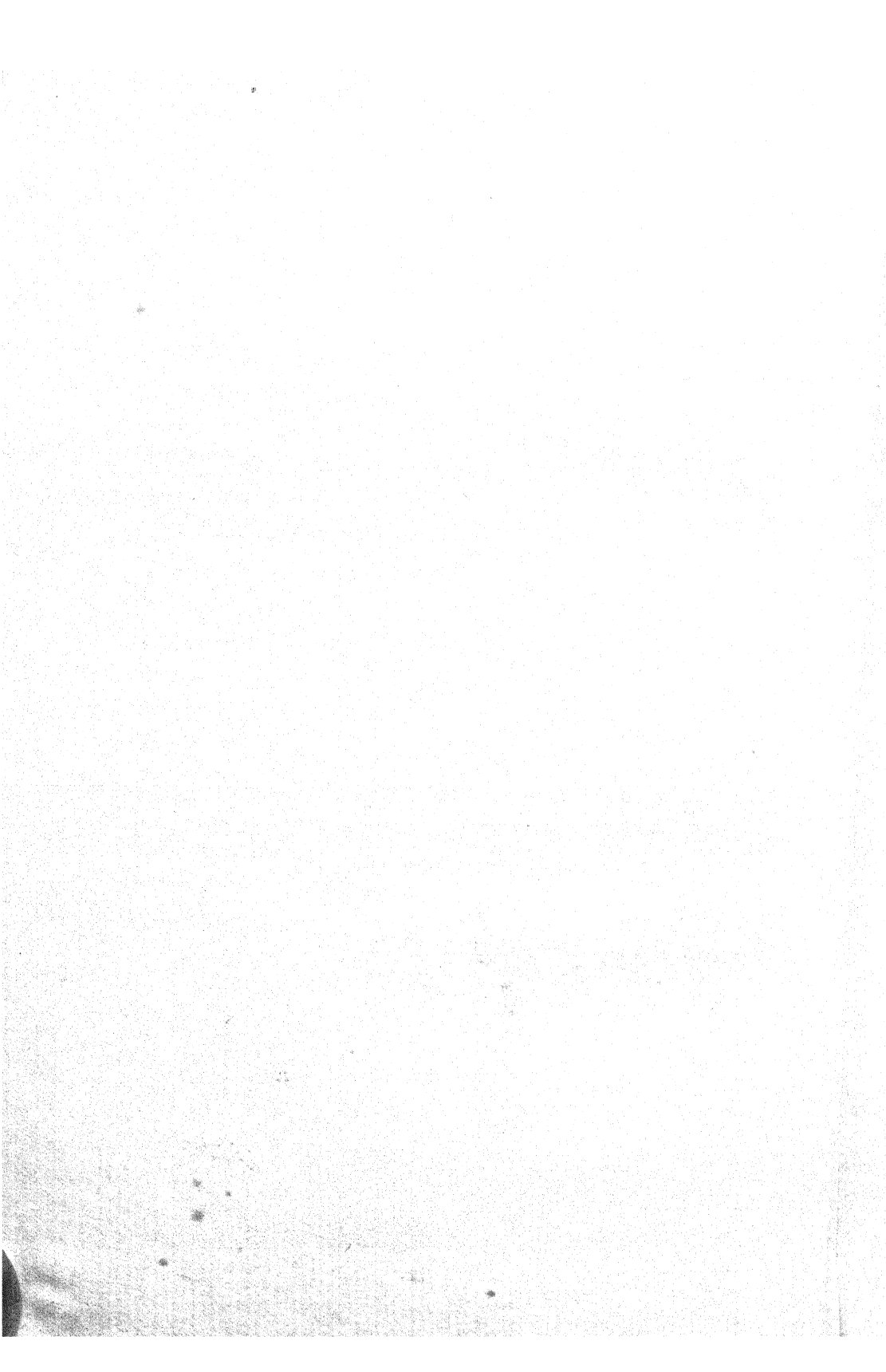
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THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

THE present book is designed to be a plain account of the political events of ninety-five years, more than seventy of which have passed during the writer's lifetime and nearly seventy within his recollection. During thirty years spent in teaching history at the University, there are few of the occurrences here narrated about which he has not lectured or written, or which he has not discussed with students. These lectures, writings, and discussions, together with the best authorities he could find, form the sources of this book, and they are so intertwined that the author has felt himself justified in abstaining from more particular reference. It has often been said that the study of contemporary history, so important for the education of a politically-minded nation, is neglected amongst us. Perhaps the present volume may assist in supplying this defect.

In preparing this work for the press, the writer has been materially assisted by his first Eton pupil, Mr. Charles Edward Buckland, C.I.E., sometime Secretary to the Government of Bengal.



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A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD

BOOK I

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND, 1815–20

THE fall of Napoleon consequent upon his defeat at Waterloo marks an epoch in the history of the world. Whatever moral judgment we may pass upon the conquered Emperor, there can be no doubt that he was one of the giants of the human race, comparable with Julius Cæsar, Alexander and Hannibal in ancient times, with Charles the Great in medieval, and with Louis XIV., Frederick and Peter the Great in modern annals. Dominated by the spirit of order, with a passionate hatred of seeing things badly done when they might be done well, gifted with untiring energy of mind and body, he created an empire which covered a large part of Europe, which was a model of administration, and which, like the Empire of Rome, has left a signal mark on all the nations which were subject to it.

His departure from the scene produced the following effects: It removed a picturesque personality, which has not yet ceased —and probably never will cease—to impress the imaginations of men; it left a condition of exhaustion, due partly to the over-activity which the stimulus of the great monarch had called into existence, and partly to the obstinacy with which his efforts had been combated; and it was followed by a desire to undo everything that he had done, and to follow a line of action the exact contrary to that which he had pursued. Therefore the early years of the century which we have undertaken to describe are drab and dull, flaccid and impotent, obscurantist and reactionary. We cannot rightly estimate the value of Napoleon's career without considering what preceded and what followed. The French Revolution had destroyed in France not only all government, but all the materials from which a government could be con-

structed. The rank, the wealth, the genius of France had perished under the guillotine; religion, justice and control had been violently overthrown, liberty had run wild, authority had ceased to exist. That Bonaparte should have created a government at all is wonderful; that he should have established it on these foundations is a miracle of genius.

For fifteen short years, as Consul and Emperor, he swayed continental Europe, and the misgovernment which succeeded him is a testimony to the excellence of his rule. The fifteen years which followed his fall are marked by the vices which produced the Revolution in France and similar outbreaks in other countries. Monarchy was again restored, the privileged classes resumed their powers, a corrupt and selfish camarilla usurped the wisdom of the throne, the people lost their power, the third estate became again the nothing which it had been before 1789. The career of the Corsican seemed to have passed like a thunderstorm, and its central figure was slowly dying on the rock of St. Helena, forgotten for ever, as the statesmen of Europe fondly believed. But the forces which produced the French Revolution, which Napoleon so well understood and so wisely controlled, were indestructible. The advance of democratic principles could not be stayed. They had their share in the overthrow of the government which had brought them into existence. There could never have been a national rising in Germany unless Napoleon had first broken the fetters which made all national movements in that country impossible. Spain learnt fitfully a similar lesson from the same source, and Russia became conscious of her national strength in her efforts to resist the invader. Fifteen years after Waterloo the storm broke, and the eighty odd years which have succeeded the Revolution of 1830 are among the most remarkable that the world has ever known.

England has played a large, even a dominant, part in the developments of this period. She found herself in 1815 the mistress of Europe, enjoying in great measure the inheritance of the conqueror she had overthrown. She used her power, if not always with enlightenment, at least with moderation. She refused to take part in the Holy Alliance, she entered upon the path of democratic progress by the reform of the Constitution in 1832, she suffered but little from the convulsions of 1848, her throne remained unshaken while others were tottering. Professing a wise and temperate regard for liberty, she gave assistance to other countries who were ridding themselves of arbitrary governments; she took a large share in the erection of a united Italy; her soil became

a sanctuary for exiles of all complexions, and for the remainder of the century she bore an honoured name as the champion and defender of the weak. In recent years the urgency of Imperial problems has lessened her participation in the affairs of Europe, but her whole career has been glorious, and whether she was right or wrong in her resistance to Napoleon, history bears no finer record than the long reign of the spotless Victoria and the short, autumnal glory of Edward the Peacemaker.

The years which immediately succeeded the Peace of Vienna are amongst the darkest in our history. Peace brought distress rather than prosperity. The war, in many ways, had not been unfavourable to the well-being of the country. Capital had been invested in Britain as the only place in which it could be safely stored, the carrying trade of the world had fallen of necessity into the hands of the mistress of the seas, nearly all the profit on the huge over-expenditure had found its way into our hands, and the progress of agriculture had been nearly as remarkable as the development of our manufactures. But with the cessation of war, expenditure due to war ceased; all countries practised retrenchment, and our own expenditure fell in three years from £106,000,000 to £53,000,000. There was no longer a Continental demand for our manufactures; prices fell and, with prices, wages. Our National Debt exceeded £800,000,000, spent in the struggle against the Revolution and Napoleon. There was a deficit of £10,000,000 in the revenue of the year. Farms were thrown out of occupation, the ranks of the unemployed were swelled by the reductions in the army and the navy. Bankruptcies increased in number every day, landlords received no rents, and tenants could sell no corn. Estates offered for occupation rent-free were rejected. This distress was intensified by an entire failure of the harvest of 1816. Distress led to riots, and riots led to cruel acts of repression. If Napoleon had known of this at St. Helena he might have felt that his ruin had been in some measure avenged.

Some of the more serious riots took the form of the destruction of machinery, and the more notable of the machine destroyers were known by the name of Luddites. Ned Ludd was a half-witted fellow in a Leicestershire village, who was the butt of the village lads. One day, pursuing his tormentors, and being unable to catch them, in a passion he broke two stocking-frames, and from this all breaking of stocking-frames was said to be the work of Ludd and all destroyers of machinery were called Luddites. It was natural that a political remedy should be sought for this evil, and the party that charged themselves with the duty of finding

a remedy took the name of Radicals. The name, now harmless, was then a red rag to all moderate people, as the term Socialist so often is at the present time. Radicals were regarded as the enemies of the human race, and every effort was made to suppress them. Even those who undoubtedly held Radical opinions were afraid to use the odious appellation. Every rioter was a Radical, and every Radical was supposed to be a rioter and a rebel. A meeting of Radicals held in the Spa Fields, in December, 1816, led to a riot, in which a mob, marching under a tricolour flag, plundered a gunsmith's shop and fired at respectable citizens. They were, however, opposed by a determined Lord Mayor and gradually dispersed.

So far as the Radicals had a definite programme it was embodied in a demand for annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, abolition of property qualification for candidates, and payment of members. These five points, afterwards increased to six, formed the People's Charter, and the persons demanding them were called Chartists. There was nothing very formidable in these proposed reforms; three of them we have already, and the others may possibly come. Unfortunately the task of dealing with the disorders was entrusted to one of the worst Ministries ever known in England. Liverpool and Castlereagh knew nothing of conciliation, and met the natural consequences of discontent with penal laws of increasing severity. At the beginning of 1817 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and special Acts were passed by which the refusal of a seditious meeting to disperse was punishable by death; safeguards were provided for the security of the person of the Prince Regent; and all attempts to tamper with the allegiance of the army and navy were severely punished. This was the last time that the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in England.

These violent measures to repress disorder naturally increased it, and incendiary fires and riots, which soldiers had to be called out to suppress, occurred in every quarter of the country. One of the most picturesque demonstrations was the march of the "Blanketeers," which originated in Manchester. Some four or five thousand men, each provided with a blanket, and some of them with arms, set out to march to London with a petition for the Prince Regent. They were met by the Life Guards at Stockport; about five hundred of them reached Macclesfield, and not more than twenty crossed the borders of Staffordshire.

Later, signs of increasing prosperity appeared. There was an abundant harvest, the price of wheat fell, and with it the

prices of other articles of food. National confidence increased. Consols, which in January, 1817, were as low as 62, rose in August to 81. Trade steadily improved.

The Ministry, however, pursued their policy of repression, directing their efforts now against the liberty of the Press. Lord Sidmouth considered the Press to be the worst enemy to the Constitution, and this opinion was shared by many excellent people. In all countries and in all ages an unrestricted Press has done great mischief. Seasons of war and tumult bring grist to the pressman's mill; a great war produces a great fortune for a newspaper, and it is natural that the Press should make slight endeavours to instigate conditions so favourable to its prosperity. Repression, however, causes more evils than license, and the healthy atmosphere of freedom is by far the most efficient remedy for the evils which it may in some cases help to produce.

In March, 1817, Lord Sidmouth, as Home Secretary, sent a circular letter to the Lords Lieutenants of the counties, urging them to prevent as far as possible the circulation of blasphemous and seditious pamphlets and letters, and saying that the apprehension of persons charged with the publication of literature of this nature would be in accordance with law. The legality of this action was very doubtful, but the Ministry was so strong in Parliament that questioners were silenced. These new batteries were first directed against a contemptible rag entitled *The Black Dwarf*, which had the hardihood to libel the Ministry. The printer and publisher, named Wooler, received the honour of a State prosecution; but the jury were not unanimous in their condemnation of him, and the Ministry suffered a defeat. The case of Wooler was the forerunner of the more famous trial of William Hone, a little bookseller in the Old Bailey, who had published parodies on the Catechism, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and other parts of the Prayer Book. At the first trial he was acquitted amidst general applause; on a second trial, the jury only deliberated for two hours; on a third, after half an hour, he was declared not guilty. Popular enthusiasm was strongly in his favour, and a subscription was raised for his family.

When Parliament met in January, 1818, the Habeas Corpus Act was restored. The prosperity of the country gradually increased, and the price of wheat fell. But a General Election was at hand. The Parliament, returned in 1812, had run its natural course, and it was hoped that in the new contest the Ministry would lose and the Opposition gain. At a General Election in our own day every seat is contested, but at that time more than

half the seats were at the disposal either of the Government or of some individual, so that little more than a hundred seats were in dispute. No great change took place, but the numbers of the Opposition were raised from 140 to 173. The rising prosperity of the country was shown by the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England. Theoretically, every bank-note represents a corresponding amount of gold, and may be exchanged for that amount at any moment. But in 1797, the darkest period of the French War, this had been found impossible, and bank-notes were given a compulsory circulation. It was now possible to return to the former procedure, and in 1819 an Act was passed which ordered the entire resumption of cash payments to any amount after May 1st, 1821. At the present day every note issued by the Bank of England represents an equivalent amount of gold stored in the Bank's coffers, so that no promise to pay is made unless there is sufficient money to meet the promise. This provision may not be necessary. In foreign countries, when notes are at par, only a sufficient amount of gold is retained to secure this result. But it is essential to the security of national trade that there should be no fluctuation in the value of paper money, and the certainty of the existence of this reserve in the Bank of England produces a national confidence which nothing else could bring into existence.

Notwithstanding these favourable symptoms, an event now occurred which stirred the feeling of the nation to the depths. On August 16th, 1819, a popular meeting was summoned at Manchester, for the purpose of electing what was called a Legislational Attorney, that is to say, a person who could represent the town in petitioning the Speaker, and so perform a duty which would have belonged to the member for Manchester if such a person had existed. The meeting was held in St. Peter's Fields, a space of open ground on the outskirts of the town, which had been used before for Radical meetings and by the "Blanketeers" in 1817. Hunt, the leader of the Radicals, was to speak. Pains had been taken to conduct the meeting with some show of military order, and the town authorities had taken steps on their side to prevent disturbance by moving troops into the town, enrolling special constables, and calling out the Yeomanry. Shortly after daybreak fifty or sixty thousand persons, male and female, marched to St. Peter's Fields, under banners bearing inscriptions such as "Liberty or Death!" "We will conquer our enemies," "No Corn Laws," and "Hunt and Liberty." Wagons had been placed in the centre of the field for the use of the speakers, and the

county magistrates were assembled in a house close to the place of meeting. Hunt began to speak, and the Chief Constable was ordered to arrest him. This it was impossible for him to do, and the Yeomanry and the Hussars were sent for. The Yeomanry became scattered among the crowd, and the Hussars were ordered to extricate them. The trumpet sounded the charge, the soldiers swept the crowd before them till they were huddled up in a confused mass at the other end of the field. The ground was covered with hats, shoes, sticks, musical instruments, and other relics of the confusion, and amongst them lay the bodies of those who were too much injured to walk away, some women being among the sufferers. Hunt quietly surrendered to the Chief Constable and was removed in custody, and by six o'clock everything was tranquil. Such was the "massacre of Peterloo," a name fashioned in jest, after the great national victory of Waterloo.

It was difficult to decide whether this meeting at Manchester was legal or illegal. Lords Eldon and Redesdale declared it to be an act of open treason. The law officers of the Crown advised the Premier that the meeting was of such a character as to justify the magistrates in dispersing it by force; but, if these authorities were correct, the old right of public meeting was destroyed and it was treason for a thousand persons to meet together to demand the reform of the House of Commons. The Prince Regent sent his commands to the Ministry to convey his appreciation and high commendation of the conduct of the magistrates and civil authorities at Manchester, as well as of the officers and troops, both regular and Yeomanry, whose firmness and effectual support of the civil power had preserved the peace of the town on that critical occasion. Such members of the Cabinet as were in town committed themselves to hasty approval of the magistrates and the troops. It was found, however, that evidence against the rioters did not warrant a prosecution for high treason; the charge had to be withdrawn and to be changed into one of conspiring to alter the law by force and threats. The prisoners were committed for trial on this charge, and in the following year were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Great indignation at the conduct of the Ministry was shown throughout the country. Meetings were held at Westminster, York, Bristol, Liverpool, Nottingham, and other towns. The Common Council of London passed a series of resolutions affirming the legality of the Manchester meeting, and their strong indignation at the unprovoked and intemperate proceedings of

the military, which they regarded as highly disgraceful to the character of Englishmen and a daring violation of the British Constitution. These opinions were embodied in an address which was presented to the Prince Regent in person. He replied to it in a tone of angry remonstrance.

The most important of the protesting meetings was held in Yorkshire. The requisition asking the High Sheriff to call it was signed by Lord Fitzwilliam, as Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding; the meeting was attended by 20,000 persons, and demanded an inquiry into what happened at Peterloo. Lord Fitzwilliam was present in person. Before a week had elapsed he received a letter saying that the Prince Regent had no longer occasion for his services as Lord Lieutenant. Parliament met on November 29th, and its meeting was signalised by the passing of the repressive measures known as the "Six Acts." This policy, inaugurated by the Tories, was unfortunately supported by a section of the Whigs, notably by Lord Grenville and Lord Buckingham. The "Six Acts" were very different in character: some of them noxious, some of them harmless, or even salutary. The first two, preventing delay in the administration of justice in case of misdemeanour, and forbidding the training of persons in the use of arms and the practice of military evolutions, were reasonable enough; the first, indeed, as altered by Lord Holland, removed a weapon of persecution which had often been used against rioters. The remaining four Acts were of an obnoxious character; the first authorised the seizure of seditious and blasphemous libels, and made banishment the punishment for a second conviction; the second authorised Justices of the Peace in certain disturbed counties to seize and detain arms. The latter was only a temporary measure, but an attempt to confine the right of search to the daytime was rejected by a large majority. The former proved entirely useless; its provisions were never enforced, and ten years later it was repealed. By the fifth of these "Six Acts" certain small publications were subjected to the stamp duties enforced in the case of newspapers, a restriction of the liberty of the Press which the Opposition were powerless to prevent. The last Act was the most stringent of all. It aimed at the prevention of seditious assemblies. Excepted from its operations were certain meetings summoned by Lords Lieutenants or Sheriffs, borough meetings called by Mayors or corresponding officials, and meetings convened by five or more Justices of the Peace. With these exceptions all meetings for the consideration of grievances against Church or State, or for the purpose of drawing up petitions, except in

the parishes where the individuals actually resided, were prohibited.

No person who was not an actual resident in the place was allowed to attend such a meeting, nor could it be held unless previous notice had been given to a neighbouring magistrate, who might prevent the meeting if he pleased. No persons carrying arms or banners were allowed to attend.

By these measures the power of meeting would be confined to the privileged classes; ordinary persons could only attend meetings in their own parishes, and professional orators would be entirely excluded from them. In addition, a meeting could only be convened by the mayor in a corporate town, and at this time Manchester, Birmingham, and other large towns were not only unrepresented in Parliament, but also were not corporate. Thus persons residing in them were prevented, both outside and inside Parliament, from expressing their opinions on political questions. The Opposition were powerless to prevent these tyrannical measures from being passed, and they could only succeed in limiting their operation to five years.

The death of George III., which happened at this time, was an event of no importance. Bereft of reason, sight, and hearing, he had been seen occasionally, as a phantom with a long, white beard, at the windows of Windsor Castle. But, owing to the decease of the King, Parliament was prorogued and immediately dissolved. The new reign opened in circumstances of darkness and gloom. The Ministers were so unpopular that a conspiracy was formed to murder them. The head of the conspirators was Arthur Thistlewood, a well-known Radical, fifty years of age—a military-looking man of fair height, with sallow complexion, dark hair, and dark, hazel eyes. He had just come out of prison, and he now proposed to assassinate the whole Cabinet, to take a few pieces of artillery which happened to be in London unguarded, to set fire to a large bank and some public buildings, to seize the Tower and the Mansion House, and to establish a provisional government. Thistlewood was joined by Ings (a butcher), Bush (a shoemaker), Davidson (a man of colour), Adams (a retired soldier), Hiden (a cowkeeper), and others. It was announced in the newspapers that the Cabinet were to dine with Lord Harrowby on February 23rd, at his house in Grosvenor Square. The house was to be attacked by fourteen men. One was to ring the bell on the pretence of delivering a note, and the conspirators were to rush in. Hand-grenades were to be thrown in at the windows, and the Ministers who were not killed by them were to be assassinated.

Ministers had for some time past received full information about the plot from one of the conspirators; they knew that arms, bombs, and hand-grenades were stored in a loft over a stable in Cato Street, a small thoroughfare running parallel to the Edgware Road. Warrants were now issued, and the place was attacked by the police. Twenty-five conspirators were discovered, just preparing to set out for Lord Harrowby's house. As the police climbed the ladder to the loft, the first of them was stabbed to the heart as he entered, and many of the conspirators escaped, including Thistlewood. He was, however, captured next day and was tried for high treason, found guilty, and condemned to death. He was hanged, with four other conspirators, in front of the debtors' door, Newgate, on May 1st, 1820. The corpses were beheaded after death, but the bodies were not quartered, as the sentence had provided. Thistlewood died with spirit. At the news of the plot, terror spread through the kingdom. It was compared in atrocity with the famous Gunpowder Plot in the reign of James I. It was laid to the charge of the Radical reformers, and the name of Radical became more hateful than ever. The plot was only the work of a few, but misery and discontent must have risen to a high pitch before such remedies could be contemplated.

CHAPTER II

FRANCE.

WHEN Louis XVIII. returned to Paris, after the Battle of Waterloo, he found himself reigning over a new France. The old order of things had been swept away by the Revolution; equality had taken the place of privilege. Napoleon had founded an Imperial democracy, in which a career was open to talent, in which promotion even to the highest offices was independent of family, of fortune, and of faith. The land was freed from burdens, and was divided equally among the children after the death of its possessor. Society rested on a basis in which all forms of aristocracies, spiritual as well as temporal, had ceased to exist. This fabric was held together by the most perfect machinery of centralised authority which the world has ever seen—an authority which even now endures, and which has held France together in the shock of revolutions, in the vicissitudes of rulers, in disaster and in prosperity. But for the institutions of Napoleon, France of the present day could not exist. Louis followed the advice of Fouché to rest in the bed of the great Emperor; the system of centralised government received some modification, which did not alter its character. Paul Louis Courier could with reason complain that authority and not law was the dominant force in France.

It became necessary, however, as a concession to modern ideas, to reconcile the two conflicting principles of authority and liberty. Even Napoleon, on his return from Elba, had thought it wise to grant a Constitution—"La Benjamine" of Benjamin Constant—a step which he had much better have deferred till he was firmly established on his throne. The Bourbons gave the nation *La Charte*, a charter of liberties, which was due rather to the generosity of the sovereign than to the triumph of the people. Although it acknowledged all titles of nobility, both old and new, it made all Frenchmen equal before the law. It did away with exemption from taxes; it recognised all religions, but the Catholic religion was declared to be the religion of the State; judges were made irremovable, and while the executive remained in the hands of the King, legislative power was divided between him and the Chambers. A Constitutional Government had been established, but Article 14

still gave the sovereign power to issue such ordinances and regulations as might be necessary for the execution of the laws and the security of the State, and, fifteen years later, this proved to be the ruin of the Bourbon monarchy.

Louis XVIII. was a clever and cultivated man, adroit and subtle, who in the prime of life might have shown himself a competent sovereign; but at the age of sixty he was confined to his arm-chair by gout, and his predominant wish was to die King of France. He had during his exile held with unshaken tenacity the consciousness of his rank and his destiny, and had never in poverty and abasement abated an iota of his kingly majesty. His heir, the Comte d'Artois, was of a different stamp. In his absence from France he had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing; a libertine turned saint, he lived entirely under priestly influence; he was benevolent but narrow, easy-going but obstinate, possessed by the delusion that the nightmare of Liberalism would pass away, and that the good old days of absolute government would return. He accepted the *Charte* with reluctance, and insisted on the white flag of the Bourbons instead of the tricolour of the Empire being the banner of the new monarchy. "Monsieur," as he was called, had two sons, the Duc d'Angoulême, whose devotion to his father prevented his sterling qualities from being appreciated, and the Duc de Berri, whose turbulent and unstable character deprived him of all political influence. Angoulême was married to Marie Thérèse, the only daughter of Louis XVI., a woman of masculine energy, but of hard and narrow mind, whose reddened eyes and hollow cheeks were the result of her confinement in the Temple. In the background stood Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, and son of Philippe Egalité, who perished on the scaffold. He was a remarkable man, gifted with an extraordinary memory; his occupation as a teacher in Switzerland had taught him much. He had acted as doorkeeper to the Jacobin Club; he had lived through the Terror; he had experienced the splendour of the old regime and the tortures of exiled poverty. He knew how to bide his time. Raised to the throne, he gave France eighteen years of good government, until he was ruined by his lack of prestige and the stubbornness of his temper.

After Waterloo the four Powers—England, Russia, Austria and Prussia—who had brought about the fall of Napoleon, would not relax their hold on the country which they had defeated; they supported the Bourbon king, but they had no confidence in France. The ambassadors of these four countries met every week to regulate the affairs of the country, and they might have committed

serious errors had they not been held in check by the solid sense and manly moderation of the Duke of Wellington, who commanded the army of occupation.

The most important members of the Ministry were Fouché and Talleyrand, two enigmatical characters, whose riddle the industry of a hundred years has as yet failed to solve. Fouché could not have attained the position he held if he had not possessed some good qualities to balance the contemptible vices which are indelibly associated with his name. But he was a regicide; the King and Artois would scarcely speak to him; the Duchesse d'Angoulême would not admit him to her house. Talleyrand, one of the ablest statesmen known to history, is extremely difficult to characterise. The servant of every government in turn, alternately the friend and the enemy of the priesthood to which he belonged, the Republic which he represented, the Empire which he first obeyed and then destroyed, the saviour of France at Vienna, her worthy ambassador in London, he stands as a type of a versatile genius, without principle or morality, ready and content to pluck the jewel of personal safety from the fire of danger and disaster. Still, the careful student of his career is tempted to believe that love of France was his dominant motive, and that he served each master so long as his conduct was compatible with security and common sense, and left him when extravagance and exaggeration were likely to incur disaster. The characters of most men are double; in those whom destiny places in positions full of moment for the race, this duplicity becomes as important as it is difficult to disentangle.

The other members of the Ministry need not, for the present, concern us. Moderate in themselves, they were powerless to prevent the outburst of royalist ferocity, known by the name of the "White Terror," to distinguish it from the "Red Terror" of Robespierre. The friends of the restored monarchy, especially in the south of France, were eager to execute their vengeance on the defeated Bonapartists. The plunderings and massacres began in Marseilles, and were continued in Autun, Carpentras, Nîmes, Uzès, and the neighbouring towns. The forces of the King were powerless to put down the bandits marching under the white flag, who were the instruments of these excesses. The fever spread to the rest of France, but in a milder form; there were no murders in the west, only robberies and imprisonments; in the east and north the Bourbonists contented themselves with denunciations, and in these parts order was preserved by the presence of foreign troops.

At the same time the King felt that he must pay some tribute to the prevailing sentiment, and Fouché was deputed to draw up

a list of the proscribed. It contained the names of Carnot, Maret, Barère, Ney—who engaged to bring back Napoleon to Paris in a cage—and Labédoyère, who joined the Emperor with his troops at Vizille. Every effort was made to save Labédoyère, but he was shot on the Plain of Grenelle on August 19th, 1815. The election resulted in the return of a strongly Royalist Chamber, and, as a natural consequence, Fouché and Talleyrand lost their places. Fouché had to content himself with the post of Minister at Dresden, but Talleyrand was made Grand Chamberlain, with a large salary.

The new Prime Minister was the Duc de Richelieu, a much-travelled and deeply-experienced man, who, in the enforced exile of the emigration, had created Odessa and developed the province of which he was governor. His friendship with the Emperor Alexander enabled him to obtain favourable terms for his country in the payment of the indemnity, and in this way he supplied the loss of Talleyrand. The place of Fouché was taken by Decazes, a young lawyer who had been President of the Paris Assizes under the Empire. Affable, versatile, and courteous, with an agreeable face and a sympathetic manner, he naturally became the favourite of the Court. Louis loved him like a child and loaded him with honours, while the aristocrats of the Faubourg St. Germain lost no time in greeting the rising sun.

The new Ministry met the Chambers on October 7th. The new House of Representatives was strongly Royalist, to the great joy of the King, who called it the *Chambre Introuvable :* the priceless, the unique—a word which cannot adequately be translated into our tongue. The name adhered, as it was used quite as much for ridicule as for praise. The Royalists were, however, of two complexions : one division, of which Pasquier, de Serre, Royer-Collard and Beugnot were the leaders, saw the necessity of reuniting the new France with the old, and of moderating the zeal of the " Ultras." These latter, stimulated by Monsieur, were enthusiastic supporters of throne and altar. Coming from the provinces, they were at first without discipline, but they soon found a leader in Villèle. In the upper Chamber the old nobility of France sat side by side with the offspring of Napoleon's marshals, or with these marshals themselves. Three measures of a reactionary character were brought forward by Ministers. The first was directed against all injurious expressions in word, writing, or picture against the King and his family, attacks on the *Charte*, and other similar offences. The second authorised the imprisonment, without a trial, of anyone who had offended against the person or authority of the King or his family, or against the security of the State ;

such offences were to be denounced to the police by a number of subordinate officials, but the law was to expire at the end of the session, unless it was renewed. The third law provided for the establishment of a provost marshal's jurisdiction in every department, to take cognisance of all attacks upon the Government, and the law was to have a retrospective action.

These laws were not only passed by the second Chamber, but were made more severe in their passage. In their zeal for the Crown, the members of the Chamber went further than the Ministers themselves. A discussion followed upon the exceptions to be made to the general law of amnesty, which had been passed at Cambray on the return of Louis. Labourdonnaye demanded the death of all who had taken part in the restoration of the Hundred Days. The regicides of the Convention, amnestied by the *Charte*, were to lose their pardon if they had taken any share in the government of Napoleon. Transportation and confiscation of property were the natural penalties, but Labourdonnaye clamoured for the guillotine; the rebels must be frightened, their leaders must lose their heads, the shedding of a little blood would stop streams of gore. Richelieu felt that it would be very difficult to stem the rising tide of fanaticism. Ney, who had escaped death in a hundred battles, fell in a Paris street under the fire of twelve of his countrymen. The law of amnesty was hotly debated; the Ministry were saved, but only by the skin of their teeth. Europe was full of poverty-stricken exiles, wandering miserably from place to place; in the Netherlands, Republicans and Bonapartists found a secure asylum. The purification of the army demanded many victims; the prisons were crowded with general and inferior officers awaiting their trial. The administration underwent a similar process; from the prefect to the council clerk, all were subjected to a searching examination; the provost marshals found plenty of occupation. Executions, indeed, had come to an end; but fines, imprisonments, and hard labour took their place.

The propaganda of the Clericals became gradually stronger, and they found an active leader in the Comte d'Artois. The Pavillon Marsan, the part of the Tuileries in which he lived, was opposed to the Pavillon de Flore, the residence of the King. The two brothers were scarcely on speaking terms. The policy of the Ultras was shown more clearly in the debates about the franchise and the budget, as the first of these questions had not been determined by the *Charte*, but had been left for future consideration and legislation. In these discussions Villèle gradually assumed a prominent place. Beginning life as a sailor, he had learned the

cautious avoidance of political storms. He was an enemy of uncontrolled fanaticism; he possessed a plain and practical wisdom, which gave its influence by clearness and acuteness, without any gifts of oratory or presence. His hope of victory lay in indefatigable work and sane compromise. He drew up a scheme by which the members of the Chamber were chosen by a double election and were themselves to have a high qualification of age and property. In the cantons, the voters must be twenty-five years old, and pay direct taxes of at least fifty francs; in the departments they must be thirty years old, and pay direct taxes of three hundred francs. The candidates must be forty years old and pay taxes to the amount of a thousand francs. These propositions did not receive the approbation either of the Moderates or of the Ultras, and the plan finally proposed by the Chamber was not likely to gain the favour of any party. Similar questions of principle arose in the debates on the budget, the recognition of obligations incurred during the Hundred Days, the proportion between direct and indirect taxes—the first of which would fall most heavily on the rich, the second on the poor—the propriety of confiscating communal property, whether land or woods, roused violent differences of opinion. An agreement was at length arrived at, and the Ministry was able to present to the Peers an almost unanimous proposal. The proposal made by the Chambers for the conduct of elections was rejected by the upper house, and a scheme drawn up by Villèle, by which matters were left for the time being in their present condition, was accepted by the Tories. The King was disgusted by the defeat of his Ministry, but was forced to submit. The budget was passed by the Peers and, after an attempt made by the Ultras to abolish divorce and to place the Church in a position of independence of taxation, the session closed.

These disputes were watched with deep interest by the great Powers, whose armies still occupied the soil of France. They feared, on the one hand, lest the violence of the Ultras should produce a new Revolution, and, on the other, lest a weakness in the finances should hinder the payment of the debt. Confidence, however, prevailed; and in January, 1816, the foreign garrison in Paris, which had been reduced to two English brigades, was entirely withdrawn. Wellington, with his usual good sense, warned Louis against the pernicious influence of Monsieur, but his action gave offence to both parties. Louis was not disposed to accept advice, and the Ultras renewed the cry of "Perfidious Albion."

In May, 1816, a conspiracy took place in Grenoble, by which a man of little importance, named Didier, attempted to upset the

throne of the Bourbons and to establish either the Duc d'Orléans or the King of Rome in its place. The plot ended in failure, and Didier escaped to Savoy; but General Donnadieu, a violent Royalist, who commanded at Grenoble, exaggerated its importance. In his heated imagination the number of rebels rose from four thousand to seven thousand, from seven thousand to fifteen thousand, and from fifteen thousand to the whole population of the province. The Department of the Seine was declared in a state of siege, Donnadieu and the prefects were invested with discretionary powers, the garrison of Grenoble was strengthened, and house-searchings and imprisonments became the order of the day. Fourteen wretched people were shot in one day, and seven more on another. Didier, surrendered by the King of Sardinia, was executed. When Donnadieu had been made a viscount, decorated with the Order of St. Louis, and received a gift of £40,000, it was discovered that the plot had never existed, and that the throne had never been in danger. But Royalists were delighted to have such an opportunity of annoying their enemies, and wished for similar plots all over the south of France. Military courts were roused into activity, admirals and provost marshals vied with them in energy. The fire spread to Paris; three conspirators were executed in the Place de la Grève, in the guise of parricides, their heads covered with black veils, robed in white sheets. A huge crowd saw their heads chopped off, and threw their hats into the air with shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" Similar scenes occurred in the departments, and it is impossible to ascertain the number of victims who perished. The true conspirators were those who sought to find conspirators everywhere, and who, armed with authority, saw in their own enemies the enemies of the King, and, if they could not find them, created them by persecution.

The intemperance of the Ultras could only be met by the dissolution of the Chamber. The proclamation ordering this was prepared in secret, with the help of Decazes. It fell like a thunderbolt in the Pavillon Marsan; and Louis, to avoid disagreeable argument, lay in bed. In the elections the Ultras were completely defeated, except in the west and south. The new Chamber met on November 4th, 1816. The King addressed them as a father to a band of brothers, but the family to which he spoke was torn by bitter hatred. It was a struggle for life and death, and the ordinary forms of politeness were forgotten. Hatred of Decazes drove Talleyrand to support the extreme party. Attempts were made by Monsieur to attract the English Tories to his side, but without success. Canning visited Paris to see things with his own eyes,

but he was not caught by flattery. On the other hand, Richelieu endeavoured to obtain a diminution of the foreign garrison, but it was strongly opposed by Wellington, and France had still to maintain 150,000 unwelcome guests.

In the new Chamber the Ultra-royalists, whose leaders were Villèle, Labourdonnaye, Corbière, Bonald and Castelbajac, were inferior in numbers to the combined majority of the Centre and the Left. The Right Centre was led by Royer-Collard, the head of the Doctrinaires, who was chosen Vice-President of the Chamber and was supported by the majority of the Ministers and a number of high officials, which included Guizot and Molé. The principal members of the Ministry after the Duc de Richelieu were Decazes and Lainé, to whom was shortly added Pasquier, as Minister of Justice.

The object of the Ministry was to pursue a middle course between Liberalism and reaction. The franchise question was settled by Lainé, in a proposal founded on the previous discussions. The right of voting was confined to men of thirty years of age who paid direct taxes to the amount of three hundred francs. The elections were to be held at a single place in each department, by *scrutin de liste*, and by a majority of votes. The returning officers were nominated by the King; they were to choose their own scrutineers from the oldest of the voters, and the secretary from the youngest. These propositions naturally met with opposition. Some were devoted to the principle of a double election, and were adverse to the meeting of all the electors in a single spot; but the main resistance to this plan came from the Ultras. Fiévée said: "The King names the returning officer, the returning officer appoints the committee, the committee nominates the electors, and the constituents are mere spectators." By the stress of circumstances the extreme Tories were driven to urge the claims of the working classes. At length the measure was passed by a small majority, in January, 1817. It had yet to receive the approval of the Peers. The President said that it was too democratical. Talleyrand, on the other hand, denounced it as a product of oligarchy; Artois and his son Angoulême presented a protest against the Bill, composed by Chateaubriand. Polignac, Montmorency, the Duke of FitzJames, and other aristocrats predicted that a revolution would arise from the predominance of the middle classes. On the other hand, La Rochefoucauld, Boissy d'Anglas, Macdonald, Marmont, Molé and Broglie came to the rescue, and they were supported by the King, so that the Bill passed and received the royal assent. Unfortunately, exceptional coercive legislation and the censure of the Press still remained. The session closed at the end of March, 1817.

The Ministry now turned their attention to the number of French exiles who in Belgium and other neighbouring countries were designing schemes against the Bourbon house. Some looked to the Prince of Orange, the eldest son of the King of Holland, as a possible ruler of France. He was married to a sister of the Tsar, and the assistance of his brother-in-law, Alexander, would be of great service to him. Bonapartism was perhaps an even greater danger. Thousands of discharged soldiers looked with enthusiasm to the exile of St. Helena. The funeral of Masséna gave an occasion for hostile demonstrations. The appearance of an impudent forgery, entitled, "A Manuscript from St. Helena," increased the excitement. Villèle said to the Austrian Ambassador, "Napoleon never had so many adherents since his fall; the discontented, the ambitious, the Liberals, the revolutionaries, all sects are his creatures and march under his banner." Threats and suspicion resumed their sway, and the unfortunate exile on the rock had to suffer for their delusions. It was feared that the exiles across the Atlantic would found a kingdom for Joseph in South America, whence he could sail for the liberation of his brother. Napoleon's mother, his sister Pauline, his brothers Lucien and Jerome, his step-daughter Hortense, his sister Caroline Murat, were anxiously watched. Lucien was not allowed to accompany his son Charles on a visit to Joseph in America. Prince Eugène was hardly protected by his connection with the Russian house and the affection of the Tsar; the little King of Rome was made a scapegoat in Vienna. It was seriously believed that Napoleon might escape.

France was doomed to suffer other calamities. A cold and wet summer caused a famine. Bread rose to a franc a pound, and the peasants had to live on roots. This gave rise to riots: corn-ships were attacked, markets were plundered, granaries robbed. The White Terror was not at an end; it broke out anew in Lyons, where the military governor, Camuel, set himself to emulate the exploits of Donnadieu. A riot caused by his severity broke out in June, 1817. The tocsin sounded in the villages; the king's busts were destroyed; the tricolour was displayed. The disturbance lasted only a week, but now was the time for Camuel's vengeance. He sent his soldiers throughout the country, to arrest hundreds of peasants. The provost marshal was in fullest activity. The guillotine was carried about from village to village. Thousands of persons sought safety in flight, and no one knew when the Terror would come to an end. The Government profited by their experiences of the villainies of Donnadieu; they sent Marshal Marmont to inquire and, after some time, he discovered that the reports of

Camuel were false. He went so far as to say that Camuel's head alone could atone for the murder of innocent victims and the destruction of social order. Lyons breathed again and regarded Marmont as her liberator, but the Pavillon Marsan grumbled and vowed vengeance against him and his assistant, Fabvier.

This period saw the rise of the Doctrinaires, a small, but united, party whose principles resembled in some respects those of the English Whigs. Their leader, as we have said, was Royer-Collard, who had been in his youth secretary of the Paris Commune and a member of the Council of Five Hundred. He was expelled from one on the 10th of August and from the other on the 18th of Fructidor. He had been appointed by Napoleon Professor of the History of Philosophy, a post which he used to familiarise Frenchmen with the doctrines of Kant. He was thoroughly unselfish; the strength of his classical style, the patriarchal simplicity of his life, his powerful voice, impressed the Chamber with the idea of his personality, but the dogmatic and sometimes sarcastic character of his speeches lost him many friends. His most able supporters were Camille Jourdan, de Serre, Rémusat and the Duc de Broglie.

The influence of the Doctrinaires showed itself in the discussion of the law on the freedom of the Press. The *Charte* had promised to secure the free expression of opinion; but the law of November 9th, 1815, had established a censure for periodical publications, and was to last till the beginning of the year 1821. The Ministry proposed slight modifications, which did not satisfy either of the parties. The Doctrinaires, forming the Left Centre, advocated that all Press trials should be submitted to juries, freely chosen. This was supported by Beugnot, Camille Jourdan and Royer-Collard. Lainé reproached the Doctrinaires with an exaggerated respect for English methods; Decazes was inclined to support them. It was eventually agreed that the censure of political publications should continue only till the close of the following session. The jury was given up, but the Doctrinaires violently opposed the deposition of a copy of a forthcoming work in the office, answering to our Stationers' Hall, which made it possible to suppress a work before it was published. On this question they gained their point, and the Ministry was defeated. But the Peers came to their assistance. Chateaubriand, Polignac, Broglie and Boissy d'Anglas thundered against the new law, and the censure was continued. The King was disgusted with the Doctrinaires, and his feelings were shared by Richelieu and Lainé.

More important was the question of army reform, to which the new Minister for War, the famous Marshal Saint-Cyr, now laid his

hand. The conscription of Napoleon had become such a terrible burden that the Bourbons could not continue it, and it was condemned by the *Charte*. But free-recruiting proved inadequate to the needs of the army. Saint-Cyr introduced a compromise. He provided that if free recruiting did not produce an army of 150,000 men, the gaps were to be filled by ballot among men of twenty years of age, who were to serve for six years, but might provide substitutes. The number of these conscripts was not to exceed 40,000. The army was strengthened by a reserve of veterans, who were to serve for another six years, but not outside the frontiers of France. Promotion was to be by merit, and the influence of the Crown in that matter was to be diminished.

Saint-Cyr's Bill was well received, even by the Left, but was violently opposed by the Ultras, who were afraid that the veterans would consist mainly of Napoleon's soldiers; they detested the principle of promotion by merit. Villèle was more reasonable, but still an opponent of the scheme. Saint-Cyr defended his Bill with spirit, and repelled the attacks against the veterans of Napoleon. They had earned deathless glory on the field of battle; they had given their lives for the honour of France. Should their country now reject their services? Should she, in her time of need, cease to be proud of the men whom Europe had never ceased to admire? He could not believe it. The King could not allow such devotion to be unemployed. Saint-Cyr's noble words filled and inspired the Chamber with enthusiasm, and resounded through the whole of France. He was supported by the Doctrinaires—indeed, his speech had been composed by Guizot. The Bill was passed by a large majority. It was bitterly opposed by the Peers on the ground that it diminished the royal prerogative. Talleyrand said that in future the President of the United States would have more power than the King of France. Monsieur threw his whole strength against it. He urged his brother to dismiss all the Ministers except Richelieu and Lainé, and possibly Decazes. He threatened himself to go to Fontainebleau or Spain. He said: "I know that I have duties towards the King, but I also have duties towards the monarchy, and I will not suffer the Ministry to destroy it." Wellington used his moderating influence with success. The law was passed, but an amusing incident occurred. The King, who supported the Ministry, prolonged his customary walk, in which he was attended by the violent opponents of the Bill, in order that they might not vote against it. But their friends, in their turn, prolonged the debate, and these courtiers arrived at the Chamber, breathless and dust-covered, in time to record their opposition.

The measure remained for a long time the bulwark of the military strength of France.

Another question of great importance was the settlement of the relations between the Government and the Pope. In this the Ultras were defeated, and the Liberals gained a signal victory. There remained the question of the foreign occupation and of the foreign creditors. A promise had been made at the Peace that the foreign creditors should be satisfied, but it was not known how much their claims amounted to. The sum of 180,000,000 francs, which was admitted, had been swollen to 1,390,000,000 francs, a great part of which was composed of frivolous and groundless claims. The Prince of Anhalt Bernburg demanded payment for 4,000 horsemen whom his ancestor had lent to Henry IV. in the Huguenot wars. Richelieu offered a yearly payment of 10,000,000 francs, which was not nearly enough. England counselled moderation. The Emperor Alexander came forward as a mediator. He committed the conduct of the business to Wellington, and the dispute was eventually arranged by a series of compromises, which left much heart-burning and discontent behind them. The session ended on May 18th, having placed the military forces of France on a sane basis, and advanced the prospects of the liberation of the territory.

The Ultras continued to grumble. They were especially opposed to the policy of Saint-Cyr, who reformed the military schools, and was too favourable to the veterans of Napoleon. The Pavillon Marsan could not abide him; the salons of the Faubourg St. Germain demanded his dismissal, and the Duchesse de Berri would not receive him in her house. They were equally opposed to the educational reforms of Royer-Collard. The battle was conducted in the Press, where Lamennais, Chateaubriand and Fiévée thundered in the *Debats* or the *Quotidienne*, whilst Benjamin Constant and the Liberals replied in the *Minerva*. Such was the condition of France at the opening of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. The reconciliation of the old and the new France had not yet been effected. The Ultras had not surrendered the hopes of retarding the principles of the restoration; the country at large was determined not to be deprived of the fruits of the Revolution. The wounds of Leipzig and Waterloo had not been healed; Englishmen and Germans were still regarded with suspicion. But the time would arrive when the destinies of France should again be committed to her own keeping.

CHAPTER III

THE CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

IN the Treaty of November 20th, 1815, which was the foundation of the superintendence of the four Powers over the affairs of Europe, it was contemplated that meetings, either of princes or ministers, should be held from time to time to discuss important common interests. As early as 1817 Metternich had been asked to summon such a Congress, and Aix-la-Chapelle was mentioned as a suitable place, because it was so well controlled by the Prussian police. The place was agreed upon, but the Congress itself was postponed till the autumn of 1818. As the evacuation of France was the most important question to be discussed, it was necessary that she should be represented, but all other Powers except the four were excluded. The four Powers were not united, as there was a strong difference of opinion between Austria and Russia. Metternich wished to maintain the principle of the Treaty of Chaumont and to place the public order of Europe under the governance of its signatories. Great changes, he urged, were threatening the peace of Europe: she must have a master. Before 1814 she had obeyed the despotism of Napoleon; unless she was to fall under the influence of democracy she must be governed by an oligarchy, and such an oligarchy was provided by the union of the Powers. Pozzo di Borgo pointed out, on the other hand, that this would mean the isolation of Russia and the tutelage of France; that the existence of the Four Powers League would call a counter league into existence, and Europe would be divided into two warring camps. It was better to accept the principles of the Holy Alliance as the foundation of the political system of Europe. The common enemy of all was the Revolution. Metternich was alarmed by the mysticism and liberalism of Alexander, the one inspired by Frau von Krüdener, the other by his tutor Laharpe. He saw the disquieting influence of Russia on Spain, Italy and Switzerland. Capodistrias, Alexander's Minister, whom Metternich met at Carlsbad, to some extent relieved these apprehensions. He assured him that the maintenance of a peaceful order was the main object of the Emperor's policy.

Aix-la-Chapelle began to fill. Although the Congress was

confined to the five Great Powers, which now included France, other countries had agents and reporters at the scene of action. The heads of the great banking houses, Rothschild, Bethmann, Baring and Parish, were present, seeking for prospective business. Journalists, artists, and adventurers of all kinds completed the motley crowd. Austria was represented by Metternich, Prussia by Hardenberg and Bernstorff, Russia by Capodistrias and Nesselrode, England by Castlereagh and Wellington, and France by Richelieu. Gentz was secretary, and was in a heaven of delight. He declared that this Congress was the culmination of his career. The evacuation of France was determined upon in the first stage of the proceedings. The army of occupation was to leave before November 20th, at latest; of the 265,000,000 francs which remained unpaid of the war contribution, 100,000,000 was to be paid immediately and the remainder in the first six months of 1819. The question of admitting France to an equal place with the other Powers was more difficult. Russia worked for it; Austria and England were against it. Eventually it was agreed that France should be admitted to the alliance, as a sign of brotherly goodwill; but the four Powers should renew their league by a secret protocol for the security and peace of Europe.

The army of occupation began its homeward march. The Tsar and the King of Prussia held a parting review at Sedan, and then made a visit to Paris. They went incognito, but were well received and were invited to dinner by Louis. When they returned to Aix-la-Chapelle the formality of admitting France to the alliance was completed. A declaration drawn up by Gentz seemed to promise the advent of a golden age:

"The Allies solemnly recognise that their duties to God and to the peoples whom they govern make it an obligation for them, as far as in them lies, to exhibit to the world an example of justice, unity, and moderation, and they consider themselves happy in being able to direct, for the future, all their powers to the protection of the arts of peace, the development of the internal prosperity of their dominions, and the revival of those religious and moral sentiments whose influence has been, of late years, weakened by the misfortunes of the age."

These fine-sounding words prepared the way for the foundation of a Holy Alliance which, if carried out, would have made the epoch in which we live miserable. The five Great Powers bound themselves to intervene for the maintenance of social order if, in any European country, legitimate authority was threatened and their assistance were asked for. On the other hand, the granting

of a Constitution by a sovereign would not justify intervention. The Tsar was glad enough to accept a mutual guarantee for his European possessions, and Austria saw in the proposed alliance a defence against Russian conquest and Prussian militarism. But England could not undertake these obligations without the authority of Parliament, so the scheme was not carried out.

The dissensions in France between the Liberals and the Ultras still continued. The Liberals proposed a reorganisation of the National Guard, which provided for the admission of all tax-payers and their sons who were in possession of civil rights. Masséna, who commanded that body, prophesied that it would become a hotbed of Jacobinism, threatened to resign his office, and was with difficulty prevented from doing so by the King, Angoulême and Metternich. He said, however, to Vincent that the Election Law and the Recruiting Law were destroying the monarchy. The Ultras sought to recover their ground, by founding a paper called the *Conservative* as a counterpoise to the *Minerva*. It was written by Chateaubriand, Lamennais and Bonald. It supported the aristocracy and the Church. It, however, had little effect on the elections. A number of Liberals were returned, and Lord Stewart expressed a fear that the government would pass into the hands of robbers. Matters were made worse by a financial crisis. The Bank of France was obliged to restrain her discounts, and a panic followed which caused many failures and interrupted trade. To meet these threatening dangers the old Quadruple Alliance was renewed on November 15th. The object was declared to be the prevention of new revolutionary movements which were threatening France. To spare the feelings of France the existence of the protocol was kept secret, but it was communicated privately to Louis XVIII. A military convention was signed on the same day to provide for martial action if it should be found to be necessary.

Among the other questions discussed at the Congress were some which affected Germany alone, and some of more general significance. These comprised the quarrel between Spain and her South American colonies, the dispute between Spain and Portugal, the suppression of the Barbary pirates, and the suppression of the slave trade. England was specially active in the last reform. In 1817 she had paid to Spain a sum of £40,000 to induce her to suppress the slave trade in all her dominions from May 30th, 1820. The fate of Napoleon also engaged the attention of the Congress. His aged mother begged the Congress not to allow her son to perish in exile. Las Cases said to them: "Come to the assistance of the

unhappy victim; a few days longer, and it will be too late." To these representations the Congress turned a deaf ear. It destroyed all hopes of release, and supported all the measures of Sir Hudson Lowe. It declared all communications with the prisoner to be criminal. The Emperor of Russia, on whom the Bonapartists had fixed their hopes, expressed himself more strongly against Napoleon than any other sovereign. Even Castlereagh found the expressions too severe.

The last days of the Congress were devoted to the affairs of Prussia, a country in which Metternich seemed to discover traces of coming Liberalism. He denounced the freedom of the German Universities and the institution of students' congresses. He looked with suspicion on the athletic exercises introduced by Father Jahn. He procured the prohibition of an athletic festival at Bonn, and declared that the whole institution must be rooted out. He also expressed his dread of a Prussian Constitution. At length the Congress broke up; the Tsar and the Emperor travelled slowly home. A few remained behind to finish various matters of business, but by the end of November Aix-la-Chapelle had resumed her old-world aspect. Metternich was able to announce to Europe that the agreement between the Cabinets had never been more complete. He seemed unaware that they were standing on the crust of a volcano.

We must now return to the affairs of France. On his return from Aix-la-Chapelle, Richelieu, although comforted by the approaching liberation of the territory, was much troubled by the internal condition of his country. He saw the flood of Liberalism rising, and did not know how to meet it. He was convinced that the partial renewal of the Chambers, which was the occasion of an annual conflict, should be done away with, and that a complete re-election after three or five years should take its place, but he could not make up his mind on what principle the franchise should be based. In these circumstances the Chambers met on December 10th, 1818. The relations between Richelieu and Decazes became more and more strained. The King strove in vain to reconcile them. At length Richelieu saw that no conclusion was possible except his own retirement, and he resigned office before the end of the year. He left it a poor man; a national subscription was raised for his support, but he accepted it only to give it to the hospitals of Bordeaux.

The new Prime Minister was General Dessolles, a worthy soldier who had remained true to the monarchy during the Hundred Days. He also undertook the department of Foreign Affairs. Decazes

became Home Secretary. Saint-Cyr, the creator of the new army, remained Minister for War. Baron Louis, a friend of the banker Laffitte, presided over the finances. But Decazes was the real Prime Minister, the trusted confidant of the King, the man with the strongest personality. He could not, however, prevent a breach between the upper and lower Houses. The peers demanded a revision of the electoral law, in the direction of a more aristocratic government. A protest against such a measure arose from the whole country, and Decazes shrank from taking so dangerous a step. The only remedy was the creation of new peers. Sixty members were added to the upper House, most of whom represented the Bonapartist traditions. This *coup d'état* found many to condemn it; Angoulême regarded it as the beginning of the funeral of his family. The Great Powers disliked a step which might again bring France as a factor in the affairs of Europe, and even Wellington could not view with equanimity the promotion of so many officers and soldiers of the fallen Emperor.

The breath of Liberalism began to stir. A new Press Law, which modified the severity of the hateful law of November 9th, 1815, was drawn up with the help of Guizot, Royer-Collard and Barante. It was an improvement upon the past, but was by no means in accordance with modern ideas, but it was eventually passed. An attempt of the Liberals to allow the return of those who were suffering from a sentence of banishment, including the regicides, was met by the Minister de Serre with a decided "Never." Their exclusion from the country was eternal and irrevocable. The session ended on July 17th, 1819, the relations between the parties being more uncomfortable than before. This was shown in the partial election of a fifth of the Chamber, which took place in November. Decazes had hoped to preserve a tone of moderation, but he was disappointed. The Ultras, indeed, suffered a serious check, losing eighteen seats; but there was a large addition to the ranks of the Liberals, consisting mainly of adherents of Napoleon. But the greatest shock was the election of Grégoire in the Department of the Isère. He had once been an abbé and a constitutional bishop; but, as a member of the Constituante and of the Convention, he had shown himself bitterly radical and anti-clerical. He had once said that princes were in the moral order of things what monsters were in the natural order, and this had never been forgotten. He had not been a regicide, as he was absent from Paris at the time of the Revolution, but there is no doubt that he would have been if he had been present at the voting. His worthy career as Bishop of Blois, his pious and

unhappy victim; a few days longer, and it will be too late." To these representations the Congress turned a deaf ear. It destroyed all hopes of release, and supported all the measures of Sir Hudson Lowe. It declared all communications with the prisoner to be criminal. The Emperor of Russia, on whom the Bonapartists had fixed their hopes, expressed himself more strongly against Napoleon than any other sovereign. Even Castlereagh found the expressions too severe.

The last days of the Congress were devoted to the affairs of Prussia, a country in which Metternich seemed to discover traces of coming Liberalism. He denounced the freedom of the German Universities and the institution of students' congresses. He looked with suspicion on the athletic exercises introduced by Father Jahn. He procured the prohibition of an athletic festival at Bonn, and declared that the whole institution must be rooted out. He also expressed his dread of a Prussian Constitution. At length the Congress broke up; the Tsar and the Emperor travelled slowly home. A few remained behind to finish various matters of business, but by the end of November Aix-la-Chapelle had resumed her old-world aspect. Metternich was able to announce to Europe that the agreement between the Cabinets had never been more complete. He seemed unaware that they were standing on the crust of a volcano.

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was not thought sufficient, and the persecution of Decazes continued. He sought, in vain, the support of the Left. He was at last deserted by Monsieur, who had, at first, promised to help him. Artois and his sons and daughter-in-law threw themselves at the king's feet and besought him to dismiss Decazes. Long did he hesitate, and only gave in when they threatened to leave Paris and the kingdom. The Duc de Richelieu returned to power. The Ultras were jubilant. They said: "Decazes had to choose between the scaffold and exile; he chose exile." Chateaubriand declared, in conversation: "Decazes is fallen; his feet slipped in the blood which he has shed."

Villèle and Corbière, the more moderate members of the Right, did not approve of this extravagant language. They wished to secure a majority for Richelieu, by union with the Right Centre, for he could not return in the support of the Doctrinaires. Of the two coercive laws proposed by Decazes, that of the censorship was brought before the Peers, and that of arbitrary imprisonment before the Commons. They were debated with considerable heat. An observer said: "The Chamber is no longer a deliberative assembly; it is a noisy pit, divided between two cabals who endeavour to wrest from each other the support of a vacillating and weak centre. A continuous hum of murmuring, constant calls to order, sudden interruptions, were the lot of every speaker." Passions were still further stirred by the revolutionary outbreak in Spain, which occurred at this time. These disturbances were renewed when the Press Law had to pass the Commons and the Suspect Law the Peers. By the end of March they both got through, but public opinion was not in their favour. Several Liberal papers—among them the *Minerva*—ceased publication, and even the *Conservative* put an end to its existence.

The discussion of the Electoral Law still remained to be dealt with. The scheme of Decazes was withdrawn, and a new Bill was laid upon the table. There was a pitched battle between the forces of old and new France. De Serre returned from the south, and was able to take part in the debates. Lafayette defended the tricolour flag, which the Ultras denounced as the oriflamme of disorder. Riots took place in Paris, first directed against the Liberals, but continued with the danger of rousing the Bonapartists and Republicans. From the 4th to the 7th of June the streets of Paris were in confusion. Blood flowed on both sides. Cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" were answered by cries of "*Vive l'Empereur.*" At length, when all parties were weary of the conflict, an Electoral Law was passed which secured a double election and a certain

preponderance of the wealthier electors. This was finally passed on June 29th, 1820. The victory was, on the whole, in favour of the Ultras. De Serre expelled Royer-Collard, Camille Jourdan, Bonald and Guizot from the Council of State. Villèle saw the prospect of the ministry open before him. A reactionary movement had begun, the result of which no one could foresee.

CHAPTER IV

GERMANY

THE wars of the Revolution and those of Napoleon had profoundly modified the internal condition of Germany. Old institutions were swept away, and the ground was prepared for a nation of the modern type. This clearing, however, had not been complete; the Emperor and the Diet had disappeared, but the Emperor and the Empire of Austria had taken their place. Germany was now governed by thirty-eight sovereigns in place of three hundred, and the ecclesiastical princes had entirely disappeared. Three great states—Bavaria, Würtemberg and Baden—had been founded in the south, but many small princes still remained in the north. The left bank of the Rhine, which had been directly subject to French rule, still possessed the benefit of the Code Napoléon, with the blessings of a regular and uniform administration, while the sovereigns of southern Germany had not altogether lost the inspiration of the Power which created them. Nor were the thrones of Germany entirely national: the King of Denmark reigned in Holstein, the King of England in Hanover, and the King of Holland in Luxemburg. Many Germans had ardently desired the unity of the country, but how was it to be effected, and who was to be the head of it? Two great Powers were striving for this position, and the rivalry between them has only been settled in our own day.

At the Congress of Vienna Germany felt the necessity of forming a new state which should hold a distinguished and responsible position in the councils of Europe, and should be able, if necessary, to resist the attacks of France, formidable even under the restored Bourbons. But the precise character which this state should assume was a matter of long and serious debate. Baron Stein, one of the principal liberators of Germany, was anxious to restore the Empire, with a Directory of the chief princes to manage affairs of common interest. But the Emperor of Austria did not desire to establish a form of government in which the influence of the King of Prussia would be superior to his own, while the smaller German princes were averse to surrendering any portion of the independence which they had gained by the dissolution of the Empire in

1806. After long discussion, on June 18th, 1815, the very day of the Battle of Waterloo, an act of confederation was agreed between the sovereign princes and the free towns, which united them in a permanent alliance called the Germanic Confederation (*Der Deutsche Bund*), the object of which was destined to be the safeguarding of external and internal security and the independence and integrity of the states of which it was composed.

The constitutional organ of the Confederation was the Federal Assembly, known in Germany as the *Bundestag*, which sat permanently at Frankfort, and was attended by representatives from each state, under the presidency of Austria. In the discussion of ordinary affairs the eleven largest states had a vote each, and the rest six votes between them. Important matters were decided in what was called a "Plenum," in which, out of sixty-nine votes, Austria and the five kingdoms, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover and Würtemberg, had four votes each, the five states next in importance three each, the next three two, and all the rest one each. It was the business of the assembly to draw up the fundamental laws and organic institutions of the Confederation, with reference to all its affairs—foreign, military and domestic—but each state retained its own army, its own government, and its diplomatic arrangements. There was no great Federal tribunal, such as, under the old Empire, had existed at Wetzlar, and the Confederation sent no ambassadors to foreign Powers. The princes remained practically sovereigns, and the Bundestag was only a congress of their ambassadors.

The Federal Assembly ought to have met on September 1st, 1815; but the first meeting did not take place till November 5th, 1816. It was held in the palace of the Prince of Thurn and Taxis, in the Eschenheimer Gasse at Frankfort, the home of the Austrian Embassy, and met generally twice a week. As the Confederation had no arms of its own it used those of Austria, and it had a thoroughly Austrian complexion. It soon became a byword for inertness and inefficiency, but it was too restive for Metternich, who warned the members against over haste and the dangers of a meddlesome disposition. Nothing could be done without the unanimous consent of all the members. In order to veto it was only necessary to abstain from voting, a method which was largely followed by the smaller states. The slowness of its operations was notorious. The officials of the Imperial Court of Justice claimed the arrears due to them from the dissolution of the German Empire in 1806 to the year 1816, but the claims were not satisfied till the year 1831; the war debt contracted between 1792

and 1801 was not paid till 1843; the obligations incurred in the Thirty Years' War were not finally liquidated till 1850; the fortresses for which France had paid in 1815 were not built in 1825, because the Bundestag had not made up its mind as to the comparative merits of Ulm and Rastadt.

Each sovereign prince was master of the Government of his own dominion, and could give his people what constitution he pleased. The various Governments which prevailed may be divided into three classes. In the first, which was pure absolutism, the prince reigned alone with his functionaries, and without any control or any meeting of Chambers. Such was the government of Austria and Prussia, and of some of the northern princes, notably the Elector of Hesse, who summoned his Chambers in 1816, but dismissed them immediately afterwards and governed by himself. The greater part of the northern princes adopted the principle of *Landstände*, or assemblies of estates, formed of the notables of the country, who met for the purpose of voting supertaxes and guaranteeing loans, with a certain power of asking for the redress of grievances, but no efficient power of redressing them. A few princes, especially in the south, gave their countries a written constitution after the model of France, but in these the prince always remained sovereign, he chose whom he pleased for ministers, and reserved to himself the power of violating laws. The Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, the friend of Goethe, had taken the lead in this liberal movement, had given his subjects a constitution and placed it under the guarantee of the Confederation. His Chambers had some real power, and he abolished the censorship of the Press. Efforts were made to follow this example, but self-government did not come to birth till after many struggles and long debates. Eventually constitutions of a more or less liberal character were established in Bavaria in May, 1818; in Baden in August, 1818; in Würtemberg in 1819; and in Hesse-Darmstadt in 1820.

The results of the Congress of Vienna were a bitter disappointment to all German Liberals. A system of reactionary government was established in nearly all the members of the Confederation. This was owing to the predominant influence of Austria, and Austria was controlled by Metternich. Germany had risen against Napoleon with all the enthusiasm of youth. The period of illumination, the risings of 1813 and 1814, are classical examples of a nation striving to secure freedom of government. But as a reward for its devotion to, and its sacrifices in, the cause of liberty it found itself without a national existence, cut up into tiny states, ground down by officials, by police, and by privileged classes, with-

out political rights or equality before the law. The Holy Alliance was not the kind of result which the War of Liberation had been conducted to attain. It appeared to the German people as an ill-omened conspiracy of princes against the rights and liberties of their subjects. It did not receive the approval of the two sections of German patriots, either those who desired a restoration of the German Empire, with reformed institutions, or those who preferred a constitutional government upon the English model. The throng of the disaffected was swelled by the mediatised princes who had lost their sovereign power, and by the nobles who had lost their privileges. Prussia had taken the lead in the national rising against Napoleon, and the hopes of the patriots had been fixed on her; but she betrayed their expectations and attached herself to the cause of Metternich and reaction. Her unstable and impulsive king, Frederick William III., neglected and slighted the men who had been most forward in the assertion of national liberty, while statesmen of a reactionary complexion were decorated with titles and honours. The time for framing a liberal constitution was indefinitely postponed.

The love of liberty, which seemed to be merely smouldering or even extinguished in the German people, still glowed in the hearts of a small body of enthusiastic youths, the students of the German universities. They detested and despised the cowardly compromises and the half-hearted humility with which political affairs were conducted, and proclaimed themselves the hope of the Fatherland. Arndt, the maker of their songs, became their chosen leader. With him they clamoured for a united Germany, for the freedom which God had given them, for the bravery and piety of their forefathers; with him they detested coquetting with the foreigner. Their other leader was Father Jahn, the inventor of *Turnen*, the German gymnastics. He was a German of the old type, who taught them by example and precept to steel their muscles, to run long distances, to train their bodies as if for an Olympic victory. With the motto "*Frisch, frei, fröhlich, fromm*," dressed in unbleached tunics, hardened by moderation in food and drink, they spread abroad the noble art of "turning," and sought to re-establish the equality of human education. The first *Turnplatz* was established in the neighbourhood of Berlin, but they soon sprang up all over the country. The universities of Kiel and Jena gave Father Jahn an honorary degree; but it would probably have been better if he had never lectured: his example was better than his sermons.

An idea arose of giving to the whole body of German students that unity which it was not yet possible to give to the German

nation. Thus took its rise the *Burschenschaft*, or Association of Students, which was to include the youth of all the universities of the Fatherland. A German student in his freshman's year is called a *fuchs*, or fox; in his second a *bursch*, or man, as it may be translated. The students used their political freedom to form a community characterised by a scientific and progressive patriotism, with a strict morality founded on religion.

The Jena *Burschenschaft* was founded on June 12th, 1815, six days before the Battle of Waterloo. The night passed in singing Arndt's patriotic songs, and the banner which was waved over them was the black, red and gold tricolour, now the flag of united Germany, the colours having been those of Lützow's free corps. Giessen caught the enthusiasm from Jena, and it soon spread through the universities of the Fatherland. In 1817, the three hundredth anniversary of the German Reformation was celebrated with great enthusiasm. As a part of this celebration, a festival was held on October 18th, the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig, at the castle of the Wartburg, near Eisenach, where Luther was confined for safety, and where he was believed to have fought with the devil. The Catholic universities were naturally excluded, and in Prussia Berlin alone answered to the call; but the assembly was numerously attended. Prayers and Luther's hymn, "*Ein' feste Burg*," opened the proceedings. Speeches were made, songs were sung, and at the close of the festivities the books of Kotzebue, Haller, and the other writers who had defended absolutism were burned in a bonfire consisting of pigtails, corsets, corporals' sticks, and other emblems of the military regime. The students met again on the following day, in the great hall which had witnessed the shame of Tannhäuser. There were more speeches and more songs, and, after determining to publish a students' journal at Jena, the young men separated with many embraces and tears, after the German fashion. Those who took part in this festival remembered it as the May Day of their youth. But their rulers thought otherwise. Munich began the battle and Dresden followed. Metternich and Gentz warned fathers not to entrust their sons to such dangerous seminaries as Jena. The King of Prussia joined the ranks of the opposition. But Karl August remained firm. The only step he took was to forbid the appearance of the student journal.

It is difficult to restrain enthusiasm within due limits, however respectable may have been its origin. The hatred of the students was directed against two so-called Russian spies, who had made themselves conspicuous in denouncing the excesses of the *Burschen-*

schaft. These were Stourdza, a Moldavian magnate, and Kotzebue, a well-known German writer, who supported the privileges of princes and nobles. Kotzebue had been a violent opponent of Napoleon. He was now being paid by the Tsar to send him periodical reports on the literary condition of Germany. He treated the new movement of the students with the most irritating contempt, and a war arose between the journals on either side, the details of which need not detain us. In the meantime, Karl August invited the students to Weimar, to celebrate the birth of a grandson by a torchlight procession, and a general German *Burschenschaft* was founded, which was described as the free union into a whole of all the German youths who were receiving serious education at the universities, based on the relations of the German youth to the coming unity of the German people.

Karl Foller, one of the founders of the movement at Giessen, became at this time Professor of Roman Law at Jena, and defended assassination as a legitimate defence against tyranny. All this worked in the mind of a student named Sand, the son of an official in the law courts at Wunsiedel, who had made up for the enforced idleness of a sickly childhood by overwork. A theological student in Tübingen, he had taken part in the campaign in France in 1815, and then gone to Erlangen. He represented the Erlangen students at the Wartburg, and then attended the university of Jena. Already, in May, 1818, he cherished the idea of killing Kotzebue and some other traitors with the sword. The murder of the man who, in his mind, was the embodiment of everything which he detested became a fixed idea. He took a solemn leave of his friends at the beginning of March and went to Mannheim, to which place Kotzebue had removed from Jena. On March 29th, 1819, he approached the unsuspecting victim with a letter and, crying out, " Traitor to the Fatherland ! " stabbed him as he was reading it. He had originally intended to escape, but when the son of the murdered man rushed upon him with a cry of horror, he turned the dagger upon himself. He fell to the ground from loss of blood and, crying out to the assembled crowd, " Long live the German Fatherland ! " again attempted suicide. He survived, however, to be executed on May 20th, 1819, persisting in the nobleness of his action.

Such was the political inexperience of the *Burschenschaft* that this gruesome scene was glorified into an act of heroism. Sand was compared with Brutus, Harmodius and Aristogiton. Even grave professors shed a tear of pity over the murderer. But it led to the persecution of the democrats, and attempts at consti-

tutional reform which had been made in Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, and other German States were now indefinitely shelved.

Metternich heard of Kotzebue's murder at Rome, where he was staying with the Emperor Francis. It seemed to him more dangerous than any number of revolutions in Italy. He dreaded the education of a generation of revolutionists in Germany unless strong measures were adopted. However, with characteristic cynicism, he used the general horror which the deed excited to strike a fatal blow at constitutional reform and the freedom of the Press. Matters were made worse by the attempt, on July 1st, of Karl Loning, a chemist at Schwalbach, to assassinate Ibell, Prime Minister of Nassau. Frederick William III., King of Prussia, had long been tempted by the signs of disorder which surrounded him. A meeting took place at Teplitz, in which the aged Hardenberg, the Minister of Prussia, bowed before the stronger will of Metternich. What was called a "Punctuation" was drawn up on August 1st. It was really a declaration of the principles on which the courts of Austria and Prussia were determined to conduct themselves in the internal affairs of the German League. It was determined to hold a conference of the ten larger German Powers at Carlsbad, which was not far from Teplitz, from August 6th to August 13th. In this fatal week much harm was done.

The thirteenth article of the Act of Confederation had conceded to all the German States the power of making provincial constitutions. Metternich and Gentz could not abrogate this article, but they proceeded to interpret it. They drew a distinction between a Parliament of Estates and a Parliament of Deputies. The first was ancient, historical, German, and divine; the second modern, revolutionary, French, and inconsistent with the German Federation and the principle of monarchy. Besides this interpretation of Article 13, resolutions were passed at Carlsbad to limit the freedom of the Press and to restrict the excesses in universities and schools. A central committee was established at Mainz to hold in check all demagogic and revolutionary movements. This "Black Commission," as it was called, sat at Mainz for ten years, and created more conspiracies than it discovered. The Carlsbad resolutions were adopted by the Bundestag on September 20th. Metternich had triumphed, and the German people bowed their necks to the yoke of slavery; but these short-sighted and unconstitutional measures became in due time the parents of a more dangerous revolution.

The announcement of these decrees caused consternation throughout Germany. Niebuhr predicted that the establishment

of these conditions between government and subjects could only produce a life without love, without patriotism, without joy, and full of misunderstanding and discontent. Stein declared that the most important step for the peace of Germany was to put an end to the reign of arbitrary government. Dahlmann and Rotteck made powerful protests. Schlegel resigned his professorship at Bonn, on the ground that it was better to jump out of the window than to be thrown out. The decisions of Carlsbad began to be put into effect. The Moderates lost all hope of a peaceful settlement. Republican ideas began to make their appearance for the first time. German princes, from whom so much had been expected, had now come forward as the sworn enemies of popular freedom. The noble, patriotic feeling of the War of Liberation had ended in smoke; the blood of Leipzig and Waterloo had been shed in vain. Prussia led the van in reaction as she had before in liberty. The *Turnhallen*—the gymnastic halls—were closed; the German tricolour was proscribed; Father Jahn had to take refuge in Switzerland; distinguished professors were deprived of their offices, and were subjected to police supervision; the sermons of Schleiermacher were delivered in the presence of official censors, and the sale of a new edition of Fichte's *Address to the German People* was forbidden. Even Stein and Gneisenau did not escape rebuke. To whisper "German nation" was a crime; to work for it was high treason. Informers were highly rewarded. The *Burschenschaft* of Jena met for the last time in the *Rosensaal* at Jena, and sang that noble hymn, set to the most pathetic of melodies, which still lives as the high-water mark of German students' songs, and declares in dignified verse, "We had built a stately house; our house is ruined, but the spirit lives in all of us, and our fortress is God."

After the Carlsbad Congress all the members of the Confederation were summoned to meet at Vienna, where the discussions lasted from November, 1819, to May, 1820. Their results did not satisfy Metternich, but the sovereign rights of princes were insisted upon; the latter were declared to be independent of Parliamentary control, and the duty was impressed upon the central authority of preserving internal order if it should be endangered. Freedom of expression was not to be admitted in the Chambers nor in the Press.

The years which we have described, full of sad experiences and disappointed hopes, naturally produced a feeling of depression. Each member of the European family seems to have been less prosperous and successful in achieving the results of progress than its efforts deserved. But the outlook was more hopeful if

we regard the European family as a whole. Science, art and literature made great advance in the early years of the restoration, and we find signs of similar improvements and achievements in the social and political spheres. Metternich, Castlereagh, and those who agreed with them believed in the existence of a great European conspiracy which would prove the ruin of the world. Wellington saw, in the events of Peterloo, signs of coming danger, and Metternich was filled with dismay at the murder of Kotzebue, and at the obvious activity of the revolutionary spirit in Germany, Italy, France and England. The morose and haunting terror which inspired those who, for the time being, had the destinies of Europe in their hands was the cause of coercion and persecution. But, as a counterpoise, there was arising a real, though secret, understanding between all liberally-minded people, without distinction of nationality. As early as 1818 Béranger had sung of the "holy alliance of peoples" against their ungrateful sovereigns. A year later Börne said:

"There is, in truth, a conspiracy, extending not only all over Germany, but over the whole of Europe. The conspirators do not know each other; they never see or speak with each other; they have no signs, no common methods, no common objects to hold them together, and yet they are brothers—brothers, I mean, in sentiment. This league is not directed against the power of princes, but against the holding of power in the hands of State officials. It is directed against a condition of lawlessness, against arbitrary government, and, notwithstanding all the police arrangements of Europe, it will effect its end."

The members of this secret league of spiritual sympathisers were filled with pleasure at the unexpected revolutions in Spain, Portugal and Italy, and by the rising of the Greeks. They, however, perhaps overrated the significance of these events, and expected too much from them. Our narrative must now turn its attention to these revolutionary movements, which were more startling and more picturesque, if not intrinsically more important, than those which we have so far described.

CHAPTER V

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

THE movement of the French Revolution in its progress over Europe affected Spain last. She remained asleep in an awakening Europe. The reforms of Charles III., who attempted, in the eighteenth century, to redress the crying evils of government, education, agriculture and commerce, had disappeared without leaving a trace of their short existence. Spain combined great differences within herself with a common resistance to the external world. The haughty Castilian was distinct from the excitable Andalusian, the rough citizen of Aragon from the hardworking Galician, but they all joined hands in their opposition to outside influences. They bore in stolid silence the tyrannous rule of the King, the camarilla, the nobles, and the clergy.

Napoleon was compelled by the force of circumstances to inspire new life into this dying body, and to remedy the Mezentian marriage of the family compact. But he was a foreigner and the nation was against him. In Great Britain's struggle against Napoleon she took as her allies the worst characters in the Peninsula, associated herself with monks and robbers, and regarded as enemies the most intelligent and most enlightened members of the community. Wellington, with his never-failing insight, recognised that he was fighting for a lost cause. In the midst of the struggle an attempt was made at Cadiz to call into existence a national democracy, which was equally opposed to the priest-ridden tyranny of the old regime and the enlightened militarism of French rule. The Cortes of Cadiz contained two parties—the Tories, called Serviles by their opponents, and the Liberals. The latter preponderated, and drew up the famous Constitution of 1812, which was a copy of the French Constitution of 1791. This Constitution was the model towards which the Liberal spirits of Europe looked for many years. The Cortes declared themselves sovereign and indissoluble, and abolished the censorship of the Press, seignorial rights, and other privileges of the nobles. The Constitution declared that the sovereignty resided in the nation: the King was placed at the head of the executive, but he was to act in all things by the advice of his ministers. Legisla-

tion was the prerogative of the Cortes, and the King was given a suspensive veto. Parliament consisted of a single Chamber, elected at two stages by universal suffrage; the deputies were chosen for two years, and were not re-eligible, and the ministers did not form part of the assembly. While the Cortes were not sitting their powers passed to a permanent deputation. No member of the assembly was allowed to accept any office from the King.

Some parts of the legislation of Cadiz were undoubtedly beneficent. Exemption from taxes founded on privilege was abolished, universal military service was introduced, a proper system of education was established, and the burden of feudal rights was also greatly alleviated. Yet there was little real approach to toleration. The Catholic religion was recognised as the one true religion of the Spanish people, and the exercise of other religions was forbidden. Some effort was made to reduce the number of monasteries, the Inquisition was done away with, but heresy became a crime. These measures were opposed by the clergy and the nobles, and the party of the Serviles grew more powerful. Unfortunately, Wellington, in his hatred of Jacobinism, played into the hands of the reactionaries. In the Cortes summoned at Madrid in January, 1814, the Liberals were in a minority and were opposed by Wellington.

Ferdinand VII.'s return to Spain was most disastrous. He had been badly educated in a corrupt and quarrelsome Court, he feared the strong and bullied the weak. During his confinement at Valençay, Talleyrand's object had been to amuse him: he never read, and wearied even of picture-books. He spent much time in embroidering with his own hand a robe of white silk for the statue of the Virgin at Valençay. His confessor, Ostolaza, announced this with pride to the Spanish people, and the news aroused great enthusiasm. His subjects were never tired of praising his innocence and virtue.

The Treaty of Valençay had provided that Ferdinand should not be free until he had reached Madrid and taken the oath to the Constitution. Up to that time the powers of the Regency were to continue, but this provision became a dead letter. The moment he crossed the frontier, on March 22nd, 1814, he was received with acclamation, and San Carlos, the retrograde minister, was always at his side. He was advised by Palafox, the defender of Saragossa, not to swear to the Constitution; and Count Montijo, Palafox's brother-in-law, wished for the unlimited power of the Crown. The Serviles presented him with a document which

denounced the Constitution and the Cortes as the work of the devil. As it happened, the Liberals were apathetic, and, at the beginning of May, Ferdinand took the bold step of denouncing the Constitution and the Cortes. He called himself the father of his loyal nation, and promised security for freedom and safety of person and property. He showed his sincerity by introducing the censorship of the Press and by arresting at night some fifty of the most prominent Liberals. The people of Madrid applauded their "sweet, holy Ferdinand," and the prisoners were insulted by the crowd. His journey from Aranjuez to Madrid was a triumphal progress. Reaction set in apace. The Liberals and the Josefinos were persecuted with much barbarity by guerilleros, towns and villages were burned, the country was laid waste, and bridges and fountains were destroyed. The Spanish people relapsed into a state of semi-civilisation.

San Carlos and Macanaz were ministers, but the power was in the hands of a camarilla, consisting of the King's lackeys and chamberlains, who delighted him with their jesting, the Duke of Alagon, the captain of the guard, his physicians, his buffoon, and his confessor. It was responsible for the decrees enforcing domiciliary visits and arrests, and formed the fountain of honour. Its members grew rich by exactions and extortions. One of their first steps was to re-establish the monasteries, to free the clergy from taxation, to renew the Inquisition. Besides the official *Gazette*, only two newspapers were permitted to be published—the *Atalaya*, edited by the sanguinary monk, Augustin da Castro, and the *Procuador*, controlled by the head of the secret police. Then the Jesuits were readmitted, and half their property was restored. The Council of Castile was recalled with the Duke of Infantado at its head, the municipalities were stripped of their independence, and captains-general were placed at the head of the provinces.

Still worse was the persecution of the Liberals, whom Wellington in vain endeavoured to protect. Tried and acquitted by the regular courts, the King arbitrarily intervened, and with his own hand wrote a decree of condemnation on December 17th, 1814, by which they were banished, or imprisoned, or deported to the unhealthy presidios of Africa. These sentences were immediately carried out, and the prisoners were not allowed to provide clothes or linen. Among them were some of the most distinguished Spaniards, members of the Regency like Agar and Circar, members of the Cortes like Argüelles, Martinez de la Rosa and Herreros, poets like Quintana.

Some signs of discontent appeared in Cadiz in the autumn of

1814, but they were crushed by a revolutionary tribunal. The disaffection in the army was not so easy to subdue. Some regiments remained for months without pay; the men had no straw to sleep upon; and soldiers of Liberal opinion, however distinguished, were persecuted. Generals Valdez and Porlier were arrested, Villalba and O'Donoju were banished, Alava was attacked, and Espoz y Mina was deprived of his command. The latter tried to seize Pamplona and to read the Constitution from its ramparts, but he was forced to take refuge in France, where he was protected. Secret societies were formed, and Diaz Porlier, implicated in one of them, was executed in October, 1815. General Lacy also attempted an insurrection and was executed in Majorca.

Macanaz and San Carlos were overthrown by the camarilla. San Carlos was succeeded by Cevallos, who had served Godoy and Ferdinand, Joseph Bonaparte, and the Patriots. But the ministers were continually changed, according to the whim of the Sovereign, who lived in a fool's paradise, caring about nothing except the satisfaction of his humours, the tales of informers, and the opening of private letters. The condition of the country was terrible; from Somosierra to Madrid the land was a desert, unrelieved by trees, gardens, or houses; here and there a ruined hut or a few dirty villages served but to accentuate the solitude. Except the great roads which led from Madrid to Bayonne, Lisbon, Saragossa, Barcelona, Valencia, and Seville, only a few permanent ways were practicable for carriages. There were no inns, and bands of brigands, composed of guerilleros, starving soldiers, and unpaid workmen from the royal docks, abounded.

The mass of the people had no education. Many believed in miracles and amulets, ghosts and devils. According to the census of 1791 there were, in the Province of Cordova, 109 monasteries, but only forty-nine elementary schools; out of 10,500,000 inhabitants, with 3,700,000 children under sixteen, only 425,000 were receiving education. But matters had grown worse during the next generation. Secondary education was entirely in the hands of the clergy, the universities were occupied with barren scholastic learning, students begged their bread as wandering musicians or strolling players. Commerce was crushed by monopolies and holidays, and Church festivals undermined all energy. At such a juncture it was almost inevitable that Spain should begin to lose her colonies, which had been to her a source of wealth and strength.

Napoleon's conquest of the Mother Country inflamed the desire for independence which had long existed in the Spanish

colonies. Juntas had formed themselves in the Caracas, Buenos Ayres, New Grenada and Chile, with the ostensible object of recognising the right of Ferdinand VII., while in Mexico the Indians were against the Government. The Cortes, with their Liberal Constitution, had whetted the wish for separation; but this movement was checked by the return of the rightful Sovereign. For a time they were allowed to hope for reforms, but there succeeded a White Terror fiercer and more intolerant than that of Spain itself. Military governors, sent by the King, surpassed each other in merciless extortion, in fiendish tortures, in barbaric executions. Outward obedience was established; but the fire of rebellion smouldered, especially in La Plata; while San Martin, Paez and Bolivar secured the independence of Chile and Venezuela. These feelings were fostered by the Americans and the Portuguese.

Meanwhile, in Madrid, one mushroom ministry followed another, and the fruitless attempts at reform appeared actually to increase bad government. The discontent which smouldered in the whole nation was most strongly felt at the expedition which was being collected at Cadiz for the purpose of reducing the northern colonies in South America. The troops were fired by their proximity to the birthplace of the Constitution of 1812; they knew that their expedition might result in disaster and death. They had little to eat, their pay was intercepted by the greed of officials, their sense of grievance was fanned by their officers, Quiroga, Arco, Aguero, and the brothers San Miguel, and the revolted colonies corrupted them with gold. They chose for their leader Quiroga, who was then undergoing a mild imprisonment. He was to escape on New Year's Day, 1820, and march to the island of Leon; but he was prevented by rain, and only reached his destination on January 3rd. He took the town of San Fernando and captured the Minister of Marine, but refrained from laying siege to Cadiz, and a rising in the town proved unsuccessful.

On the same day, Colonel Rafael del Riego, a young Asturian, was more successful. On January 1st, 1820, he proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, and was able to join Quiroga on January 6th. The national army which they commanded had no cavalry or artillery; many deserted, and there were few recruits. Cadiz remained impregnable. On January 27th, Riego set out with 5,000 men to march through Andalusia, proclaiming everywhere the Constitution of 1812, but finding few supporters. His expedition was a failure; after fruitless marches he was compelled, on March 11th, to disband his troops.

But collapse in the south was compensated for by a vigorous rising in the north. On February 21st a revolt in Corunna established a Junta and the Constitution of 1812, and other places in Galicia, Ferrol, Vigo, Pontevedra and Tuy followed this example. The commandant of Santiago, Count San Roman, retired to Orense on March 5th. There was a rising in Saragossa, the capital of Aragon. In Barcelona, Castaños, the conqueror of Baylen, put himself at the head of the movement, and in Pamplona the Viceroy, Ezpeleta, did likewise; but their aim was to control the agitation and use it for democratic purposes. The King was obliged to bow to the storm, and on March 7th issued a decree promising the immediate calling of the Cortes. But this concession was too late, and General Ballesteros informed his Sovereign that the army was no longer to be relied upon. At midnight of the same day the alarmed King, in order to avoid disturbances, and to meet the universal will of the people, declared his readiness to accept the Constitution of 1812.

Next morning the news was received in Madrid with general rejoicing. The Constitution was exhibited in the great square, and carried about the streets as a sacred relic for the adoration of the people, while the constitutional King was hailed with applause as he drove in the Prado and Don Carlos was greeted with hisses. In the Café Lorenzini, which was their headquarters, however, the agitators expressed their doubts as to the sincerity of the Sovereign. It was true he had punished political offenders, but he had done nothing else. Six men, chosen by the people, undertook to demand the restoration of the Constitutional Council of 1814, and also exacted from the King an oath of adherence to the Constitution. The Inquisition was prohibited and its victims were released from prison. Finally, a provisional Junta was set up to assist the Government until the Cortes should meet. The King's uncle, the Cardinal de Bourbon, was made President, and Ballesteros was his representative. Since the King had made an absolute surrender, the ninth of March was celebrated as the day of returning liberty.

Similar scenes took place in the provinces. The Radicals triumphed at Saragossa; at Pamplona, Mina, who had come from France, supplanted Ezpeleta; at Barcelona, Castaños was deposed in favour of General Villa Campo. Riego heard of the revolution in the solitudes of the Sierra Morena, returned to Cordova, proclaimed the Constitution along with O'Donoju, and soon afterwards entered Seville in triumph. The universal joy was damped by a terrible event, which took place at Cadiz. On

March 11th, the fête of the Constitution was to be celebrated in the city square. Three deputies were sent by Quiroga to represent his army, and they joined the crowd in the plaza, where every window was hung with tapestry and flags. Suddenly the soldiers of the regiment "del Lealdad" and of the Guides, issuing from their barracks, fired upon the people. Many of them were deserters from Quiroga and probably had been urged to this infamy by General Campana. The mob dispersed and ran away, the soldiers following and massacring without mercy, treating the town exactly as if it had been taken by assault. These diabolical scenes were repeated on the following day, and eventually the killed amounted to 460 and the wounded to upwards of a thousand.

A Liberal Ministry was established, many of its members being taken from dungeons. Argüelles, from his eloquence in the former Cortes called "the Divine," became Minister of the Interior, and Garcia Herreros Minister of Justice. Those who had been previously persecuted were now honoured with office. The poet Quintana obtained a seat in the Junta which was to direct the censure of the Press; Riego and three of his companions were made field-marshals. The purification of the Government was carried out in every branch of political and municipal administration, the army at Cadiz was broken up, every Spaniard was required to swear allegiance to the Constitution, and the Afrancesados, to the number of 6,000, were allowed to return to Spain.

When the Cortes met, on July 9th, the party of the Moderates greatly preponderated. To it belonged the President, the Archbishop of Seville, and the Vice-President Quiroga. Not a single grandee of Spain was elected; very few of the landed nobility were returned, and only three bishops. Martinez de la Rosa was the leader of the Moderates, and next to him were Calatrava, an experienced statesman, and the Marquis Toreno, a man of light and learning. Nevertheless, the new Government found its efficiency much impeded by the character of the Constitution, which, in the desire to secure the partition of powers, had excluded the ministers from the assembly. The party of the Exaltados, though not equal to the Moderates either in number or talents, made up for this by activity and rhetoric. They were led by Romero Aluente, from Aragon, and Moreno Guerro, who had been secretary to Ballesteros.

At the end of August, Riego came to Madrid with the intention of telling the King and the ministers some unwelcome truths,

and was received with enthusiasm by the clubs. On Sunday, September 3rd, after a triumphal progress through the town, he was honoured by a banquet in the Fontana d'Oro, the excitement being increased by news of the revolution in Portugal. He then proceeded to the theatre to see the play of "Henry III. of Castile," which was full of political allusions. A Riego hymn, analogous to the Garibaldi hymn of a later date, was greeted with applause, as was also the "*Tragala, perro*" ("Swallow it, you hound")—the "ça ira" of Spain—Riego standing up with his whole staff and joining in the chorus. These excesses turned public opinion against the Exaltados. The clubs were placed under strict surveillance, and Riego was deprived of his command in Galicia and sent to Oviedo. He left Madrid on September 6th.

The next great agitation was caused by the law against religious communities, brought forward at the beginning of October, with regard to the brotherhoods of mendicant friars. It limited their numbers, forbade their organisations under General Superiors, and promised those who left them a yearly pension. On the other hand, the houses of all other Orders, including the military Orders of Calatrava and Alcantara, were suppressed, and the foundation of new Orders was forbidden. Only eight Orders of special historical interest were excepted from these decrees. Their property was used for the liquidation of the national debt, and their archives, books, and works of art were given to public museums. Though convents of nuns were untouched, they were placed under the surveillance of bishops. Shortly before this a law had been passed, directed against primogeniture in the transmission of great landed property and estates, and the creation of trusts. These statutes, taken together, were attempts to liberate the soil of Spain, to break up the large tracts of country which were controlled either by non-resident magnates or by the chilling influence of the dead hand.

Hitherto the King had posed as a friend of the Revolution, although he hated it in his heart. By the Constitution he was allowed an interval of thirty days for recording his acceptance of a law, and was now urged to reject the proposed measure about religious Orders by the papal nuncio—his confessor, Cirilo, who threatened him with the pains of hell—by Don Carlos, and the Queen. On the other hand, the ministers were supported by the French Ambassador, and declared that the King was lost if he vetoed the Bill. They offered, however, to add to the number of eight Orders already exempted. At length, when the ministers threatened to resign, and Ballesteros said that the

troops could not be depended upon, the King gave his consent, but secretly determined upon revenge.

Ferdinand now retired to the Escurial, from which he refused to move. He ought to have closed the Cortes in person, but excused his absence on the ground of ill-health. The Cortes ended their session on November 9th, leaving a provisional committee to act during the recess. The King took a decisive step on November 16th by removing Vigodet, Captain-General of Madrid, from his post, and giving it to Carvajal, a bitter enemy of the Constitution. In answer to this stroke the King was pressed to dismiss his first Chamberlain, Count Miranda, and his confessor, Saez, and to summon an extraordinary Cortes. Madrid seemed ready for a revolution, or for a march on the Escurial to bring the King back. The King yielded and recalled Vigodet, and dismissed Miranda and Saez.

On returning to Madrid on November 21st, the monarch was received with coldness. When he appeared on the balcony of the palace, cries were raised of "The Constitution or Death!" "Long live Riego!" and the book of the Constitution was held aloft and kissed. The Queen burst into tears, and the King was beside himself with rage. The Exaltados lifted their heads again, Riego being appointed Captain-General of Aragon and his intimate friends, Galliano and Beltran de Lis, promoted to similar posts. The Serviles were persecuted, and Father Cirilo, the confessor, and the Duke of Infantado were banished. The Exaltados founded a new society of the Communeros, a name which recalled memories of the great rising of the sixteenth century and its leader Padilla. The "Sons of Padilla," as they were called, were compelled to swear, on entering the club, to avenge themselves on tyrants and to kill every traitor. The club possessed newspapers and had branches in all the provinces. The whole country was in a terrible condition, full of beggars and brigands. There was no money for mending roads or bridges; a few children were taught the Constitution by heart, but hundreds of thousands could neither read nor write; credit disappeared; a new era might be at hand, but dark clouds heralded its dawn.

A similar course of events was taking place in Portugal. The Peninsular War had brought disaster to that country. The population had decreased by 200,000; the number of inhabited houses had been reduced by thousands. Not only was agriculture in a backward state, and the olive plantations and vineyards neglected, but the tenants of lands belonging to the Crown, the high nobility, the orders of knighthood and the

monasteries groaned beneath their heavy burdens. The roads were bad, the rivers unregulated, and large tracts of country were given up to sheep and goats, while as for commerce it could hardly be said to exist.

When the French entered Portugal in 1807 the Prince Regent and the Royal Family set sail for Rio de Janeiro, carrying with them large sums of money. His first act in the new country was to open all Brazilian ports to friendly and neutral vessels, and a close alliance was entered into between Portugal and England. Brazil was made a kingdom on December 16th, 1815, and in the following year John VI., after the death of his mother, succeeded to the Crown. All this was unfavourable to Portugal, which was treated like a step-child instead of like a favoured son. Trade between Portugal and Brazil was reduced by one half, and instead of the 800 ships which entered the Port of Rio every year under the Portuguese flag, there were now only 200. The effects of the Methuen Treaty pressed heavily upon Portugal, Great Britain took her wines, but Portugal obtained all her woollen, cotton, and linen stuffs from the United Kingdom.

The intellectual condition of Portugal was as bad as the economical. In 1812 there were only sixteen printing establishments in the whole country, and only twelve bookshops. The elementary schools, founded by the enlightened Pombal, numbered 873, but the average attendance of children was only ten. The Regency had little power, because their hands were tied from Rio, and the chief authority lay in the hands of the military commander, Marshal Beresford, who was assisted by several Englishmen. There was no navy to speak of, but the army amounted to 59,000 men, a ruinous burden. Beresford's letters to Wellington depict the country in sombre colours. He said the soldiers had no bread, and he feared an attack from Spain. Wellington did his best to encourage him, asserting that without him Portugal would be lost. But Beresford had all the stiffness of an Englishman of the Regency, and his unpopularity was extended to his countrymen. The Portuguese hated the heretical meddlers who had come to save the country and were now destroying it. The centre of disaffection lay in the army, and in 1817 some regiments, destined for Banda Oriental, mutinied.

A conspiracy was formed between certain Portuguese officers and some civilians, who desired to liberate their country from foreign rule, and took Lieutenant-General Gomez Freire de Andrade as their leader. This was discovered by Beresford, who informed the Regency, and a number of arrests were made. Freire and

several others were condemned and executed; Freire's body was burned and his ashes were thrown into the sea. After this matters proceeded from bad to worse, and, in the spring of 1820 Beresford went to Rio to represent the state of affairs and to procure money.

The leaders of the revolution took advantage of his absence, and on August 24th, 1820, there was a rising in Oporto, under Sepulveda. A provisional Junta was formed, and Count Antonio Silveira was elected President. On September 15th, which was always kept as a holiday to celebrate the departure of the French, a rising took place in the garrison of Lisbon under Count Resenda. Cries were raised of "Long live the King and the Constitution!" and at night the whole of the city was illuminated. The Revolutionary Government of Oporto and that of Lisbon now united. When Beresford returned to the Tagus on October 10th, he found there was no place left for him. He alleged the orders of the King, but was informed that the Portuguese nation had reclaimed its independence. He was entreated not to land, even as a private person, and sailed for England on the *Arabella* packet. The departure of Beresford was followed by a *coup d'état*, caused by a wish to introduce the Spanish Constitution. Then there arose a party in favour of uniting Portugal and Spain under the same constitutional King. This was headed by the Jurist, Manoel Fernandez Thomaz, who was connected with the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, Pando, "the Apostle of Liberalism." Texeira and Cabreira, jealous of Sepulveda, on November 11th surrounded the palace, where the Junta was sitting, with soldiers and cannon. Accordingly the Junta determined to accept the Constitution of Spain, and to give the command of the navy to Texeira, receiving four of his supporters into the Junta.

This step was found to be in advance of public opinion. The corporation and magistrates protested against it and were supported by a majority of the officers of the army, 150 officers and nearly all the civilians resigning their posts. On November 17th its ancient form was restored to the Junta, and it was agreed that the Cortes should be elected according to the Spanish system, one member for every 30,000 inhabitants, but that no other part of the Constitution should be adopted until the Cortes had considered the matter. Silveira now withdrew from motives of health.

The Cortes met on January 26th, 1821. It was by no means Radical in character. The clergy were largely represented, and the Archbishop of Bahia was made President. The Regency

took an oath to maintain the Catholic religion and to support the throne and the name of Braganza. This, however, was on the condition that John VI. should recognise the revolution and the action of the Cortes. He received these proposals favourably, and talked of returning to his country. The Cortes proceeding to draw up the new Constitution without waiting for his consent, the Liberals won a victory over the Corcundas—"the Humpbacks," as the Portuguese Serviles were called from their habit of continually "bowing and scraping." The royal power was strictly limited, and on March 29th the civil, military, and eccelesiastical authorities swore allegiance to the Constitution.

Now, however, opposition to the Constitution arose on the side of the clergy and nobility. The Patriarch of Lisbon refused to take the oath to the Constitution and was confined in the monastery of Bussaco and afterwards banished. In the meantime the condition of the country continued deplorable. Brigandage was so rife that families did not dare to leave Lisbon to go to their country seats; commerce was at a standstill; justice was delayed, some criminals having been kept seven years in prison without being brought to trial. The folk of Lisbon did not conceal their opinions: they broke the windows of the Papal Nuncio and attacked the house of the Austrian Ambassador, because they would not illuminate in celebration of the King's consent to the Constitution. The Revolution now seized Brazil, and it was fanned by the Crown Prince Pedro. Count Palmella, perhaps the most experienced of Portuguese statesmen, advised his sovereign to yield. The King sailed for Portugal, leaving Pedro in Brazil as Regent, reached Lisbon on July 8th, 1821, and swore obedience to the principles of the Constitution.

CHAPTER VI

ITALY AND NAPLES

ITALY had been called into life by Napoleon. An Italian by origin, with strong Italian sympathies, he was the first statesman to imagine the possibility of Italy's governing herself, and the country which he created still honours his memory. After his fall and the triumph of Austria and the principles of Metternich, there were still some who did not surrender the ideal which Napoleon set up, but there were differences of opinion as to the manner in which it should be realised. Some were in favour of a federation, some of a republic, but no one foresaw what actually came to pass—a unitary State under the leadership of Piedmont.

Indeed, the government of Victor Emmanuel I. was not such as to excite enthusiasm. He was penetrated with feudal ideas. During the reign of Napoleon, he had retired to the island of Sardinia, but at the court of Cagliari, where there were not enough tables and chairs to go round, the laws of the greater and lesser entrées were strictly observed. When he returned to Turin there was no improvement. The *ancien régime* was ruthlessly restored. All who were suspected of revolutionary tendencies were driven from office, and twelve most distinguished professors were dismissed from Turin University as Jacobins. The army was purified of Napoleonic elements, guilds were restored, the names of streets were altered, Napoleon's road over Mont Cénis was blocked up, partly from association, partly lest revolutionary ideas should be imported from France. The nobles and clergy were replaced in something of their old position.

The first ministers of the Restoration were Cerruti and Musso, narrow-minded men, devoted to the past. Musso gave way to St. Marsan, and Cerruti to Vidua, who, however, soon made room for Borgarelli, a follower of Cerruti. Discontent first began to show itself in Genoa, which, having been a republic, was joined to Piedmont by the Treaty of Vienna. The old families of Doria, Durazzo and Serra withdrew to their villas, and flourishing factories had to make way for monks and nuns. But a better spirit was shown by the summoning to the Home Office of Prospero Balbo in September, 1819. Strivings towards a Constitution

made themselves felt, and were supported by the Duke Dalberg, the French ambassador, whose wife, a Brignole of Genoa, gave him influence over the best society of that city. His house, whether at Turin or at Genoa, was the centre of Liberal thought. His dispatches expressed the opinion that a Constitution would be the most powerful influence for binding together the several parts of the Piedmontese kingdom and securing independence against Austria. In 1820 the Sardinian Government succeeded in effecting his recall, but before he went he adjured Balbo to follow in his footsteps.

The heir to Victor Emmanuel was his brother, Charles Felix, but at the latter's death the crown would pass to the House of Carignan, the head of which was Prince Charles Albert. He was supposed to be favourable to Liberal ideas; indeed, Metternich endeavoured to prevent his accession by repealing the Salic Law and promising the transference of the crown to the Duke of Modena. But the rights of the House of Carignan had been safeguarded by the Treaty of Vienna.

Charles Albert had lost his father at the age of two, and his mother, a Princess of Courland, was called by Victor Emmanuel the "Jacobin Princess." He had been educated, first in France and then in Geneva, and in this school had learnt to estimate the *ancien régime* at its true value. He received his commission as lieutenant at the hand of Napoleon, and this the King could never forget. Accordingly, he was placed under strict surveillance, and in revenge seemed to lose himself in frivolity, being regarded rather as a Don Juan than as a Hamlet. Dalberg said of him, "His heart is corrupt, he despises mankind, and he does no serious business." At the age of nineteen he was married to a Tuscan princess, and his Liberal sentiments became more apparent. To Gino Capponi, who was attached to his suite in Florence, he said that the Germans must be driven out of Italy, and he adopted the motto of his ancestor, Amadeus VI., "*Je atans mon astre.*" Naturally, the young Liberals looked towards him with hope, and even beyond the frontiers the patriots of Lombardy and Tuscany marked him as their future leader, while from distant lands of exile prophetic voices designated him as the Marcellus of Italy.

No one was more jealous of him than Francis IV., Duke of Modena, son of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand and Beatrice of Este. In the Congress of Vienna he had claimed the ancient territories of the House of Este, the Legations, Genoa, and the Duchy of Milan. He sought to overthrow the succession of the

House of Carignan. Even Metternich was alarmed at his ambitious views. Francis governed his territories as an unscrupulous tyrant, recalled the pre-revolutionary laws, entrusted education to the clergy, and built monasteries; but he did not restore the confiscated property of the Church. He favoured the nobles, but did not give back their possessions. He was a man of great strength of will, stubborn and unscrupulous, and had inherited Massa and Carrara at the death of his mother.

The Duchy of Parma was governed by the wife of Napoleon, Marie Louise, who had resumed her rank as an Austrian archduchess. She ruled with some enlightenment, and her legislation is worthy of note. She maintained with the Church the Concordat of 1801, her taxes and her censorship of the Press were moderate, Parma could boast of its University and its library, she encouraged schools and other beneficent institutions, and she built the mighty bridge over the rebellious Taro. Neipperg, a man of horrible character, assisted her in these enterprises. Such advantages consoled her subjects for the presence of an Austrian garrison in Piacenza.

The Duchy of Lucca, which had prospered under Napoleon's sister, Elisa Bacciochi, was now ruled by another Marie Louise, the sister of Ferdinand of Spain. She built seventeen monasteries; on the days of Church festivals all commerce and traffic in the streets of Lucca was stopped. She spent the revenues of her territory on herself, and the only good features of the reign were the improvement of the harbour of Via Reggio, the regulation of the Serchio, and the foundation of a university. By the Treaty of Vienna Lucca was eventually to pass to Tuscany and the Duchess was to receive Parma by way of a compensation. But Napoleon's Marie Louise did not die till 1847.

The Duke of Tuscany was Ferdinand III., the brother of the Emperor of Austria. He did his best to appease Metternich, and was assisted by his Secretary of State, Count Vittorio Fossombroni, a distinguished minister, an engineer, economist, and statesman. His motto was, "The world goes by itself." He had worthy colleagues in Prince Neri Corsini, who represented Tuscany at the Congress of Vienna, and Leonardo Frullani, who gave the finances a surplus of sixteen million lire.

Unfortunately, the French code was abrogated and a suspicious police was established. There was but little self-government in the municipalities, and scarcely anything was done for education. On the other hand, commerce and manufactures were free; roads were made; the marshes of the Chiana were drained;

the condition of the peasants, who were principally small farmers, was good; manufactures of silk, glass, and leather reared their heads; the harbour of Leghorn was improved; the Universities of Pisa and Siena were restored; the Academy of Della Crusca resumed its labours. Rossini illuminated the operatic stage; little money was spent on the army; Giampietro Vieusseux was allowed to establish his reading-room at Florence; the *Antologia* was established on the model of the *Edinburgh Review*. Foremost in this work was Gino Capponi, who, with the help of Vieusseux, made Florence the home of Italian Liberals. Confalonieri, the friend of Capponi, not blind to the faults of the Grand-Ducal government, found, in the valley of the Arno, his favourite home in the midst of a courteous, kind and prosperous community.

We hear, on good authority, that Rome was a city of material and moral ruin. The Pope, Pius VII., was a good man, and his chief secretary, Consalvi, a wise and respectable statesman; and the Pontiff had some sympathy with modern ideas. Unfortunately, it was thought necessary at Rome, as elsewhere, to do away with all traces of the Napoleonic government, which was in many respects enlightened and instinct with the spirit of the age. Pius VII. was quite ready to forgive and forget, but in the circumstances in which he was placed it was difficult to do so. Consalvi had been ambassador at the Congress of Vienna, which had assured the possession of the Marches and the Legations to the Holy See. After his return the Pope issued a *motu proprio* on July 6th, 1816, which gave a new constitution to the papal dominions. It attempted to reconcile the old and the new, a difficult, if not an impossible, problem.

But a fundamental error was made by placing the whole machine of government in the hands of the priests. These arrangements were strongly condemned by Niebuhr, who was at that time Prussian Ambassador at Rome. He said that the place of a brilliant aristocracy, endowed with fortune and not devoid of education, was taken by an uneducated proletariat, paid for their services, and that things became worse every day. The populace soon became aware that the cassock had no magic to turn those who wore it into honest and capable officials, and Consalvi complained to Metternich that the government of the priests caused great discontent. But the reforms of Consalvi, however inadequate, met with the opposition of the older cardinals, who formed the party of the "Zelanti," led by Mattei, della Genga, Somaglia, and Severoli, and the great Roman families

were opposed to him because he had destroyed their feudal privileges.

Education and justice were in evil plight; the one was in the hands of priests, even of Jesuits, and the other consisted of reminiscences of the Code Napoléon, modified by canonical law and the apostolic constitutions. Crime was very rife; in the beginning of 1820 there was one criminal in 220 of the population, and more than 5,000 had been condemned to penal servitude. Brigandage, which the French had not been able to put down, now assumed larger proportions. The brigands of Italy had a political complexion and answered to the *guerilleros* of Spain and the *klephts* of Greece. The division of Italy into small states encouraged their development. It was not possible to go from Rome to Albano or Frascati without an escort. The neighbourhood of Velletri and Terracina was especially dangerous, and the mountain village of Sonnino was reckoned the headquarters of the brigands. When all other means failed a formal treaty was made with them. All the brigands were to give themselves up as prisoners to the Papal States for a year; after that they should be left alone. However, only three carriages full of men and women found their way to Rome: amongst them was one who prided himself on having killed sixty victims. Eventually Sonnino was razed to the ground, not without the opposition of the Pope. About agriculture the less said the better. The Campagna was a desert, full of wild buffaloes, guarded by cowboys with long spears. The population was decimated by fever. Commerce was at a standstill, exaggerated import duties encouraged smuggling, and the harbours of Civita Vecchia and Ancona could not vie with Leghorn. Rome, however, was the capital of art and the resort of foreign painters. Cornelius and Overbeck came from Germany, Thorwaldsen from Denmark, while Canova brought to the Vatican the spoils rescued from Paris. They formed the nucleus of the Vatican collection, of the Museo Chiaramonti, and the Braccio Nuovo. The excavations begun by the French were continued, and the Pincian Hill was laid out as a promenade.

But there was a dark side to the picture. Niebuhr tells us that the Romans "vegetated," that the nobles lived in idleness and the satisfaction of the most degrading lusts, that the masses were sunk in laziness, vacillating between self-indulgence and superstition, surrounded by police spies. Beggars, dishonest shopkeepers, a priest-ridden populace complete the picture. Even the bitter opponents of Napoleon admitted that his fall had been the greatest misfortune for the Holy City. The finances

were run by the banker Torlonia. To receive the Emperor of Austria in 1819 it was necessary to borrow money from the mother and sister of Napoleon, Madame Mère and Pauline Borghese. It was time an equilibrium should at last be established, but only a quarter of the Napoleonic debt was acknowledged. The chief source of income was the demoralising lottery. The taxes were let out to farmers, who made enormous profits. Niebuhr says, "No part of Italy, perhaps no part of Europe, except Turkey, is governed like the States of the Church."

Such a condition naturally formed a hot-bed of secret societies and conspiracies. If free countries have parties, unfree countries have secret associations. They were not confined to the Liberals. The *Concistoriali* and the *Sanfedisti* were ardent supporters of the Church; their object was the annihilation of the infamous Liberals. High officials of the Church supported the *Fratelli*, who were bound by a terrible oath to suffer their right hand to be cut off, their throats to be severed, and their souls to be damned to everlasting hell before they would betray their cause. A species of civil war broke out, in which the dagger was often concealed beneath the crucifix and the rosary.

The great Liberal organisation was that of the *Carbonari*, the "Charcoal-burners," founded, it is said, by Queen Caroline on the occasion of the French invasion of Italy in 1808. They were favoured by Murat, and, after the fall of Napoleon, represented anti-Austrian tendencies. Alison says the society "had comparatively few partisans in the rural districts where ancient influences had retained their ascendancy, but in the towns, among the incorporations, the universities, the scholars, the army and the artists, it had spread almost universally, and it might with truth be said that among the 642,000 persons who, in Italy, were said to be enrolled in its ranks, was to be found nearly all the genius in religion and politics of the land." In the spring of 1817, when the serious illness of the Pope seemed to forbid a change of Government, there was a rising of the Carbonari in Macerata, which was put down by Cardinal Pacca.

In Naples, the original home of the Carbonari, they were opposed by the *Calderari*, the "Kettlers," who hated the "Charcoal-burners" as the kettle hates the charcoal. King Ferdinand IV., who had so long been confined to Sicily, when he came to Naples, promised to forget the past, a policy suggested to him by his ministers Medici and Tommasi, whose moderation caused them to be hailed with the name of "Jacobins." By their influence the Code Napoléon remained unaltered. Murat's officers served in

the army, and hopes were held out of a Constitution. In 1812 a Constitution, on the English model, had been given to Sicily by Lord William Bentinck, which was certainly not well suited to the circumstances of that country. In December, 1816, the Governments of Sicily and Naples were united, and the Constitution ultimately fell to the ground, to the joy of Metternich.

The King was proclaimed as Ferdinand I., King of the Empire of both Sicilies, and the change was an ominous one for the island. Vineyards were grubbed up, arable land was turned to waste, to escape the grinding taxation; the system of irrigation introduced by the Arabs was destroyed; roads were scarcely to be found, and those that did exist were rendered impassable by brigands; the interior of the island was a waste, without wood, water, or ways. The power of the feudal barons increased, and the population were oppressed by poverty, ignorance, and crushing taxes. The *Latifundia*, the secular pest of the peninsula, reigned supreme. The indolent landlord spent his extorted rents in the large towns, while the speculating factor, to whom he had leased the land, sucked the blood out of the people. Things were somewhat better in the confined mountain valleys, and in the narrow strip of country where, in the midst of oranges and lemons, there was a growth of vines, locust-beans, and vegetables. Here the peasant proprietor, or rather *métayer*, could flourish in peace. At the same time the standard of comfort was not high. Father, mother, brothers and sisters all slept in the same room, in company with the pig, the goat, and the mule. These circumstances did not prevent them from giving birth to the most charming of popular songs, and to the melodies which lend their beauty to the *Cavalleria Rusticana*.

If such was the condition of Sicily, the hopes of Naples were soon undeceived. Those who had been faithful to the monarchy received all the posts. The conscription was restored with slight differences. Political offenders were punished as murderers, and murderers were acquitted, if their politics were right. The infamous Prince of Canosa was made head of the police; a libertine and a drunkard under the shadow of piety, he favoured the sect of the Calderari, and persecuted the "Charcoal-burners." He was dismissed with a rich pension in June, 1816. Other societies raised their heads. Amongst them were the *Determinati*, in the Province of Otranto, led by a bloodthirsty priest, Ciro Annichiarico. He was crushed by the English general, Church, afterwards so prominent in Greece, who stormed Annichiarico's camp on February 27th, 1818, and shot the ringleaders in public.

Those were the days of notable bandits, such as Gaetano Vardarelli, and Fra Diavolo, who lives in opera.

It goes almost without saying that lack of justice, disorder in the finances, economical misery, absence of trade, and degradation of education were rife on every hand. Settembrini describes one of the best schools in the kingdom as a prison for some hundreds of children, who spent the greater part of the day kneeling or sitting, while they were instructed in the Catechism or in Latin. A Concordat was signed on February 16th, 1818, which enhanced the privileges of the Church, the number of bishopries being increased and richly endowed, and the monasteries being for the most part restored. Colletta says of this measure that in a single day it annihilated the progress of a century.

The first impulse towards a better state of things was given by General William Pepe. He was born at Squillace in Calabria, and with his elder brother Florestan had fought in 1799 for the Parthenopolitan Republic, and afterwards in the Italian legion. He had served Joseph Bonaparte, when the latter was King of Naples, and, after fighting under the French flag in Corfu and Spain, had distinguished himself in the army of Murat. Beginning as a Republican, he had become a partisan of constitutional monarchy, and did not hold aloof from conspiracies for this object. At the close of 1818 he was sent to extinguish brigandage in the districts of Foggia and Avellino. He possessed high military qualities, but had a certain sympathy with the Carbonari. He hoped that the King, when he recovered from his illness, would grant a Constitution, but contented himself with cutting off his pigtail, which at an earlier time would have been regarded as a sign of Jacobinism.

In the spring of 1819 the Emperor Francis and Metternich paid a visit to Naples. They had planned a visit to Avellino to review the militia, and Pepe formed a scheme for arresting them with the help of the Carbonari, a story which would be hard to believe if it did not rest on his own testimony. But the contemplated visit was not paid. Still, the principles of the Carbonari continued to make way amongst the officers and soldiers. Shopkeepers, tradesmen, and advocates all looked with hope to the red, black, and blue tricolour of the Charcoal-burners, and believed that the happiness of their country lay in a Constitution. Only a slight shock was needed to cause an explosion, and that was found in the success of the Spanish Revolution. Many an officer longed to play the part of a Quiroga or a Riego. The town of Nola, which lies between Naples and Avellino, was occupied at

this time by the cavalry regiment called Bourbon. Two lieutenants, named Morelli and Silvati, stimulated by a priest named Menichini, one of the most active Carbonari in the place, determined to mutiny, and to hoist the tricolour. In the night of July 1st–2nd, 1820, about 140 soldiers followed them, together with Menichini and a dozen townsmen. They marched to Avellino, shouting as they marched "For God, the King, and the Constitution." They halted at Mercogliano, not far from Avellino and Morelli, and persuaded de' Concili, who was commanding at Avellino in Pepe's absence, to join them. On July 3rd the Spanish Constitution was proclaimed in Avellino and de' Concili was appointed Commander.

Pepe was then in Naples, and the first idea was to send him to quell the insurrection. But the King did not agree to this, and Carrascosa, an old Muratist, was despatched instead. Pepe, resolving to side with the insurgents, who were collected at Monteforte, took with him two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and marched towards the rebels. The King, frightened, promised to grant a Constitution within eight days, and in the meantime retired from the Government and nominated his son, the Duke of Calabria, Viceroy in his stead. On July 1st the Viceroy proclaimed the Spanish Constitution, with the consent of the King, but reserved the right to make certain modifications. Pepe himself would have preferred the French *Charte* to the Constitution of Cadiz, but he had no choice. He was entrusted with the general command of all Neapolitan troops, and a provisional Junta was appointed. As a test of sincerity, all political offenders were liberated from prison. On July 9th Pepe entered Naples with 20,000 troops, having de' Concili on one hand and Napoletano on the other. At the head of the Nola Carbonari rode the priest Menichini, armed with sword and musket. They surged round the palace, while the Duke of Calabria appeared on the balcony with his family, wearing the tricolour. After the march past, Pepe was graciously received by the Duke and the King, who lay quivering in bed. In the evening the town was illuminated.

Metternich was horrified. Dreading the excesses of a half-civilised people, hot-blooded as Africans, whose last word is the dagger, he prophesied that blood would flow in streams, a prophecy which was not fulfilled, for Pepe prevented excesses. The salt tax was reduced by one half. The new Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Duke of Campochiaro, had represented Murat at the Congress of Vienna, while Zurlo and Ricciardi, Ministers of the Interior and Justice, had occupied the same posts under King Joachim.

The provisional Junta was also of a Liberal complexion. On July 13th the King swore, in the palace chapel, fidelity to the Constitution. Tears flowed from his eyes, and he declared that he swore this time from the depth of his heart. All the soldiers and the militia followed his example.

Pepe's brother Florestan, who was of cautious temperament, had his doubts as to the sincerity of this manifestation, and left the Junta. Dissensions soon began to show themselves, and a mutinous regiment had to be coerced by force. The leaders of the Carbonari and of the Muratists did not agree. Pepe had to hold the balance, but he disagreed with Carrascosa and was driven more and more to the side of the Carbonari. The King played the traitor: he told the French Ambassador that his illness was only a pretence, addressed secret messages to Vienna and St. Petersburg, and sent Metternich a protest against the oath, which he said he had taken with the knife at his throat.

In the meantime a far more terrible revolution broke out in Sicily. The Spanish Constitution was proclaimed in Messina, political prisoners were released, and order was preserved. But things went differently in Palermo when the news of the acceptance of the Constitution arrived on July 14th. On that day, the eve of the national festival of St. Rosalia, a ship arrived from Naples, in which all the passengers and the crew wore the Carbonari tricolour. This was immediately adopted, with the addition of a strip of yellow, and next day an insurrection broke out. General Church ordered the soldiers to barracks, but he was disobeyed, his house being stormed and his furniture burned. On the following morning the people armed themselves with muskets and committed serious excesses. On July 17th there was fighting in the streets, the Viceroy, Roselli, being compelled to fly for his life. A reign of terror ensued. Princes Cattolica and Aci were dragged from their hiding places and barbarously murdered, and the latter's villa was razed to the ground. Not till July 18th was a provisional Government established, with the Prince of Villafranca at its head. These risings were imitated throughout the country. Messina and Caltasinetta refused to obey the orders of Palermo, and the whole island fell a prey to civil strife.

The news of this outbreak caused dismay in Naples; Florestan Pepe was sent with 9,000 men to restore order. He offered reasonable terms, but they were rejected. Nothing was left for him but to attack Palermo on September 26th. Not till October 5th did he come to an agreement with the insurgents on board a British vessel, the venerable Prince of Palermo acting as repre-

sentative of the Sicilian people. It was agreed that Pepe should be put in possession of the fort, that the Neapolitan Constitution should be proclaimed, and that the Prince of Palermo should be President of a new Junta.

But the Parliament of Naples had met on October 1st. The mainland alone was represented in it, not Sicily. It consisted of seventy-two members, chiefly lawyers, doctors, priests, and officials, and only two nobles. Giuseppe Poerio was a member, as was also Pasquale Borelli. Parties were well assorted; indeed, the members changed their plans every day. The King left Capodimonte to open the House, and solemnly renewed his oath to the Constitution. William Pepe, with great solemnity, resigned the command of the army. The first step was to recall Florestan Pepe and to disown his action, saying that he had exceeded his instructions. Pepe resigned his place to Colletta. The breach between the two Sicilies became worse and worse. The Neapolitan Parliament confiscated the property of the Sicilian barons and gave it to the people, without any compensation; abolished the High Court of Justice in Palermo; made the Sicilians realise that their claims to independence were disregarded, and maintained a large force to garrison Palermo and to hold it in check.

CHAPTER VII

CONGRESS OF TROPPAU

FERDINAND VII.'s submission to the revolution caused great dismay in Paris, where public opinion had been already excited by the murder of the Duc de Berri and the fall of Decazes. Richelieu, his successor, was in favour of intervention, but this was opposed by Great Britain, Wellington being in this matter in full agreement with Castlereagh. The French Government conceived the project of sending Latour du Pin to Madrid, to urge the King to alter the Constitution so as to bring it into clear harmony with the French *Charte*, but this idea was given up. Alexander of Russia was less courteous. A Russian Note, dated May 2nd, 1820, signed by Nesselrode, was circulated, lamenting that the King had allowed himself to be drawn into revolutionary courses. He referred to the conclusion of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, and threatened the interruption of friendly relations between Spain and the allies. This note was not favourably received, either by Great Britain or Austria. Metternich was sufficiently frightened, but he seemed to prefer common action with Prussia. His attitude, however, was altered by the outbreak of the Revolution in Naples. On July 23rd he sent a note to the Courts of Turin, Modena, Lucca, Florence and Rome, saying that, by the Treaty of Vienna, Austria had been appointed guardian of the peace of Italy, and was prepared, if necessary, to employ force.

Metternich, no doubt, feared the spread of the constitutional and national spirit. He said that the Carbonari had no other end in view than the complete unity and independence of Italy, although these objects were at present very far from the domain of practical politics. At the same time dangerous symptoms of discontent were evident in Rome. Niebuhr writes of a union between certain priests and Jacobins, based upon a common hatred of Consalvi, supported by ambitious cardinals, who dreamed of their college being changed into a senate, which might exercise a firm control over a lower house. There were signs of revolutionary excitement in Lombardy and Piedmont and Clubs of Independence were formed in Turin, Alessandria and Coni.

Metternich would willingly have intervened himself. He said at a later period to the Duke of Modena, " If we could have marched 20,000 men straight to the Po, we could have crushed the rebellion in Naples at once, and the world would have blessed us." But this was not done. Fossombroni was entirely opposed to an occupation of Tuscany, and the Roman Chancery did not welcome an Austrian intervention.

Prussia and Great Britain did not object to armed intervention by Austria, but it was different with regard to France and Russia. It would have been tempting for France to anticipate Austria and to place herself at the head of the revolutionary movement in Italy, had she not feared the stirring up of a revolution in both countries. Following another direction, Louis XVIII. issued a note saying that, as head of the Bourbon family, and as the prince who was the first to give to his own subjects the liberties which all others seemed to desire, he felt it his duty to call the attention of his allies to the serious condition of Italy. He was of opinion that there ought to be an intervention in Naples, and he approved of Austria's arming, but he felt that these steps should be made legitimate by a common declaration of all five Powers. Richelieu wrote to Capodistrias on August 10th that it was necessary to make it plain to the people that it was not a question of making war against any particular principles, but of suppressing a military revolt, whose monstrous tyranny would throw Europe back into barbarism.

The Russian Emperor was only too glad to summon a congress of princes and ministers, who could speak in the name of Europe; but Metternich did not desire to have his hands tied. He would have preferred to hold the meetings at Vienna; but Troppau, in Austrian Silesia, was selected as being easily reached from Warsaw and Berlin. The British Ministry, occupied by the trial of Queen Caroline, refused to be bound by any conclusions agreed to at Troppau. The Emperor of Austria arrived at Troppau on October 18th, 1820, and the Tsar joined him two days afterwards; but the King of Prussia could not arrive till November 7th, though he sent the Crown Prince, his son. Austria was represented by Metternich and Gentz, Russia by Nesselrode and Capodistrias, Prussia by Hardenberg and Bernstorff, France by Count Caraman, and Great Britain by Sir Charles Stewart.

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It was the first practical application of the principles of the Holy Alliance. The British Government took no part in the deliberations, but did not firmly oppose the measures decided

upon. The danger of an Austrian intervention caused great excitement at Naples. Campochiaro, the Minister, informed Consalvi that if he allowed the Austrians to pass through his territory, the Neapolitans would reply by invading the Papal States. There was some thought of altering the Constitution to bring it more into harmony with the *Charte*; but the majority, hardened by the interference of Austria and by the enthusiasm of the Carbonari, resolved not to lay hands upon the "holy" document.

Just at this time the French dynasty was strengthened by the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux on September 29th, 1820, "the child of the miracle." There was also a conspiracy in favour of the tricolour flag. Both events strengthened the hands of Metternich. His programme consisted of a march of Austrian troops into Naples. This was opposed by Laferronnays, who wrote to Paris, "In the eyes of Metternich I am certainly regarded as a Carbonaro." The Russian Note, dated November 2nd, on the other hand, aimed at suppressing all revolutionary movements which might disturb the peace of Europe. At the same time, Capodistrias expressed some degree of favour for a Constitutional Government, and desired to gratify national wishes. Metternich knew of no national desires, only those of Carbonari and Muratists; the Powers must not become the instrument of either party. They must say "the present condition of things must cease and be replaced by one in which the free will of the King and his wisdom must be fully acknowledged." Capodistrias did not contest the points further.

An agreement between Austria, Prussia and Russia was at length brought about on November 7th, when the Russian Note of November 2nd was accepted in spirit. Great Britain, however, stood aloof and Stewart protested, and the attitude of France was doubtful. Metternich having proposed to invite the King of Naples to attend the Congress, the Tsar agreed, and a provisional protocol was signed between the three Powers on November 19th. It laid down some political principles of Russian origin. The first of these ran, "When in States which belong to the system of European Alliances a change of government is brought about by an insurrection, and other States are threatened, this State is excluded from the Alliance until it can give security for order and stability." It was also the duty of the other allies to bring the offender back, first by remonstrance, and failing that by force, so that an Austrian occupation of Naples was legitimate. They also agreed to invite Ferdinand to meet them at Laibach, which was

more convenient than Troppau. France refused to agree to this protocol, and Great Britain protested.

The invitation to the King reached Naples on December 6th, and caused great confusion. The King knew that he must have the consent of Parliament to his departure, and he sought the assistance of A'Court and Fontenay, the British and French Ministers. The Crown Prince, who was appointed Viceroy, said that the King would never be allowed by Parliament to travel unless he gave an amnesty and promised to uphold the Constitution—conditions to which the King agreed.

A change of Government now took place, with the Duke of Gallo as Prime Minister. The new Cabinet expressed its entire confidence in the King's intentions and gave leave for his departure, naming his son as Viceroy. The King made a solemn agreement, before the deliberative body and a deputation of Parliament, not to be false to the Constitution, and left Naples on a British vessel on December 13th. When he got out of sight of land, he said, " Here I am in Paradise." At Leghorn he entered a Church of Pilgrimage to give thanks for his escape, writing to Louis XVIII. that he had only yielded because he feared the dagger of the assassin. In reality he had never been in danger.

Troppau was shut up in snow and frost, and the monarchs were glad to leave it, spending two days in Vienna on their way to Laibach. Metternich claimed to have scored 85 per cent. over the Constitution-loving Capodistrias, and Alexander cooled towards him. Nevertheless, Metternich declared for the principle of the close union of monarchs, and the suppression of the freedom of the Press, that scourge of society, which had been unknown till the second half of the seventeenth century. He detected great dangers in the rise of the middle class and of the cultured classes who assisted it. If he did not altogether convert Alexander, he at least succeeded in weakening the tie between him and France. The Tsar said to Laferronnays, " Every Government is guilty or blind that does not co-operate to get rid of the godless sect who desire to upset every throne and to destroy the order of society." Pozzo di Borgo said to Caraman, " Do you wish us to declare war against Austria in order to have the pleasure of giving a Constitution to Naples ? "

The Congress of Laibach met in January, 1821, in a better climate than the last. Count Ruffo-Scilla was present, representing the King of Naples, an enemy of the Constitution and a tool in the hands of Metternich. All the Italian Governments were invited to send representatives, and all accepted, with the excep-

tion of Lucca and Parma. Blacas represented France. Ferdinand came late, but surpassed himself in denouncing everything to which he had sworn allegiance. Two letters were prepared for the King to sign—one public, in which he communicated to his son the decision of the Powers; the other private, in which he announced the approach of an Austrian army as a guarantee. Corresponding instructions were sent to the Ambassadors of Austria, Prussia and Russia in Naples. In the Conference Metternich had his way, but not without difficulty. Capodistrias would not consent and was, to use Metternich's expression, "like the devil in holy water." The Tsar was completely overcome by Metternich's tea-parties, and became reconciled to Ferdinand's breaking his word. He talked about sending Russian and Prussian troops in the wake of the Austrians.

Although the French Plenipotentiaries did not sympathise with these views, they did not wish to break up the concert of Europe, and agreed to sign the common Note. The fact was that the Ultras had, in November, 1820, obtained a great victory in France, and they consequently favoured the programme of the Powers, and regarded intervention as a sacred duty. Great Britain took a different line. However much the Tory Ministers might desire the success of Metternich, parliamentary considerations did not permit them to lend him their open support. Of the Italian governments, Sardinia, Tuscany and Modena were in favour of an Austrian intervention; but Consalvi, on behalf of the Pope, was far more cautious. Gallo, the constitutional Prime Minister of Naples, behaved in an extraordinary fashion. He remained in Görz till January 30th, when everything was completed. He was then admitted to the sittings, where he heard the Government of which he was head denounced as an abominable government, the work of delusion and crime. Ruffo watched the scene through a hole in the door. Gallo made no objection; he agreed not only to take the letters to Naples, but to do what he could to render them effective.

Sixty thousand Austrian troops, under the command of General Frimont, set out to cross the Po. The occupation of Naples was limited to three years. With the assistance of Gentz, Metternich drew up "Principles of a fundamental law for the kingdom of the two Sicilies," the document being secretly communicated to Russia and Prussia. It divided the government of the two countries and gave them a common Council of State, but separate Consultas in Naples and Palermo, chosen by the King. A certain amount of local government was conceded, much to

the King's disgust. This Constitution was finally accepted on February 22nd, 1821. Metternich had thus gained a complete victory.

Now arose the question whether a similar intervention should be undertaken in Spain, but this was too much for the allies. Pasquier wrote to Madrid: "We consider that every intervention of foreign Powers, so far from setting the King free from his terrible position, will only have the effect of driving the revolutionary party to the worst excesses. Only if Spain attacks us will we defend ourselves." The conference broke up on February 26th without mentioning Spain. A new conference was to be called to decide the direction of the Neapolitan occupation, the two Emperors remaining in Laibach to await the result. Ferdinand departed slowly, accompanied by Blacas and three representatives of the great Powers. They intended to stay in Florence by the way. A proclamation called upon all his subjects to receive the army of his exalted allies with open arms, as it was only intended to protect the true friends of God and the Fatherland.

This was not the opinion at Naples. The Regent promised to abide by his oath, but said that he feared he should be looked upon in Europe as a rebel. In the meantime Gallo arrived and brought the news from Laibach. The Regent said that he would not separate himself from his people. Parliament met on February 13th. The mob rose and murdered Giampietri, who was said to have rejoiced over the coming of the Austrians, and war seemed imminent. Rome was afraid of an invasion of the Neapolitan Carbonari, and Niebuhr placed the plate, the archives, and the pictures of the German Embassy in safe custody. The feeling in Naples became more and more bellicose, and the Regent asked Louis XVIII. to mediate. But the Neapolitan army was very badly prepared. Of the whole force, a third, 12,000 men, was in Sicily; arms, provisions, and money were deficient, and there were dissensions among the leaders. Still they made ready for defence. An army corps, consisting of 10,000 regulars and 20,000 militia, under William Pepe, was to defend the north; another of 18,000 regulars and 22,000 militia, under Carrascosa, the south; and other defensive posts were occupied.

In the meantime the Austrian army marched through Tuscany and the States of the Church, and approached the Abruzzi. Pepe attacked the Austrians at Rieti on March 7th, 1821, but was defeated and his army dissolved, he himself seeking refuge on a Spanish ship. The combat of Rieti was the beginning and end

of the campaign. The Austrians could hardly believe their success and advanced and occupied Aquila. Carrascosa's army lost all discipline, and Capua was surrendered on March 20th. Fontenay wrote from Naples, "In Naples there is no army and no government; personal hatred is roused, all parties complain of treachery." The Austrians entered Naples, decorated with olive branches, on March 24th, and the funds rose 8 per cent. At this critical moment arrived the news of a revolution in Piedmont. The Emperors at Laibach heard of the victory of Rieti on March 13th, and of the revolution on March 14th.

The foremost mover of the revolution was Santorre di Santa Rosa, an intimate friend of Charles Albert of Carignan. He was of an enthusiastic nature, devoted to his country, and a friend of Cesare Balbo, the son of Prospero Balbo, the Liberal minister. He was in communication with French ministers, his aim being to give Italy a Constitution and unite it against the enemy. The hopes of the Liberals turned to the Prince of Carignan. On the evening of March 6th, 1821, Prince Charles Albert of Carignan received Santa Rosa, Colonel St. Marsan, Major Collegno, and Captain Count Lisio in strict secrecy. They told him that everything was ready for fighting for freedom and against Austria, and they begged him to place himself at their head. They knew that Victor Emmanuel was on the point of departure for Moncalieri, and they proposed that the garrison should rise in his absence. The Prince, a young man of twenty-two, dazzled by these propositions, gave his consent. But on the following day he changed his mind and withdrew his consent.

However, on March 10th, a rising took place in Alessandria. The citadel was seized, the Italian tricolour floated from its walls, and a provisional Giunta was formed, which took for its motto, "Long live the King! Long live the Spanish Constitution! Long live Italy!" The reformers demanded a King of Italy, Italian federation, and Italian independence. This gave hope to the other conspirators in Turin, and Santa Rosa hastened to Alessandria. The Giunta proclaimed, "The nation is in a state of war against Austria; the Italian army will be placed on a war footing." Victor Emmanuel returned to Turin in the evening of March 10th. He was in favour of moderate measures and inclined to grant a Constitution, but could not bear to draw upon himself the wrath of the Eastern Powers. But disturbances broke out in Turin, and on March 12th the citadel hoisted the Italian tricolour. The people shouted, "Long live the Constitution!" The King now abdicated in favour of his brother Charles Felix,

the Duke of Genevois, who was staying in Modena, where he had greeted his father-in-law, King Ferdinand, on his way back to his dominions. Till his return the Regency was entrusted to the Prince of Carignan.

On March 13th the King and his family set out for Nice. Carignan was in great difficulty, for none of the previous Ministers would serve under him. Still, he was forced by popular and military pressure to proclaim the Spanish Constitution on March 21st, 1821, which was regarded as the panacea for all evils, provided Charles Felix would consent to it. A provisional Giunta was also formed. The Regent was, in fact, in the greatest possible embarrassment, having really no idea of declaring war against Austria, and hoping, indeed, to recall the troops to their allegiance. But Binder, the Austrian Ambassador, thought it safe to leave Turin, and reached Milan by way of Geneva. Of course, the Liberals were discontented with Charles Albert. They expected thanks instead of amnesty, and disliked his proscription of the Italian tricolour. The patriots sent from Milan—the young Marchese Pallavicino and his friend, Gaetano de Castiglia—were not well received, either by the General della Torre at Novara or at Turin. Charles Albert gave them an audience, but begged them to place their hopes rather on the future than on the present.

Charles Felix, the new King, took a strong line, and denounced the Constitution. He summoned Carignan to Novara, but the young man preferred to resign, and withdraw to Tuscany, reaching Florence on April 3rd. Such was the news which was brought to Laibach by successive posts. The Tsar was full of fury, and eager to set 90,000 Russian soldiers on the march. He cried, "Let us save Europe: it is the will of God." Metternich suspected that France had a hand in the unrest. "France," he said, "stands at the head of all revolutionary movements in Europe. It is hard to say which is the worse—the Government or the Jacobins." There were risings in Venice, and suspected Liberals, like Maroncelli, Laderchi, Romagnosi and Silvio Pellico, were cast into prison. Straffoldo wrote to Metternich from Milan, "We have no party for us, and are in a bad way till the troops arrive."

But the abdication of Carignan gave hope to Laibach. Many of the Liberals, however, escaped to Switzerland, and Santa Rosa did not lose courage. He said, on March 23rd, in an order of the day, "Place your banners on the Po and the Ticino, for Lombardy awaits you." He declared that the King was not his own master, being in the hands of the Austrians. Count Mocenigo, the Ambassador of Russia in Turin, tried to mediate. He proposed submis-

sion to the King, with some hope of an amnesty and some kind of Constitution, and the Giunta was ready to accept this. But neither Santa Rosa nor Charles Felix would give consent, and the attempt at mediation failed.

Austrian success in Piedmont was complete. Bubna sent to his Emperor the keys of the citadel of Alessandria, and Austrian garrisons occupied Casale and Tortona. There was no occasion for Russian interference, the allies agreeing to a temporary occupation of Piedmont by Austria. By treaty signed between the Eastern Powers and Sardinia on July 24th, 1821, the army of occupation was limited to 12,000 men. Metternich failing to induce Victor Emmanuel to withdraw his abdication, Charles Felix accepted the crown, but deferred his visit to his dominions until his country had been purged by the punishment of the Liberals. He committed this charge to Count Revel, who performed his office with moderation, only two officers being executed. The Universities of Turin and Genoa were closed for a year, and the police superintendence was then sharpened, while no reforms were inaugurated.

Metternich had his spies in the Sardinian capital. Charles Albert remained in Florence with the reputation of a traitor, but Charles Felix did not fare much better in the eyes of the other party, because he refused to alter the Sardinian succession. The utmost he would admit was the recognition of the child Victor Emmanuel, born March 14th, 1820, as King, with the Duke of Modena as Regent. Influences were used to prevent Carignan from throwing himself into the Liberal gulf. He became converted, and tried to expiate lust by penitence, but Charles Felix still regarded him as a concealed Carbonaro.

The reaction in Naples was carried out in much rougher fashion. A provisional Government was established to take matters in hand till the King should return. All decrees issued between July 5th, 1820, and March 23rd, 1821, were declared null and void. Anyone found in possession of arms was shot; the most distinguished officers, members of Parliament, and officials were imprisoned; William Pepe and General Rossaroll were condemned to death; a Carbonaro prisoner, handcuffed, was placed on a donkey, and led through the streets of Naples, with the emblems of his society, and was scourged as he went. Even Metternich counselled moderation. The King returned to his capital on May 15th, 1821, and spent his time in visiting the churches, while he imprisoned, scourged, and executed his subjects. An Act of Amnesty was published, which was a dead letter.

The best spirits in the country left it. It has been estimated that half the books in the Neapolitan libraries were destroyed as dangerous, and the introduction of suspected books was forbidden. Education was placed under the strictest surveillance. No one was safe against the emissaries of Canosa, who used accusations of high treason to gratify private hatred and vengeance. Metternich and the ambassadors could do little to check their outrages. Happily the Austrian soldiers of occupation introduced a better state of things, as they took the place of the Neapolitan army. The conditions of their sojourn were eventually regulated by the Treaty of October 18th, 1821, between Ferdinand and the Eastern Powers.

Before the two Emperors separated at Laibach they issued a declaration, dated May 12th, 1821, drawn up by Pozzo di Borgo. In this instrument they claimed to have saved Europe from a conspiracy of general overthrow, and praised their own firmness and unselfishness. They said that "their forces, whose only object was to fight against and to arrest the revolution, came to subjected peoples to assist their freedom rather than thwart their independence." In these declarations Russia, Austria and Prussia separated themselves entirely from their former allies, Great Britain and France, and formed a group by themselves. In this group Austria took the most prominent place. The black-and-yellow banner with the double eagle waved from one end of the peninsula to the other. Even the Papal Government received a garrison of 2,000 into the citadel of Ancona. But, as the material authority of Austria increased, so her moral authority declined. The best children of Italy regarded the Emperor of Austria not as a benevolent protector, but as a cruel jailer. Neapolitan patriots, such as Poerio, Borelli Colletta, Arcovito, were carried off to Graz, Brunn, and Prague, and Silvio Pellico and Maroncelli languished in the dungeons of Spielberg. Even Metternich scarcely realised what a treasure of hatred he was laying up for himself in Italian hearts, and claimed to have converted the Tsar from black to white. When he returned to Vienna he received the office of Chancellor on May 25th, 1821.

From this time he was the true ruler of Austria, and to a large extent of Europe, till his fall in 1848. Devoted to the conduct of foreign policy, he did not desire that his plans should be obstructed by any movements of internal reform. He was good-looking and had the manners of a finished courtier, combined with a personal charm which fascinated those with whom he was brought into contact. But he was essentially an opportunist,

endowed with a frivolous and superficial nature. He had no settled scheme of action, no strong sense of duty, no fixed moral principles, no fund of political knowledge, no statesmanlike instinct. His rule of conduct was to set himself against everything which tended either to exalt or improve the condition of humanity. He was a spirit who always said "No," or who acted it without saying it. He had the dawdling way, the indifference, the shallowness, the immorality, and the hardheartedness of a Talleyrand, but he lacked those high qualities of courage, of insight, of sanity in the conduct of great affairs which place his French rival almost in the front rank of statesmen. Napoleon not only controlled his age, formed a new France, and went far to form a new Europe, but by his very superfluity of intellect he created an opposition to himself which might suffice to clothe a characterless spirit with the appearance of reality. Metternich found this shell and occupied it. It was a sufficient programme for him to undo the work of the great Emperor and to check every impulse which might again awaken into activity.

At this time the man died, the guiding principles of whose life were most opposed to the measures which have been described, and the hatred of whose career had brought about the fatal reaction of obscurantist tyranny. He who would estimate the work of Napoleon at its true value must consider, first, the ruin of the French Revolution, on which foundation he was able to build the firm fabric of a well-ordered State; and, secondly, the reaction which followed his fall, when the misery of Europe was caused by the effort to undo what he had done and to act on the principles which he had laboured to overthrow. Still, the news of his death caused but little excitement. Manzoni wrote his famous ode, "The Fifth of May." The tutor of the Duke of Reichstadt wondered that his pupil should shed such bitter tears over the memory of a father whom he had never known, and many hardened veterans joined their tears to those of "the Eaglet." The Regent, on being told that his "greatest enemy" was dead, imagined they meant his wife, and exclaimed, "When did she die?" The time for a revulsion of feeling had not yet come. But to-day there is no more fascinating personality than Napoleon, no more difficult riddle than his character.

The flame of revolution was not quenched by the pedants of Laibach, any more than they had extinguished the reputation of the great Emperor. Far in the East, in the ancient home of freedom, it burst again into life, and we must now relate the story of the Independence of Greece.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISING OF GREECE

MARKED impulse to the revolt of Greece against the Turkish Government was given by the foundation of a society called *Hetairia tôn philicôn*—"The League of Friends." The Congress of Vienna had done nothing to improve the rule of the Rayahs, and this new society was founded by a merchant named Shuphas, from Arta, a freemason named Xanthos, from Patmos, and a Bulgarian named Tzakaloff. Their object was to unite all Greek Christians resident in Turkey, in the hope of driving the Crescent from Constantinople and erecting the Cross in its place. They believed that they would have the support of Russia, but in this they were disappointed. Their hope of gaining over Servia was shattered by the murder of Kara Georg, and his successor, Milos, was too cautious to encourage them. Still, they continued to make proselytes in Roumelia, the Morea, and the islands on both sides of Greece. They appointed committees, under the title of *Ephories*, and established a Directory of eight persons at their head. Prince Alexander Ypsilanti joined them in Southern Russia, and Gregory Sutsos in Wallachia.

In need of a supreme protector, they appointed Capodistrias, the confidential adviser of the Emperor Alexander, who was a native of Corfu. But Capodistrias, an experienced statesman, was too cautious to be led away, and he rejected the overtures of Xanthos, the emissary of the Hetairia. They now turned to Alexander Ypsilanti, whose father had been Hospodar of Wallachia and Moldavia in the time of Napoleon. He was a special favourite of the Tsar, and a good and brave soldier, but had neither the knowledge nor the will to play the part of a statesman. His brother had already joined the Hetairia, and when asked by Xanthos, he consented to put himself at their head. There is little doubt that he was encouraged by Capodistrias to expect the support of Russia.

Ypsilanti, having been appointed "General Ephor" by the Hetairia, left Kiev in July, 1820, and went to Odessa. It was necessary to decide when the first rising should take place, whether in the Morea or in the Danubian Provinces. Ypsilanti was in

favour of the latter course, as the flame of insurrection might more easily spread to Servia, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Montenegro. But in a council of war, held in the churchyard of Ismail, on October 13th, 1820, it was decided to begin the struggle in the Morea. Ypsilanti was to sail thither from Trieste in a Grecian ship. But for some reason he gave up this scheme and determined to raise the banner in the Provinces.

Mahmoud II., the reigning Sultan, was a powerful ruler, and had determined to reduce to subjection his independent vassals, Mehemet Ali of Egypt and Ali Pasha of Janina, so graphically described in the verse and prose of Byron. Ali had raised himself to this position from being a wandering brigand, and now ruled with an iron hand Epirus, Thessaly, and part of Macedonia and Central Greece. He was in the habit of exhibiting in his palace court the heads of the enemies he had executed. His rise was not favourable to the independence of Greece, for he hated the Klephts, and especially the Suliotes. During the Napoleonic War he hoped to gain possession of Santa Maura and Corfu, and, in 1819, acquired Parga, which was deserted by the British. Yet his army was largely composed of Greek soldiers, and Janina was a centre of Greek education and Greek commerce. At this time a quarrel broke out between the Sultan and himself. Ali was deserted by his troops and his children, but received some assistance from the Greeks and the Suliotes.

In the spring of 1821, Ypsilanti, with his brothers, Nicholas and George, crossed the frozen Pruth, and entered Jassy in triumph on March 7th. He issued a proclamation calling upon all Greeks to assemble between Marathon and Thermopylæ to fight against the degenerate descendants of the Persians, promising the help, not only of the Suliotes and the whole of Epirus, but also of the Servians. He concluded with the words, "Arise, my friends, and you will see a great Power defending our rights." This allusion to Russia was unauthorised. The proclamation fell flat, the inhabitants of the Provinces having no enthusiasm for the Grecian cause. They had been badly treated by Greek officials, and looked upon Ypsilanti as a stranger, a Byzantine who wished to raise the resources of the Provinces to strike a blow against Turkey. Ypsilanti had no great qualities as a military leader. Instead of securing Braila, he marched slowly with his small army towards Bucharest, which he entered on April 9th. He was well received there until he asked for a Constitution. From Jassy he addressed a letter to the Tsar, who was at Laibach, begging him to assist in the liberation of Greece. But the atmosphere of Laibach was not

favourable to revolution. Capodistrias was ordered to reply that rebellion and civil war, agitations and secret plots would never secure the freedom of a country or a people, and Ypsilanti was ordered to return to Russia.

Now the Turkish army began to march into Moldavia. On May 13th the Pasha of Braila captured the trenches in front of Galacz, which were defended by a small body of Greeks under Athanasios. On May 27th he took Bucharest, and on June 19th Ypsilanti was defeated by the Turks at Dragatshan and, after a somewhat undignified flight, taken prisoner by the Austrians It is said that Capodistrias was of opinion that he ought to be tried by court-martial and shot. He was, however, imprisoned in an unhealthy cell at Munkacz, until in 1823 the entreaties of his mother secured him more tolerable confinement in Theriesienstadt. He was released at the entreaty of the Tsar Nicholas in 1827, but died in Vienna in the following year. The cause for which he perished was victorious, but he left a name glorified in poetry rather than in history. His followers were defeated, and the rising in the Principalities came to an end; the inhabitants were left to the vengeance of the Turks. The guilty and the guiltless, the stranger and the native, were alike robbed and murdered. The Pasha of Braila ordered that even women with child should not be spared, that they might not bring little rebels into the world.

Simultaneously with the unfortunate enterprise of Ypsilanti came a rising in the Morea, a country formed by Nature for guerilla warfare. Yet the attempt was a hazardous one. The Greek population of the Morea in 1820 was 458,000, of whom 50,000 were Mussulmans, in possession of four-fifths of the cultivated soil. The whole of the Greeks in the Turkish Empire did not exceed 3,000,000, who were, for the most part, thinly scattered and mixed up with other nationalities. It was impossible they should succeed without extraneous help. The Pasha of the Morea was named Churchit, and had succeeded Ali Pasha. The soul of the rising had its place in the Greek clergy, but they were reluctant to begin a hopeless struggle, and, at a meeting held in February, 1821, in the monastery of Vostitza, decided to postpone the movement until they could be sure of foreign help.

Just at this time Churchit was removed in order to take the field against Ali, the rebellious Pasha of Janina. His successor summoned the heads of the Greek clergy to a meeting at Tripolitza, with the view of arresting them and keeping them as

hostages. The most influential saw through the device and refused to attend. This imprudent action of the Pasha hastened insurrection. A Suliote attacked some Turkish troops at the end of March. Zaimis, Primate of Kalavryta, gave the signal in his district at the beginning of April. Petros Mavromichaelis, known generally as Petrobey, the Lord of Mainotes, led his followers from the mountains of Messenia. He joined Kolokotronis, the famous Klepht leader, and together they stormed Kalamata, the capital of Messenia, on April 4th. On the same day there was a rising in Patras, which was taken by the insurgents on April 6th. This revolt, which soon spread over the whole of the Morea, had a terrible character. It aimed at the entire destruction of the Mohammedan population and the seizure of their property. The chorus of a popular song said, "Away with the Turks from the Morea, away with them from the whole world!" The Turks fled for refuge either to Tripolitza or to the fortified places on the coast. Nevertheless, they had the advantage of discipline. The first terror over, they recovered themselves and recaptured Tripolitza and Patras. Churchit sent from the camp before Janina some thousands of seasoned Albanians, under Mustapha Bey, to quell the rebellion. Mustapha, finding Patras already recovered, relieved Acrocorinthus and Nauplia, marched from Argos to Arcadia, and entered Tripolitza on May 12th.

But Kolokotronis did not lose courage. He became the national hero of Greece, with his mingled character of savagery and cunning, of energy and eloquence, of ostentation and simplicity. He was a huge, sinewy man, with a neck like a bull's, fiery eyes, wearing a great moustache under his eagle nose, a gleaming helmet, a red fustanella, pistols and dagger in his girdle, now cursing, now joking, the very ideal of a pirate king. He practised all the arts of guerilla warfare, and on May 24th won the Battle of Valtetsi. Mustapha determined to storm this place with his Albanians, but met with unexpected resistance from the Mainotes. Kolokotronis attacked him in the flank, and, on the following day, Mustapha was forced to retire behind the walls of Tripolitza. A mound was made of 400 decapitated Moslem heads. This success encouraged similar bands of Greeks to similar triumphs, and Tripolitza was in danger.

Then the islands began to rise. First came the Albanian islands of Psara, Hydra and Spezzia. Spezzia furnished a fleet of fifty-two vessels, supplied by rich families, which blockaded the Peloponnesus and took two Turkish men-of-war. On Easter Monday a Spezziote vessel sailed into the harbour of Psara, bear-

ing the standard of freedom, a dark blue flag with the Cross above the Crescent, and summoned it to independence. Hydra was not long behind. The example of these islands was followed by Samos, by the majority of the Sporades, and by the whole group of the Cyclades, Roman Catholics excepted. In Crete the Christians rose against their Turkish lords, and the Sphakiotes broke out of their mountain-nests. Chios was more reluctant. It was an earthly paradise, served as pin-money to a Turkish princess, was favoured before all others, and enjoyed a considerable measure of self-government. The inhabitants, contented and sluggish, had no wish to exchange the joys of security for the perils of rebellion. The peasants were satisfied with their wine and fruit gardens, and the self-governing villages were engaged in producing mastic for the Sultan's harem. The towns, flourishing in commerce, desired only to be let alone. But the wealth of Chios attracted the cupidity of the insurgent fleet. The call to independence met with no response, and the fleet sailed home again. Soon afterwards it gained a signal success by burning a Turkish ship at Eresos, in Lesbos, on June 8th. The result was that the Turkish fleet returned to the Dardanelles, and the Greeks considered themselves to be masters of the sea.

In Eastern Hellas, on the slopes of Parnassus, the Klepht, Panurias, raised the standard of rebellion and compelled Salona to capitulate. On April 25th the youthful Diakos, with his Palikars, captured the castle of Livadia, sent his troops to Thebes and Talanti, and roused the Greeks as far as the waters of the Spercheios. Diakos, driven back by the soldiers despatched by Churchit, found himself at last, with fifty followers, in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ, now altered in character from its ancient condition by the floodings of the Spercheios. Diakos fought with a heroism worthy of ancient times. When nearly all had fallen, he was dragged, streaming with blood, before the Turkish general, and was offered pardon if he would change his religion. He preferred death by impalement, and suffered this torture with firmness on May 6th.

His death was avenged by Odysseus of Ithaca, who had been in the service of Ali Pasha at Janina, but had returned to his island when the storm broke on his master disguised as a trader. He heard of the fate of Diakos in Salona. He determined to attack the Turks, although they offered him the command in Eastern Greece if he would join them. They raised the siege of Salona; but, marching eastwards through the valley of the Cephissus, conquered Livadia on July 8th, and tried to reduce

Eubœa and Attica. They succeeded in relieving the Acropolis of Athens, which was blockaded by insurgents.

During the spring the west had remained quiet, but Hydriote and Spezziote ships had carried the insurrection to Mesolonghi and Anatoliko. On June 21st the capture of Brachori, the capital of Aetolia and Acarnania, kindled revolt. Thessaly also had begun to arm, as well as Chalchidice, in the south of Macedonia, where the Klephts and the monks of Mount Athos united against the bloodthirsty Bey of Saloniki. These efforts were crushed by the failure of Ypsilanti.

The Turks met this rebellion in their usual fashion. They imprisoned and executed prominent Greeks in Constantinople, and proclaimed a religious war. Janizaries attacked the Giaours in the villages on the Bosphorus, and rape and ruin raged in Buyukdere under the eyes of foreign ambassadors. On April 22nd the Greek Patriarch was hanged at the door of his own cathedral, and other Greek Metropolitans suffered the same fate. The Christian population of Asia Minor was murdered or sold into slavery. In Smyrna the foreign consuls could not save the Christian Greeks from destruction. Similar excesses were rife in Cyprus, Cos and Rhodes.

Strogonov, the Russian Ambassador, protested against the enormities, but gained no hearing. Indeed, the Russians found themselves taunted with such insults that on June 5th their ambassador broke off his relations with the Divan and sent a complaint to St. Petersburg. The Tsar, no longer under the immediate influence of Metternich, felt a deep sympathy with the sufferings of the Christians, and attended in person the funeral of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Frau von Krüdener, the soul of the Holy Alliance, persuaded him that he was the instrument destined by Providence to achieve the victory of the Cross over the Crescent. Her efforts were supported by Capodistrias. Russia declared that the Greek cause was the cause of Europe, and that Turkey had forfeited her rights to a common existence with the Christian Powers. The Tsar demanded, by an ultimatum, dated June 28th, the restoration of Christian churches, security for the performance of Christian worship, and for a peaceful future. The refusal of the Porte would be regarded as an open defiance of the Christian world. Russia would feel herself bound to defend her brother Christians, in the name of their common Christianity, and the Russian Ambassador would be ordered to leave Constantinople immediately.

This note served as an ultimatum against Turkey and as a

manifesto to the rest of Europe; but it did not meet with a very warm response. Metternich regarded the matter with his usual cynicism, viewing the Hetairists and the Carbonari as men of the same kidney, hot-headed disturbers of the peace of the world. That three or four hundred thousand persons, beyond the frontiers of Austria, should be hanged, strangled, and impaled was a matter of no importance to Austria. "The Turks cut up the Greeks, the Greeks chop the Turks' heads off—that is the only news we find in the papers." The views of Metternich were shared by the British Ministry, and especially by Lord Strangford, the British Ambassador. He was opposed to all success of the Greek patriots, and regretted that Metternich could not keep a tighter hold on the Ionian Islands. These islands, in fact, did their best to support the insurrection. The brothers Metaxas, friends of Kolokotronis, landed in the Morea, disguised in British uniforms, and called their troops the Army of the Ionian Islands. Great Britain was afraid lest Russia might obtain Constantinople. Castlereagh, now Lord Londonderry, supported to the best of his power the policy of Metternich.

Strogonov presented his ultimatum on July 18th, and received the answer that the Sultan would rather be buried under the ruins of his seraglio than be dependent on the favour of Russia. He accordingly demanded his passport and left for Odessa on August 10th. Metternich was in despair. The Emperor Francis expressed his agreement with Metternich. "The evil we have to fight lies rather in Europe than in Turkey. If the unity of the other Powers is disturbed the insurrection will spread. You have only to look at the people who are enthusiastic for so-called Christian interests to have no doubt as to their real designs. In Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain, there are people who believe in no God, and respect neither His laws nor those of man. In the solidarity of the Courts lies the best force of resistance against the evil which threatens us." The Tsar began to waver, and war with the Porte did not immediately follow the recall of Strogonov. In France, Richelieu was reluctant to take a strong line, and left the crusade against the Crescent to the favour of the Ultras. In Prussia, Ancillon had at first favoured the insurrection of Greece, but he was opposed by Bernstorff, who, under the influence of Metternich, took the other side. It was obvious that no serious intervention against the Porte could be expected from Russia.

In October, 1821, Metternich met George IV. and Londonderry at Hanover. The King overwhelmed him with flatteries,

declared his adhesion to the Austrian system, and used strong language against the Tsar and Capodistrias. Metternich and Londonderry agreed upon common action at Constantinople. Then Count Lieven appeared, who had just left Alexander. He gave them to understand that Alexander had not altered the opinions he had formed at Laibach, and Metternich left Hanover, convinced that he had completely succeeded in the object of his journey. But the attitude of Russia remained doubtful. In St. Petersburg there were obvious preparations for war. Maps and geographical instruments were prepared, tents and transports got ready, Admiral Grieg and General Diebich were drawing up schemes for the campaign. Even Nesselrode thought it possible that Russia would draw the sword.

Austria and Great Britain agreed to press upon the Porte the acceptance of four points, taken from the Russian ultimatum. These were :—

1. Restoration of the churches.
2. Protection of the Christian religion.
3. Separation in punishment between the guilty and the innocent.
4. Evacuation and reorganisation of the Danubian Principalities.

The Turks at first showed some signs of concession, but soon became conscious that their opponents were not in earnest. The appointment of Sadik to the post of Reis Effendi marked a recrudescence of stubborn resistance. Lützow, the Austrian Minister, when he pressed the acceptance of the four points, received no support from Strangford. Sadik said that he could not evacuate the Danubian Principalities and establish a Hospodar until the rebellious Greeks had given up their chimerical hopes of establishing the kingdom of their ancestors. The other points he was ready to carry out as far as possible. It grew more and more apparent that a peaceful solution would be found impracticable.

On June 7th, 1821, a meeting was held in the monastery of Kaltetsi, at which a committee of six was established, with Petrobey as president, which was given unlimited power in civil and military affairs. On June 22nd there landed at Astros, in the Gulf of Argolis, Demetrius Ypsilanti, brother of Alexander. His arrival had been anxiously expected; he was active and determined, but had not a commanding presence. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and General Thomas Gordon, who had fought in Russia and Germany against the French, was associated with him. Demetrius had, however, little authority, being opposed by the

priests, while the defeat of his brother Alexander seriously affected his position. In September he directed an expedition against Kara Ali, the Turkish Kapudan-Bey, or High Admiral. Kara Ali was expecting assistance from Mehmed and Omer Brionis, who, however, were prevented from passing the Isthmus of Corinth, and, despairing of saving Tripolitza, Kara Ali left the Morea. This city was in a desperate position, and on September 27th overtures were made for its surrender. On October 5th, before the conditions of capitulation were settled, besiegers broke into the walls and opened one of the gates. A scene of murder and violence ensued, and Kolokotronis had great difficulty in saving his Albanian friends. Women and children were thrown from the windows, and when at last the citadel surrendered, 10,000 victims had perished. Two thousand unarmed persons who had escaped from the city were murdered in the ravines of Mœnalus. When Ypsilanti and Gordon returned, on October 14th, they found a heap of smouldering ruins, and were quite unable to restrain the wild indiscipline of their followers.

There were constant disputes between the clergy and the military. The Primates and the chiefs of the citizens sided with the clergy, and Petrobey, the Mainote, threw his weight into the other scale. Kolokotronis could hardly hold his own against them. The Primates would not pardon the rescue of the Albanians, and Petrobey was jealous of all the plunder which the soldiers had secured. Ypsilanti was forced to abandon an expedition which he had planned against Patras, and his attacks upon Nauplia were repulsed. Acrocorinthus was taken on January 26th, 1822, in consequence of a mutiny of the Albanians, who formed part of the garrison. Nor did he succeed better in his attempts to establish a national government. He had summoned an assembly to meet in Argos, for the plague-stricken Tripolitza was impossible for the purpose; but time slipped by and no one attended. In the meanwhile another effort towards national government had been made beyond the Isthmus of Corinth, at the instigation of Alexander Mavrocordatos and Theodore Negris.

Prince Mavrocordatos sprang from a Phanariot family, and was passionately devoted to the cause of Greece. He joined the Hetairia in 1820 and published a pamphlet in which he predicted the fall of Turkey. He compared that country to a sick man who prefers death to the amputation of a withered limb. He advocated the partition of Turkey, giving the Principalities and Servia to Austria, the southern coast of the Black Sea to Russia, Cyprus and Crete to Great Britain, and the rest to Greece. When he heard

of the insurrection he sacrificed his fortune to the cause and landed on September 3rd at Mesolonghi. Ypsilanti received him with pleasure, but Kolokotronis laughed at his spectacles and frock-coat. Theodore Negris had been attached as Secretary to the Turkish Embassy at Paris. When he heard of the rising in the Morea, he went thither instead of taking up his post in France. Difficulties broke out between these two men and Ypsilanti, and they determined to act for themselves. Negris went to Salona, Mavrocordatos to Mesolonghi. There he collected a small constituent assembly. The Constitution of Western Hellas was completed on November 16th, 1821. A provisional Government was formed in the shape of a Gerusia of ten members. Its duty was to preserve justice and to continue the War of Independence. It was only to hold its power until a National Government should be formed.

On the other hand, a Constitution for Eastern Hellas was promulgated on November 28th, 1821, of a much more elaborate character, based on French and American models. It established a national senate and contemplated a constitutional king. The supreme authority was given to an Areopagus of twelve members, who were to hold only provisional authority. The Constitution of the Morea dates from December 12th, 1821. It was drawn up under the influence of Ypsilanti and Kolokotronis, the first being nominated President of the Peloponnesian Gerusia, the upper House of Parliament, the second Commander-in-Chief. In its modesty it resembled rather the Constitution of Mesolonghi than that of the more ambitious Areopagus of Salona.

Soon afterwards Ypsilanti and Kolokotronis left the National Assembly at Argos, to undertake the reduction of Acrocorinthus, and the members feeling themselves oppressed by the presence of the Turkish garrison at Nauplia, determined to remove to Piadha, on the Gulf of Ægina. They held their meetings in an orange garden, close to the ruins of the ancient Epidaurus. Here, on January 13th, 1822, fifty-nine representatives of Greece declared the independence of the Hellenic nation. They then promulgated a law under the name of the "Organic Law of Epidaurus." It is said that Gallina, an Italian refugee, brought with him a printed collection of modern Constitutions, and that these had considerable influence upon their work. The inhabitants of Hellas were secured in equality before the law, in promotion by merit, protection of property, freedom, equality of taxation, toleration of other religions besides the Greek Catholic Church, abolition of torture and confiscation of property, and the promise of a legal code.

Considerable discussion arose as to whether Greece should be recognised as a monarchy or as a federal republic. Korais, the famous Greek scholar, declared himself for a monarchy. The Constitution of Epidaurus left the matter undecided. It created an executive and a deliberative body. The executive body consisted of five members, who should eventually be elected by the people. This Directory, with a President at its head, was to nominate the ministers and other officers, to command the army and navy, and to conduct diplomatic operations with other countries. The number of the legislature was left for the present undefined. This was all very well upon paper, but it was doubtful how far it would be successful in practice. There was jealousy between the Gerusia of the Morea and the Areopagus of Eastern Hellas, while both gave up their connection with the original Hetairia. The new Government adopted a fresh flag, an owl on a white-and-blue field, instead of the phœnix of the Hetairia. Before it separated, on January 27th, the National Assembly addressed an appeal to Europe. It said, " Our struggle, far from being founded on the basis of a demagogy or a revolution, is a national and holy war, and its only object is to revive the light of freedom, of prosperity, and of honour, which all legally-governed peoples of Europe enjoy." It decided to meet in future at Corinth.

Some successes attended the Turks. Janina fell by treachery, and the great Ali was murdered on February 5th, 1822. This put an end to the alliance between the Albanians and the Greeks. Churchit now set himself to subdue the insurrection. His plan was to attack it on two sides, to overcome the Suliotes, to reduce Acarnania and Ætolia to obedience, then to sail to Patras. In the east another army was to reduce that region and then to make its way to the Isthmus. Both armies were to unite in the conquest of the Morea. Kara Ali, now made Kapudan Pasha of the fleet, was to destroy the Greek navy and to reduce the islands.

Upon the unhappy Chios fell the first blow. Here Lykurgus of Samos had landed on March 22nd with a body of 2,500 men. The Turkish garrison withdrew into the citadel, while the Samians plundered the Custom House, burnt mosques, and murdered Turkish prisoners. They raised the banner of independence and compelled the towns to give their money to the cause. Lykurgus set up a revolutionary Government and conducted himself as master of the island. The Sultan avenged this insult by executing three of the hostages who had been recently sent from Chios, and imprisoning Chian merchants who lived in Constantinople. Kara Ali landed 7,000 Turkish soldiers on April 11th. Lykurgus

managed to escape, but those who were not equally fortunate were ruthlessly butchered. Murder was only checked by the lust of loot. The slave markets of Asia and northern Africa were full of Chiotes sold into slavery. Girls were wrenched from their mother's arms, husband was separated from wife, brother from sister. Of a population of 100,000, only a few thousands remained. The massacre of Chios produced a powerful effect in Europe, and sympathisers were relieved when they heard of the vengeance exacted by Miaoulis, the Hydriot.

On the night of June 18th "a thousand lamps proclaimed the feast of Bairam throughout the boundless East." Kara Ali had invited a number of officers to dinner, the ships were illuminated, and music swelled over the waters. The Psariot, Kanaris, rammed a fireship into the admiral's vessel, and fled, crying, "Victory to the Cross!" The wind carried the fire over the flagship, with its crew of 3,000. Kara Ali, scorched and wounded, was brought to Chios, where he died on the scene of his crimes. His ship blew up, and the rest of the fleet sailed away to the Dardanelles. The Turks in Chios wreaked their vengeance on the mastic villages, which had hitherto been spared, but Kanaris escaped to Psara.

It looked as if the cause of Greek independence would fail. In Eastern Hellas everything went badly. Odysseus quarrelled with the Areopagus, and Ypsilanti had to retire into the Morea. Mehmed Dramali was named Viceroy of the Morea, and set out to conquer it with an army of 30,000 men, numerous artillery, and 6,000 cavalry. In the first week of July he reached and overcame Phocis, Locris, Boeotia, and Attica, but was too late to relieve Athens. However, he found the Isthmus unprotected. The Greek Government fled to Argos, leaving their archives and treasure behind. On July 25th he entered Argos and expected soon to have the Morea at his feet. The Suliotes under Marco Botsaris were hard pressed by the Turks, and begged for assistance from Mavrocordatos. A corps of Philhellenes had come to their assistance, embracing officers of foreign countries, who, schooled in war, were now regretting their days of inactivity. There were Germans, French, Poles, and Italians, commanded by Doria of Genoa. Reinforcements arrived from other quarters, so that on June 22nd Mavrocordatos led an army of 3,000 men from the Gulf of Arta to the Valley of Komboti. Still the little band was not free from the canker of jealousy and treachery. Battle was given at Peta in the neighbourhood of Arta on July 17th, when the Turkish governor of Arta led 7,000 men to the storming of the Greek position. Count Normann, a Würtemburger, did his best in the

command, but was lamed by the treachery of Gogos Bakolas, an Albanian of the school of Ali. The defeat of the Greeks was complete, and the fronts o the Philhellene battalions lost their lines. Suli was captured, and the independence of Western Hellas was threatened. The cause of Greek independence trembled in the balance.

At this critical moment the sentiments of the Tsar, Alexander, underwent a change. He sent Tatischev to Vienna to consult with Metternich. He was ready to modify the Four Points, provided that the Powers would declare that he was justified in the withdrawal of his ambassador. Metternich was willing to agree to this, but denied Russia's right to intervene in Greek affairs, and had no wish to weaken the sovereignty of the Sultan over Greece. He proposed, in a memoir of April 19th, 1822, that the Powers should confine themselves to securing the freedom of religion, the safety of person and property, the establishment of regular justice, and the proclamation of an amnesty. All this must be arranged diplomatically with the Porte, preferably at Vienna. He expected to obtain the concurrence of Great Britain, France, and Prussia in these proposals. Metternich was, in fact, engaged in a struggle with Capodistrias, in which he felt confident of success.

Lord Strangford now threw himself into the breach. He possessed exceptional authority with the Porte, and could say many things which others could not utter. After many struggles he, at the end of April, persuaded the Porte to assent to the evacuation of the Principalities and the nomination of a Hospodar, and two Hospodars were nominated in July—Gregory Ghika and John Stourza. The Porte, however, refused to be checked in the suppression of the Greek revolt. "Leave us to our own business; we have the treaties, and have fulfilled every duty. We have no need of foreign help, and our successes speak for us. The inhabitants of the Morea are giving in; they are pardoned, and their property is protected. What do you wish for more? We refuse to walk in leading-strings like little children." If Strangford spoke of the massacre of Chios, the Turks retaliated with the massacres of Tripolitza, Navarino, Corinth and Athens. Strangford offered himself as plenipotentiary of the Turks in Vienna. Their last word, on August 27th, was, "We are ready to sacrifice everything to Great Britain except our honour and our independence."

It was believed that Russia would be represented at the congress by Capodistrias, but Metternich declared that he was

not afraid. "The man is dead, and I fear neither dead men nor ghosts." However, on July 25th, it was announced that the Tsar would attend the congress without Capodistrias, who had for motives of health requested leave of absence for an indefinite period. The initiated knew that this implied his fall. The Tsar was heard to say, "I had allowed myself to be carried away by the general enthusiasm for the rescue of Greece, but I have not lost sight of the impure origin of the Greek rebellion, nor the danger which my intervention would bring to my allies. Egotism is no longer the basis of policy. The fundamental principles of our truly Holy Alliance are pure." The attention of the Tsar had been drawn from the East to the West, for the revolution in Spain shed a new light over the revolt in Hellas.

CHAPTER IX

SPAIN AND FRANCE

AT the opening of the year 1821 the prospects of the Constitutional Party in Spain were by no means favourable. The days of Argüelles' ministry were numbered. He regarded the Serviles as more dangerous than the Exaltados. On January 29th a Royal chaplain, by name Vinuesa, was arrested, a plan for a *coup d'état* was discovered among his papers, and the town council of Madrid demanded his punishment. The King was insulted when he drove abroad, and quarrels broke out between the militia and his bodyguard, which he was obliged to send away from the palace and to promise to disband. The King turned angrily upon the Ministers, accusing them, before the town council, of treachery, and threatening to arrest them, crying, "I see death before my eyes, but I will not die until I have had my revenge." When the Cortes met on March 1st the King broke out into abuse of the Ministry and dismissed them. However, he allowed the Cortes to appoint their successors until assistance could arrive from abroad. The heads of the new Ministry were Feliu and Bardaji, both Moderados, but disliked alike by the Serviles and Exaltados, who were at this time much exercised by the advance of the Austrians into Naples and Piedmont. The party of reaction gained strength in the mountains and on the plains, and 2,000 Basques marched from their fortresses against the militia of Vittoria.

Rioting arose in Madrid when it was known that Vinuesa had been condemned to ten years' banishment instead of to death, and the rioters broke into his prison on March 4th and murdered him. The club, Fontana de Oro, declared that all Serviles should perish like Vinuesa. The King agreed no better with his new Ministers than with their predecessors, and was pressed by the extreme party to break with them. For a time he hesitated, fearing the violence of the mob; but at the end of June he dissolved the Cortes, having previously sent a message to Pasquier and Pozzo di Borgo in Paris, begging them to come to his assistance.

The French Government was not disposed to assent to these overtures. They recalled Laval from Madrid and sent in his place the Comte de Lagarde, who was favourably regarded by the King.

But he had instructions to hold out no hope of help. Pasquier repeatedly said, " The best service we can do the King is to make him understand that he must find safety in Spain itself. He must endeavour to obtain the confidence of one of the parties and base his authority on the wealthy section of the nation." The Serviles redoubled their activity. Some who had fled to Paris preached a crusade against the Government of their country, others settled in Bayonne and tried to stir up an insurrection in the Basque provinces. The Ministers complained of this conduct to the French Government.

On the other hand, Spain became the asylum of political refugees from Naples, Piedmont and France. They were well received by Riego in Aragon ; indeed, his conduct was so indiscreet that he was relieved of his command. The news of this produced a riot in Madrid, so that military force had to be employed. Busts of Riego were carried about the streets in procession, as if he were a saint, while curses were uttered against the ministry. The disorders spread to the provinces. A Servile, General Venegas, had been sent as Governor to Cadiz, but the people rose and insisted on his recall. Seville and the principal towns of Andalusia joined in the demonstrations. Moreno followed suit, and Corunna declared herself for Liberalism.

Ministers had expected support from the extraordinary Cortes which met in the autumn, but they were defeated by a motion of Calatrava on December 15th. This gave new confidence to the Exaltados. Radical clubs were formed, called *Descamisados*—" the Shirtless "—corresponding to the *Sansculottes*—" the Trouserless "—of the French Revolution. The King was not anxious to get rid of his Ministry at the bidding of the Radicals, but they fell on January 10th, 1822. The extraordinary Cortes concluded their sittings a month later. The King and his deputies took leave of each other with mutual compliments. Indeed, national peace was restored, but under the ashes the fire still smouldered. The general result was to give confidence to the Serviles. Toreno cried, " If the King would only mount his horse, he could extinguish the Cortes with a single word." Guerillero parties came together in the Basque provinces, and bands of Royalists appeared before Pamplona and Bilbao. But the Serviles had no more strength or unity than their opponents.

We have already seen that the Ultras gained a victory in the French parliamentary elections of the autumn of 1820. Richelieu had met this by including Villèle and Corbière in the Ministry, hoping to satisfy the extreme party. But he soon found that

it was difficult to separate the wheat from the tares. This became evident in dealing with two measures, which concerned the land grants and the pension list of Napoleon and the pension fund of the clergy. The Ultras could not bear to saddle the country with grants to the murderers of the Duc d'Enghien and the friends of revolution, while General Foy defended the cause of his comrade in arms. But it was eventually determined that the grants should only extend to the lives of the widows and children of the recipients. A considerable sum was in hand as a surplus of the money appropriated to clerical pensions, and it was proposed to spend this in founding twelve new bishoprics and increasing the incomes of existing priests. But the Ultras demanded thirty new bishoprics, and, in the discussion which followed, Bonald denounced civil marriage as favouring concubinage. Similar differences of opinion arose regarding the law of the censorship of the Press.

As a result of all this, Villèle and Corbière broke with Richelieu. The Comte d'Artois was the head of the Ultra party, which had its seat in his residence, the Pavillon Marsan, and was known as "the Cabinet Vert." He had promised his support to Richelieu, but the temptation of being a party leader was too strong for him. He put forward Marshal Victor, Duc de Belluno, as a candidate for the Ministry of War, and when the King and Richelieu refused this, Villèle and Corbière resigned their places and Chateaubriand retired from the Embassy at Berlin. At this time, also, the "Congregation" became a political force and "Congregationist" a political expression. The name was first given to those who frequented the teaching of a Jesuit father in the seminary for foreign missions in Paris; but out of this there arose a movement in the factories, workshops, prisons and schools to protect the young from infidelity. Civil and military authorities began to take a prominent part in religious processions, and were compelled to go to confession. This was stimulated by the Cabinet Vert, of which Montmorency and Polignac were members. The influence of the Congregation was greatly exaggerated by public opinion. It was regarded as a powerful secret society for the uprooting of everything Liberal. It was really a name for a political party of a reactionary character. The Pavillon Marsan made use of Madame de Cayla, the King's mistress, for the purpose of influencing his opinion in an Ultra direction.

Richelieu was confident of the strength of his position; he kept up a friendly correspondence with Villèle, and depended on the increasing prosperity of the country, the increase of the

revenue, the rise in the funds, and the solemn promise of assistance which he had received from "Monsieur," the Comte d'Artois. However, when the renewal of a fifth of the Chamber took place, the Right, the Ultras, received a large accession of strength. So, when Parliament met on November 5th, an alliance was formed between the Ultras and the Liberals, based upon an agreement with regard to the foreign policy of the country. The King, at first, roused himself to support his Ministry, but he soon fell back again into a condition of apathy, while Madame de Cayla exerted herself to win his sympathies for the Pavillon Marsan. Eventually Richelieu resigned on December 12th, 1821, and when he died, a few months later, though the courtiers did not attend his funeral, he was mourned by the country as a worthy son of France.

The new Ministry was entirely the work of the Pavillon Marsan. Vincent, the Austrian Ambassador, wrote to Vienna, "Monsieur stands to-day at the head of the Government." Villèle took the portfolio of Finance, Corbière the Home Office, and Peyronnet, a friend of Madame de Cayla, was made Minister of Justice. Then followed aristocrats, who also belonged to the Congregation. Montmorency was at the Foreign Office, Clermont-Tonnerre at the Admiralty. Victor, who had a strange influence over Monsieur, was made Minister of War. Montmorency had been a comrade of Lafayette in America and elsewhere. The Post Office, the Ministry of Police and the police prefectures of Paris were all given to Congregationists. Chateaubriand was sent to London in the place of Decazes.

The new Ministry proceeded to take strong measures with regard to police supervision and the freedom of the periodical Press. This brought to an end the alliance between the Liberals and the Ultras, which had caused the overthrow of Richelieu. Benjamin Constant cried, "The *Charte* is violated: the Ministry has forgotten its oath and is endangering the throne." Among the peers, Barante, Broglie, Lanjuinais and Boissy d'Anglas distinguished themselves by their defence of the freedom of the Press, while Talleyrand and Molé sharpened their tongues, and the dismissed Ministers supported the Opposition. This want of moderation stirred the Radicals to action, and a branch of the Carbonari was established in France, which found adherents in the army and the capital. Leroux and Buchez were members, and also Ary Scheffer, the painter. Lafayette became honorary president of the French Vendite, and there was a recrudescence of Republicanism after the death of Napoleon, but some still

looked to the Duke of Reichstadt. Lafayette advised the summoning of a constituent assembly.

In December, 1821, a rising took place in the military school at Saumur, and this was repeated in February, 1822, while the 1st of January saw a mutiny in the garrison of Belfort. This gave the Ultras an excuse for refusing concessions and for stronger measures. Labourdonnaye said, "Every day we hear of calls to insurrection, which are only the echoes of our debates. Here they proclaim Napoleon II., there a Republic. This is not the time to demand a larger freedom, but to strengthen the hands of Government."

In the supplementary elections the Liberals won in Paris, but the Ultras in the country generally. The summer session, which lasted from June 4th to August 18th, was marked by stormy debates. Four non-commissioned officers, of the garrison of La Rochelle, were executed for being members of a *Vente;* General Berton, who was responsible for the second rising at Saumur, was guillotined; an artisan of Thouars who harboured him, and another who carried a tricolour before him, met with the same fate. The Moderates were disgusted with this severity. What made the matter worse was the suspicion that *agents provocateurs* had been employed. The Ultras continued their course of violence. Education was attacked. The Abbé Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis *in partibus*, was made Grand Master of the University; he was not a fanatic, but he demanded orthodoxy in all teachers. Sylvestre de Sacy, a Jansenist, was driven from his post on the Board of Education, and Guizot and Cousin were suspended from their chairs. The *École Normale* was closed, and the medical faculty of Paris was suppressed. It was reopened in 1823, with the loss of eleven of its most learned professors. The Liberal Press was subjected to persecution.

It was natural that the attitude of the French Government to foreign politics should undergo a change. Since the reaction in 1821, the yellow fever had made its appearance in Catalonia. In order to prevent its spreading into France a military cordon was established in the passes of the Pyrenees. This was regarded as a threat by the Spanish Liberals. Although the fever disappeared in the winter, the military cordon was still maintained and, indeed, became an army of observation. The Serviles began to look upon the French generals as their best friends, and King Ferdinand rejoiced at the victory of the Ultras. He expected the soldiers of Louis XVIII. to liberate him from the yoke of the Jacobin faction. He asked that his former Minister, Eguia, who was now

in Bayonne, might be supported by the French Government, but Montmorency was not prepared to go so far.

The political position of Spain went from bad to worse. In the new Cortes the Exaltados had a decided majority. Riego was made President of the Chamber, but there was great difficulty in finding a Prime Minister until at last Martinez de la Rosa, a Moderado, was persuaded to accept the post. King Ferdinand, however, detested all constitutional government, and aimed at restoring his former absolute power. The peasants, stirred up by the Serviles, declared themselves on the side of the monarchy, and the Exaltados feared outbreaks. In these circumstances it was almost impossible to pass reasonable laws, while the finances of the country were in a terrible condition. A deficit was announced of 200,000,000 reals. The army was a source of enormous expense, chiefly caused by the inordinate number of officers. A still worse blow was struck by the defection of the colonies from the mother country. A republic had been established in Buenos Ayres; New Grenada and Venezuela had joined together to form the united free State of Colombia; Mexico, Chile and Peru declared their independence.

All these miseries were contemplated by the King with satisfaction, and the occasion seemed ripe for a *coup d'état*, which was to take place on May 20th, the King's name-day. But the preparation for it was insufficient. It had been intended that the garrison of Madrid should march upon Aranjuez, but this plan was given up because no officer of high rank could be found to take part in it. The Serviles had more success in Valencia, where, on the same day, a number of rebellious artillerymen took possession of the citadel and chose the notorious Elio as their leader. The common danger united for the time both Moderados and Exaltados. They pressed the King to return to his capital, which he entered in the early morning of June 27th.

Three days later, on June 30th, some soldiers of the Royal Guards murdered one of the officers, Landaburus, who was known to have Radical opinions. The Guards then prepared to attack the infantry and the militia, and had the King placed himself at their head he might have gained the day. But he lacked the courage for such a step. In fact, he removed four battalions of the Guards to the hunting palace of El Pardo, leaving only two battalions in Madrid. This juncture might also have been utilised by the King for the restoration of his own authority. Luiz Fernandez de Cordova advised him to go to the Pardo or some such place in the neighbourhood of Madrid, and with his

guard form a nucleus for the troops who were devoted to his interests. But Cordova wished that the *coup d'état* should result, not in an absolute monarchy, but in a moderate constitution. The King, however, again refused to commit himself.

Relations were thus strained on both sides. Riego tried to persuade the permanent Deputation of the Cortes to adopt rigorous measures, and ordered the commandant of the artillery to throw a few bombs into the palace. On the other hand, no one knew what might be expected from the regiments at the Pardo. Up to the present moment Martinez de la Rosa and his colleagues had preserved an attitude of unshaken firmness. They had gone every day to the palace to keep the King company, under the protection of his two battalions of Guards, and were branded as traitors by the Exaltados. At last, very early in the morning of July 7th, the Royal Guards from the Pardo marched into Madrid, where they were opposed by the militia under the command of San Miguel. One of the battalions ran away. The three others pressed on into the Plaza Mayor and the Puerte del Sol, but were received with murderous fire. They also bolted. A few reached the Palace, where their comrades on guard had received no orders to assist them. The palace was now the centre to which every one moved—militia, soldiers, the mob, Morello, Ballesteros and Riego. Cannon were placed at the ends of the streets. The courtiers feared the palace would be stormed, but at the request of the King firing ceased. A capitulation was drawn up, by which the battalions which had marched in from the Pardo were to be disbanded and the two others were to be allowed to return to their barracks with arms and baggage. These last hesitated to obey, but they were compelled to submit.

In this crisis the King behaved with characteristic meanness. The night before the attack he had detained the ministers, with the exception of the Minister for War, in the palace, giving them nothing to eat, and exposing them to the insults of the servants. If the Guards had conquered, their heads would have fallen. Now that the attack had failed, the King entreated Martinez de la Rosa to remain at his post. He thanked the garrison and the militia for their patriotic conduct, and then betook himself to bed. He said to Brunetti and Lagarde, the Austrian and French Ambassadors, "As our project has failed, you must do something for me; you must make haste and send an army to Spain." He was not afraid of the guillotine, but trembled before the knife of the assassin.

The conquerors used their victory with a moderation which

excited the admiration of the foreign ambassadors. Riego vied with Morello in preserving order. The proposal for a regency put forward by the Council of State and the Deputation of the Cortes was finally rejected. Officers of high rank declared they would rather be hewn in pieces than suffer any attack upon the throne. The trial of the Guards exhibited the conduct of the King in a shameful light, but no notice was taken of it, as he dismissed of his own accord some of the worst of the palace officials. But one thing was certain—the Ministry must be changed. Martinez de la Rosa told the King that as a Spaniard he would defend him with his musket in his hand, but that he would no longer serve him as a minister. Still the King hesitated to commit the seals to the Exaltados.

At last San Miguel accepted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. He had once been head of the staff to Riego, but commanded the "holy" militia battalions on July 7th. He was an eloquent political speaker and a poet, but unfit for his new office. His colleagues included all the "patriots." Lopez Baños, the hero of the Isla de Leon, became Minister of War; Navarro, Minister of Justice, was called the Danton of the Cortes. They began to press hardly both on the Moderados and the Serviles, and the hated Elio was executed in Valencia. One of the first duties of the new Ministry was to deal with the rising in the north. The insurgents had gained possession of the fortress of Seo de Urgel, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and had established a regency there on August 15th. It consisted of three prominent Serviles—Mata Florida, the notorious Minister of Justice of Ferdinand, the fanatical Archbishop of Tarragona, and Baron d'Eroles, who commanded the Army of Faith. After solemn high mass, they proclaimed Ferdinand as an absolute king. They declared all laws passed since the promulgation of the Constitution to be null and void; proposed to summon a Cortes of the old kind; and called upon Spaniards on both sides of the ocean to give their consent and obedience. They also sought for assistance from foreign countries. They described themselves to Louis XVIII., the Comte d'Artois, and Montmorency as the defenders of the sacred cause, and asked for 2,000,000 francs, the loan of two Swiss regiments, a transport ship, and a frigate. They were joined by peasants and artisans, who clamoured for the destruction of the "godless blacks," as the Liberals were called in Spain, and General Quesada raised the standard of absolutism in Navarre. All Catalonia, with the exception of Barcelona, was in revolt. A junta of rebels was formed in Aragon. Mina was

summoned from Leon to undertake the command beyond the Ebro against these intemperate Royalists and, in such circumstances, it was necessary to confine the King in the palace at Madrid.

What was the attitude of the Powers in this juncture? Hervey, who had succeeded Wellesley in the summer of 1821 as British Minister, was favourable to the Liberals. He had assisted the militia who were wounded on July 7th. He took a different line from that of the rest of the Diplomatic Corps. On the other hand, the Tsar was ready to send 40,000 men, as the contingent of a European army, to march through Austria, Italy, and the South of France, over the Pyrenees. Metternich pursued a middle course. He told the Tsar that Great Britain would never agree to his proposals, and that an armed intervention would only make matters worse for Ferdinand. When he heard of the failure of July 7th, he deeply lamented the cowardice of the King, but he did not share the feelings of the Tsar. He had no desire to see a renewal of the friendship between France and Russia, which he thought might end in the introduction of a Spanish *Charte*.

France was not indisposed to intervene, under certain conditions. The King must sacrifice some of his authority, and then approach the French frontier with a body of trustworthy soldiers. Louis XVIII. warned him against too great stiffness and stubbornness, and after July 7th Ferdinand was more ready to yield, and on July 24th, to the surprise of Lagarde, he promised to restore the "Cortes of Estates." But he demanded immediate assistance to obtain his freedom.

Lagarde had promised him 15,000,000 reals; the King demanded 2,000,000 more, and waited impatiently for the day when French bayonets should gleam from the summit of the Pyrenees. The French Ultra press urged the ministry to save the prisoner of Madrid from the fate of Louis XVI., but Villèle put a curb on the eagerness of Montmorency. He had indeed sent assistance to the regency of Seo de Urgel, although he had denied the fact in the Chambers, but Villèle insisted that this should cease in future. France must maintain her position of armed neutrality, nor permit the passage of foreign armies through her territories. Everyone was now looking towards the coming congress, at which it was generally known that Spanish affairs would form an important part of its deliberations.

CHAPTER X

THE CONGRESS OF VERONA

AT the close of the Congress of Laibach it had been resolved to hold another in the following year, and, since it seemed that the affairs of Italy would be the most prominent subject of discussion, it was intended to hold the congress in Florence. But the risings in Spain and Greece altered the complexion of affairs, and as Austria wished to remain at the head of the European concert, the place of meeting was fixed at Verona in her territory. Metternich prophesied that the Congress of Verona would make an epoch in the history of the world. The Tsar had promised to attend the preliminary debates in person. Montmorency, Bernstorff, and Londonderry were also expected, but news arrived that on August 12th, 1822, Londonderry, better known as Castlereagh, had perished by his own hand. He was succeeded by George Canning, who occupied an entirely different position in foreign politics. Wellington was to go to Verona in place of Londonderry, but he was bound by the instructions of the Cabinet.

Alexander was still embittered against the Liberals of Spain. He said that Spain was the headquarters of Jacobinism, which threatened destruction to every part of Europe. He held up the Austrian intervention in Naples as an example to be imitated. In these views he was supported by Pozzo di Borgo, whom he had summoned from Paris. Chateaubriand was appointed French plenipotentiary at Verona, and with him were Laferronays and Caraman. Montmorency was only to be present in case of need. Villèle was made a Count and placed at the head of the French Ministry, a step which seemed to promise moderation. As Wellington passed through Paris, and represented to him the danger of a Spanish war, Villèle gave him unexpected assurances of peace. He said that France would not act unless her frontiers were attacked, or unless Ferdinand were either deposed or murdered. He would not permit any congress to give orders to France, or compel her to allow the transit of foreign troops. When he approached the subject of a European Congress, Wellington said that he would give no promises, as the British Government, which was answerable to Parliament, would not undertake

uncertain obligations. Wellington had used similar language at Vienna. He assured the Tsar that there was not the same danger of revolutionary infection in Spain as in Naples, and asserted that intervention in the internal affairs of a country could only be justified by the most pressing necessity. Montmorency was restrained by the instructions of Villèle; however, he showed that he regarded a war between France and Spain as inevitable, and sought in this contingency the support of the other Powers. Metternich found it difficult to satisfy the wishes both of Great Britain and Russia. His plan was to restore a Cortes of Estates, with some alterations. He dreaded an armed intervention, and would not agree to a Russian army passing the Pyrenees.

The Congress of Verona opened in the middle of October. It was accompanied by the dances, dinners, and reviews which seemed indispensable to the congresses of those days, and rivalled in brilliancy the Congress of Vienna. The two Emperors were there, accompanied by Metternich and Nesselrode, and Frederick William III., with his sons William and Charles. Alexander von Humboldt honoured it with his presence; Hardenberg came for a short time, but soon left his place to Bernstorff; the Italian princes had sent representatives; Montmorency arrived, but was subordinate to Chateaubriand; Wellington and Strangford were the observed of all observers. Countess Lieven was the Aspasia of the assembly, for which Rossini composed some lovely melodies. The old Roman amphitheatre was full of reigning princes and their ministers.

The affairs of Spain first claimed attention, and the proceedings were opened by a memoir of Metternich's, in which he explained his views. He had a difficulty in picking his way through the conflicting interests of Europe, but came to the conclusion that the cabinets should agree upon a common line of action. Montmorency now exceeded his powers by producing a memoir, which ended with three questions:—

1. If France should be compelled to withdraw her ambassador from Madrid, would the other Powers follow her example?

2. Would they give their armed support to France in her efforts to check revolutionary movements elsewhere?

3. Would they give France any measure of material support if she should ask for it?

The three Eastern Powers were naturally well disposed to these proposals, but Wellington held himself aloof.

There followed a scene of confusion. Metternich did his best to discover a compromise, but the task was extremely difficult. Alexander would not hear of half-measures. He said, "I will not leave Verona till I have ended this business. We have made an alliance against the revolution, and must attack it where it seems most dangerous." He found fault with Villèle's weakness, and did not think Montmorency strong enough. On October 30th a meeting was held to deliver the answer to Montmorency's note. The Tsar expressed his delight that France had recognised the necessity of stifling the revolutionary outbreak in Spain, and he would give the assistance which Montmorency asked for. Metternich also answered Montmorency's questions in the affirmative, but proposed that the Allies should confer as to their extent, character and direction. Bernstorff was more cautious. But Wellington took an entirely different line. He said that, since April, 1820, the British Government had neglected no opportunity of recommending the Allies to refrain from every intervention in the internal politics of Spain. The object of their policy was the maintenance of peace. He hoped that peace would be preserved between Spain and France; but, if this should not be the case, he should take no responsibility on himself. Thus there came about a deep breach between the Eastern Powers and Great Britain, which had been concealed at Troppau and Laibach. This was due to the death of Castlereagh and the influence of Canning and, to some extent, of Wellington himself.

The first formal meeting of the congress was held on October 31st. Metternich shadowed forth an alliance between Russia, Austria and Prussia, and spoke of a peaceful intervention in Spain, to encourage the several parties of the nation, and in this he thought Great Britain might assist. Wellington, however, protested against any action with regard to Spain that might seem to be of the nature of a threat, and declined to mediate between France and Spain. It was determined to adjourn the conferences. In the meantime instructions for the ambassadors of the other four Powers were to be drawn up and communicated to Wellington.

The four Powers set to work. The protest of Wellington had tended to unite them, but they still differed among themselves. Metternich was ready to take some measures, but he saw that the result of these would be the breach of diplomatic relations. Bernstorff was agitated by similar difficulties. The Russians denied that this breach might take place as preparatory to war. Pozzo di Borgo declared that if France hesitated he would go to

Paris and put himself at the head of the Spanish Royalists and compel the Government to act. Chateaubriand and Laferronays were disposed to a formal action, as was Montmorency, who, however, hesitated to engage his Government. He told the Eastern Powers that France could not promise to withdraw her ambassador from Madrid, even if they should do so; that everything he proposed was subject to reference to Paris.

The protocol of the four Powers was ready on November 19th. It designated as *casus foederis* an attack of Spain upon France, a rebellion against the Government, the deposition of King Ferdinand, legal action against him or the princes of the Royal house, any attempt to alter the succession. The following day, November 20th, was described by Gentz as the hottest and most important day in Verona. Wellington refused to place his signature to the protocol, urging that it would only serve to irritate the Spanish Government. It was impossible for the British Sovereign to hold the same language as his allies. All that Great Britain could do would be to moderate the excitement which was sure to arise in Madrid. These words from the mouth of Wellington, an undoubted Tory, produced a very powerful effect, and marked the separation of Great Britain from the Alliance. Montmorency went to Paris to press his views, and Chateaubriand came into the foreground. He had been regarded by his colleagues rather as a man of letters than as a statesman, and wrote to a friend, "I do but little, and regard myself rather as a poet by the grave of Juliet than as plenipotentiary to a European congress." He held constant interviews with Alexander, with whom he took long walks. These two enthusiastic natures had a sympathy for each other, and both yearned to destroy the dragon of revolution beyond the Pyrenees. At the same time Chateaubriand knew quite well that the congress would never make war.

Villèle was much discontented at the turn which the congress was taking. He did not look with satisfaction at a breach with Spain. He knew that it would lead to the increase of British influence in the Peninsula, which would be used to gain possession of Cuba, or of the commerce of the New World. Lagarde informed him that the new ambassador, William A'Court, was obtaining strong influence with the Spanish Ministry, and was drafting a treaty of commerce. At the same time the influence and power of the Royalist regency at Seo de Urgel was declining. All this disposed Villèle to caution and to the maintenance of "peace with honour." The Ultras, however, repeated their violent language, and, after the elections of November 20th, they won consider-

ably in power. Out of eighty-six seats the Liberals only secured eight, Benjamin Constant, their leader, being defeated. Montmorency was well received by the King, and was made a duke, but he did not carry the Ministry with him. Villèle would not agree to the recalling of the French Ambassador from Madrid. He allowed that the delivery of the notes should be postponed; but on December 12th the Eastern Powers determined not to permit a postponement of more than eight days.

Metternich was also in great embarrassment. He realised the danger of an intervention in Spain, but was dragged in tow by the fiery zeal of Alexander. He knew that France would never permit the passage of Russian troops. At the same time, his deepest feeling was that activity in Spain might excuse negligence in the Levant. The affairs of the East had, at first, been neglected in the Congress of Verona. Strangford and Gentz were secretly well disposed to Turkey. Tatischev, one of the Russian plenipotentiaries, however, urged the acceptance of the terms previously proposed by Metternich, including the evacuation of the Principalities and the nomination of Hospodar. He also asked that the limitations, which prevented the navigation of the Black Sea, should be removed. The Porte had attempted to injure the trade of Southern Russia, by preventing Sardinian, Spanish, Portuguese, and other vessels from entering the Black Sea, which they had hitherto been able to do under the Russian flag; also it became necessary to prevent Greek merchant ships from entering the Black Sea and being afterwards turned into warships. The measures taken by the Porte had sensibly increased British commerce in the Black Sea, and Canning was not anxious to lose this advantage. The consequence of all these proposals was that Alexander was more disposed to follow the lead of the other Powers in his dealings with the Porte.

This change greatly disappointed the Greeks and their friends. In the autumn the provisional Government of Greece had determined to bring their case before the congress. They sent Count Andrea Metaxas and Jourdain, a French Philhellene, to present their views, and to hand a note to the assembled plenipotentiaries. It said: "Streams of blood have been shed, but the cause of the Cross is triumphant. The Greeks will never lay down their arms until they have secured their independence. They will not listen to any arrangement which has not been made with the concurrence of their own representatives. If this declaration is not accepted it must be regarded as a protest, which the whole of Greece lays at the feet of the divine justice, trusting to Europe and the great

family of Christians." Metaxas and Jourdain were detained at Ancona in quarantine, and the note was forwarded to Verona, where it was regarded as impertinent. It was left unanswered, and the Papal Government was asked to inform the envoys that it would be useless for them to continue their journey, as they would be stopped at the Austrian frontier. Metternich also complained that Greek refugees and Philhellene rebels were allowed to remain at Leghorn. He treated the Greek patriots as if they were Carbonari.

In Italy the course of bloodthirsty vengeance still continued. Silvio Pellico and Maroncelli were exposed, laden with chains, in the Piazetta of Saint Mark, in Venice, and publicly condemned to a long imprisonment. In Modena nine patriots were sentenced to death, and one, a priest, was executed. It was idle for Italian Liberals to expect any satisfactory settlement from the congress. However, it was determined that Piedmont should be gradually evacuated, and the garrison of Naples was reduced. Metternich threatened the further interference of the Powers, which the Italian States themselves strongly objected to. He also spoke of the establishment of a Central Commission of Enquiry, to keep a constant watch over the Italian Governments, but this was not brought into action. The influence of Austria and Metternich over the Italian peninsula remained practically undisturbed. Charles Albert, Prince of Carignan, still remained a great difficulty. Metternich thought, not of deposing him from succession, but of an abdication in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel, who was then an infant. Charles Albert was supported by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, his father-in-law, by the French Government, and by the Tsar. Wellington and Bernsdorff gave their adhesion to the same view. At last Metternich was brought to see that the deposition of the Prince of Carignan would not only be a crime, but a political mistake, as it would aim a serious blow at the principles of legitimacy.

A declaration made by Wellington on November 24th, in favour of the Spanish colonies, caused dismay among the Powers. He said that Great Britain had determined to consider the *de facto* Governments of the revolted Spanish colonies as belligerent, and that she would have to go further and recognise one or more of these Governments in order to protect her commerce from piracy. Great Britain had been compelled to this step by the previous message of President Monroe, dated March 8th, 1822, which recognised the independence of the Spanish colonies, and laid the foundation of the "Monroe doctrine." Canning could not allow

the Americans to usurp the whole of the South American trade. The other four Powers protested. Metternich said, speaking in the name of his Emperor, that His Majesty, true to the principles on which the order of society and the preservation of legitimate government repose, could not recognise the independence of the Spanish-American provinces, and his Catholic Majesty had formally renounced their sovereignty. Bernstorff did not conceal his dislike of "governments whose existence depends only on revolt and anarchy." The Tsar recommended a reconciliation between the mother country and the colonies, which did not prejudge the question of their independence. Chateaubriand warned the congress from recognising a form of government which evidently differed from that prevailing in Europe. He asked for an arrangement which might secure to everyone the advantage of commerce, and reconcile the rights of legitimacy with the claims of policy. Wellington only remarked that his Government had done its best to reconcile Spain and her colonies, but did not retract a word of the declaration. It was obvious that the independence of the Spanish colonies would soon be recognised by Great Britain.

The congress closed in the middle of December. The three Powers sent a circular to their ambassadors, which may be regarded as its testament. It spoke of a happy settlement of affairs in Italy, of the unanimous rejection of the rebellion in the East of Europe, of the miserable condition of the Peninsula, as an example of revolutionary crime against the eternal laws of the moral order of the world. It said that there was no doubt that the system followed by the Sovereigns was in complete harmony with the strength of ruling Powers and the well-understood interests of peoples. All governments were warned to lend their support and constant aid to suppress the disturbers of the public peace, who in more than one country were aiming at revolution, destruction, and a condition of complete impotence. It was obvious the Holy Alliance was at an end. Great Britain had completely broken with it, if indeed she had ever belonged to it, and France was only able to give it a half-hearted and divided support.

CHAPTER XI

FRENCH INTERVENTION IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

IN Paris parties were divided in opinion between peace and war. Villèle, supported by the commercial classes, was at the head of the peace party; the Comte d'Artois and the party of the Pavillon Marsan were at the head of the other. The latter hoped that Montmorency would have his way at Verona, and on December 4th, Pozzo di Borgo was sent to support him. On December 9th Wellington appeared to be on the side of the Moderates. At Verona he had declined to mediate between France and Spain, but now, under the influence of Canning, he offered to mediate, although there was not much chance of mediation being accepted. When he left Paris, on December 20th, he was under the impression that peace could still be preserved. Four days later the offer of British mediation was rejected.

The French Cabinet met on Christmas Day, 1822. The instructions of the three Powers had been sent two days before, and all the Ministers, except Villèle, determined to support their views and to recall the French Ambassador from Madrid. Unexpectedly, however, Louis XVIII. took the side of Villèle. "The relations," he said, "between the other Powers and Spain are not so intimate as ours. They can surrender Spain and her King to the Revolution and the influence of England without neglect of duty, but if I recall my ambassador I must send an army of 100,000 men to assist my nephew." He procured the rejection of the dispatch which Montmorency had drafted for Lagarde. Upon this Montmorency resigned, and Villèle appeared to have triumphed over the Ultras. But the dispatch sent, although it did not actually present an ultimatum or recall the ambassador, threatened a step of this kind.

Chateaubriand was appointed to succeed Montmorency, as a concession to the three Powers. He had for some time eagerly desired the post. When in office he attempted to conciliate Villèle, the King, and Canning, but he was really more eager than Montmorency for a breach with Spain. He warned his countrymen that they must choose between war or revolution, and his ambition urged him to attempt where Napoleon had failed.

His dream was to induce the King of Spain to accept something like a constitutional government, and to establish two or three Bourbon monarchies in Spanish America, as a counterpoise to the United States and to Great Britain; to modify the Peace of Vienna, by securing better frontiers for France in the East, with the help of the Tsar, and to place the Restoration and the greatness of France on a firm basis.

We now come to the answer given by Spain to the notes of the four Powers. The French note was answered with moderation. San Miguel complained that France protected Spanish rebels, and declared the unalterable devotion of the country to the Constitution of 1812. He demanded the disarmament of the French Army of the Pyrenees and the driving out of the Serviles refugees. The answer to the other three Powers was couched in stronger tones. The note and the answer were communicated to the Cortes on January 9th, 1823. There was a great outburst of indignation against foreign interference, but no distinction was drawn between France and the other Powers. The diplomatic commission was ordered to prepare a note expressive of the willingness of the Cortes to protect the Constitution and the throne. Galliano and Argüelles fell into each other's arms with tears. On January 11th the address was passed unanimously, and Madrid was illuminated.

The ambassadors of the three Powers demanded their passports, the Austrian being the last to leave, on January 16th. The French Ambassador remained at his post, but warned San Miguel that he should depart unless a speedy and decisive change took place in Spain. At last Chateaubriand declared that a longer delay would be an insult to the Allies and an encouragement of the revolution, and, on January 18th, Lagarde demanded his passports. He, however, suggested that King Ferdinand and the Duc d'Angoulême might meet on the banks of the Bidassoa, and make a peace, two conditions of which should be the modification of the Constitution and a political amnesty. If this were done, not only would the French troops retire, but the French army and navy would be placed at the disposal of Spain. This, however, was a mere dream. A last attempt to prevent war was made by Great Britain. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, afterwards Lord Raglan, was sent to Alava to see what he could effect. On his arrival at Madrid on January 21st he found that all hope of a change of the Constitution was in vain, and that no material help could be promised from Great Britain. This failure encouraged the war party in France. War was brought nearer by a raid of Bessières, who was

at the head of some rebels in Aragon. He broke into Castile, defeated the royal troops at Brihuega on January 29th, and caused terror in Madrid. Generals were sent against him independently of their political opinions—Ballesteros, a supporter of the Communeros; Morello, who was suspected of complicity in the July revolution of 1822; and Abisbal, who had often changed sides. Bessières departed, but the evil impression of his raid was not dissipated.

When Louis XVIII. opened the French Chambers on January 28th, Chateaubriand had triumphed. The aged King announced that 100,000 Frenchmen were ready to march to preserve the Spanish throne for a descendant of Henry IV., and to reconcile this splendid empire with Europe. The Duc d'Angoulême, protected by the god of Saint Louis, would command the army. The object of the expedition was to enable Ferdinand VII. to deal with his people in absolute freedom. The Ultras were delighted, but Canning said to Laferronays in London, "You wish them to undertake a crusade for political theories. Do you not know that the British Constitution is the fruit of numerous victories, which subjects have gained over their rulers?" The British Press repeated the same sentiments. The assurance of British neutrality was expunged from the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament on February 4th, and the Spanish Ambassador, expelled from Paris, was received with acclamation in London.

In Parliament, Lansdowne, Ellenborough and Mackintosh denounced the action of France, and even Lord Liverpool could not defend her. Brougham was very bitter about the "Three Gentlemen of Verona." The same views were supported in the French House of Peers by Talleyrand, Broglie, Dalberg and Molé—and in the Lower House by Foy, Sebastiani, Duvergier de Hauranne. Villèle let slip an expression which seemed to imply that he was afraid of the Eastern Powers. A similar debate arose when credit was asked for 100,000,000 francs. Chateaubriand's avowal that he wished to save Ferdinand from the fate of Charles I. and Louis XVI. was answered by Manuel, which caused a riot. Manuel was suspended from the Chamber on March 4th, and the whole of the Left followed him. Chateaubriand laughed at the farcical conduct of the Liberals, "who could not get together four chimney-sweeps to take part in a revolution." Attempts were made, however, to influence the French soldiers, notably by Paul Louis Courier and Béranger.

Fabvier, a bitter enemy of the Bourbons, took a stronger line.

He got together a corps of Italian refugees in London, strengthened by English Radicals. He went to Madrid and made a compact with the Ministers, receiving a promise of 4,000,000 reals. They laid it down that the cause of freedom was common to all men, and they would stand together in the conflict between the Cabinets and the peoples of Spain, Portugal, France and Italy. From Madrid, Fabvier went to Irun, and then to the corps of observation, where he tried to win some officers over to his side. Fabvier got together, on April 6th, a small number of Piedmontese and about 130 French, on the Spanish side of the Bidassoa. Here he unfolded the tricolour and sang the Marseillaise. But a few well-directed shots scattered his company, and next day the Duc d'Angoulême crossed the Bidassoa and entered Irun. Metternich was not pleased at the forward action of France; he did not desire to see the Cortes Constitution changed into a French *Charte* and would have preferred to abolish it altogether. On the other hand, Alexander was delighted, and began to form a corps of observation in Poland.

Great Britain stood more decidedly aloof than ever. Canning declared his neutrality, but he also said that Great Britain must safeguard her own interests, and that she could not allow either the extension of the French frontiers, or the renewal of the Family Compact, or an intervention in Portugal. On April 14th he declared in Parliament that the invasion by France was a crime, and he wished with all his heart that the Spanish people might win. In Spain the Government and the Cortes removed from Madrid to Seville.

The French plan of campaign was to act rapidly, in order to avoid the danger of a guerilla rising among the people. The chief army, under the Duc d'Angoulême, was to press forward to Vittoria and seize the line of the Ebro. It was then to march by way of Burgos to Madrid, which was left in charge of the untrustworthy Abisbal. Marshal Moncey was to act in Catalonia against Mina, General Molitor in Navarre against Ballesteros. General Bourmont was to oppose Morello and Quiroga in Asturias and Galicia, where there was also a body of volunteers under Robert Wilson. Mina and Quiroga were the only two who were formidable. Angoulême took Vittoria and Burgos without any trouble, Ballesteros surrendered Saragossa and retired to Valencia, Morello waited for events, and Abisbal was corrupted by French gold. There was no sign of a guerilla rising. The French were welcomed by the nobles, the priests, and the monks, and other classes of the population. They were regarded as liberators. They paid for

everything they took, and in this respect were a great contrast to the " Army of Faith."

On May 15th Abisbal declared his adhesion to the recall of the King, the amendment of the Constitution, a change of ministry, and an amnesty. He was, however, accused of treachery, and sought safety in flight. The soldiers had to be withdrawn from the capital, and a capitulation was signed with Angoulême, who entered Madrid on May 24th. Before he crossed the frontier, Angoulême had issued a proclamation, declaring that the country would be governed by the Spanish authorities in the name of Ferdinand. A provisional Junta had been established, with Eguia at its head. This was now dissolved and a Regency put in its place. The Duc d'Infantado was made President, but it contained a number of clerics. Reaction took place; the religious Orders were restored as they had been before March 7th, 1820, and the Jesuits were recalled. This was very unpleasant, both to Angoulême and Villèle, who were in favour of moderate measures and opposed to the restoration of absolute monarchy. At the same time, the policy found favour with Chateaubriand, the Comte d'Artois, and the Ultras generally, as well as probably the three Eastern Powers.

The King of Naples, stirred up by Metternich, now began to press his claims as the next heir to the Spanish throne. He had protested against the provisional Junta under Eguia; he now protested against the Regency. Metternich was afraid the French Government would capitulate to the Revolution. However, the personality of the King of Naples was too contemptible to arouse enthusiasm, and the Regency was recognised by the three Powers, but new ambassadors were sent to Madrid, including Talaru for France. The Regency continued the policy of a White Terror. They allowed the eastern bandits, who bore the name of the " Royal Volunteers," to plunder, steal and to imprison Liberals as they pleased. San Miguel, on his retirement from the Ministry, went to the camp of Mina, and his place was taken by Calatrava. The Cortes, now at Seville, determined to retire behind the walls of Cadiz, the birthplace of the Constitution and the revolution. They persuaded the King, with great difficulty, to accompany them, only prevailing by threats of revolution.

Immediately on their departure, on June 12th, the Serviles broke out with cries of " Long live the Absolute King! Long live the Inquisition!" However, their reign was short-lived, for on June 21st the French entered the town. The White Terror still raged in the provinces. In Cuenca, Bessières arrested the members of the Cortes and the provisional Junta, and three hundred persons

were imprisoned in Valladolid. In Saragossa the houses of the Blacks, or Liberals, were stripped of everything. Bandits and fanatical monks wandered about as defenders of throne and altar. Angoulême and the French garrison repressed these excesses at Madrid, but they were encouraged by the Regency. On June 22nd the Regency issued a decree which condemned, with confiscation of property, all the members of the Cortes who had taken part in the removal of the Court to Cadiz, and on July 29th they deprived all Spaniards who had served in the militia of their pay, their pensions and their decorations.

Angoulême fixed his headquarters in Andalusia at the end of July. Morello capitulated at Lugo on July 10th, Ballesteros on July 28th. They were promised freedom from persecution and a safe return. These conditions were not observed, and Angoulême, losing patience, issued an ordinance from Andujar on August 8th, which forbade the Spanish authorities to imprison anyone without the consent of the French commanders. All political prisoners were to be liberated and a censorship of the Press was established. The Regency was furious at this step and threatened to dismiss Oudinot, the Commandant of Madrid, if he published the ordinance. The ambassadors showed themselves very weak. Chateaubriand wrote to Talaru: "Before the world you must support everything that is done by the French Government, but you must secretly endeavour to smooth everything over."

As a fact, the Ordinance of Andujar was never published in Madrid, and produced little effect elsewhere. An address was sent from Navarre to the Regency, saying that they would rather turn Spain into a field of corpses than suffer the shame of a foreign yoke. Angoulême came to the conclusion that it was impossible to do any good in Spain, and modification of the Constitution of 1812 was not to be thought of. He wrote on August 3rd: "Whatever we may do, absolutism will always triumph. The bitterness between parties is too great for it to be otherwise." Talaru wrote: "We may stir the surface of Spain with the modern ideas of Europe, but beneath are the people in whom it has been the same ever since the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. We may change old institutions, but the new will never take root."

On August 17th Angoulême sent a despatch from his headquarters at Santa Maria, near Cadiz, recommending Ferdinand, in the name of Louis XVIII., to grant an amnesty and to recall the old Cortes, and at the same time to tell the Cortes that unless the King were set free within five days he would attack the town. Answer was returned that the freedom of the King was only limited

by the pressure of the French army, and that the restoration of a Cortes which had not met for three hundred years was compatible neither with the honour of the Crown nor the welfare of the people. The fort of Trocadero was stormed on the night of the 30th–31st August, and the French became masters of the Island of Saint Luis. On September 28th the King was set free and allowed to go to the French headquarters, to make what terms he could. Before he went he promised, with his free will and on the pledge of his kingly word, a general and complete amnesty, without exception, recognition of the debts of the constitutional governments, maintenance of the rank of officers, protection of the militia against persecution, and, further, if the present form of government should be altered, a Constitution which should secure to Spaniards their freedom and property. On October 1st he sailed across the bay to Puerto de Santa Maria. Here he was met by Angoulême and Talaru, the Duc d'Infantado, Saez, a number of Royal Volunteers and monks, and a crowd of the populace, who cried out, "Long live the Absolute King!"

Ferdinand paid little attention to Angoulême, but devoted himself to his confessor, Saez, who was made universal minister. Decrees were issued which annulled all laws, treaties, and proceedings of the so-called constitutional government. Next day Angoulême pressed him for moderate measures and a generous amnesty, but he replied, "We will see; the popular opinion is for absolute government." Ferdinand now went to Jeres. Here he banished all Spaniards who had sat in the Cortes after the reception of the Constitution, or had held an important office, or had been officers in the militia. Never in their lives were they to come within fifteen miles of Madrid or any other Royal residence. The Liberals took to flight *en masse*. Argüelles, Galliano, Isturiz, Calatrava, Quiroga, Alava, and many others withdrew to England. Even Chateaubriand was terrified and saw that Spain would fall back into anarchy unless the reaction were checked. He threatened to withdraw the French troops across the Ebro, and reminded the King that he owed the French 30,000,000 francs. Louis XVIII. wrote to Ferdinand solemn words of warning, and even the ambassadors of the three Powers took fright. The war was at an end and Angoulême returned to France.

Riego was executed on November 7th. The King and Queen entered Madrid on November 13th, but there was no mention either of reform or of amnesty. A slight improvement was effected by the dismissal of Saez and the appointment of Casa Trujo as Minister of Foreign Affairs on December 2nd. In the beginning

of 1824 treaties were signed with France which secured the presence of a force of 45,000 men under General Bourmont; but the country was, as Chateaubriand confessed, given up to complete anarchy.

Such was the result of an armed intervention intended to fight the anarchy of the revolution in the name of Legitimacy. It had succeeded in overthrowing a weak and tottering form of government, without establishing in the country the firm foundations of prosperity, morality, or enlightenment. It had not prevented the return of a wilful absolutism, which favoured the stupidity and superstition of the masses. All hopes of reform on ancient lines were idle; a thoroughly Bourbon throne was again restored. Still, the Eastern Powers regarded the fall of the Cortes as a triumph for the thrones of Europe, a triumph which was not desecrated by any limitation of the authority of the King.

The fortunes of Portugal were profoundly influenced by those of Spain. The Constitution, which dated from September 23rd, 1822, was incomplete, and did not serve to improve the moral and physical conditions of the people. The number of murders continued to be very large. Desertions from the army were frequent, and the budget of 1822 showed a large deficit. The authors of the Constitution were bitterly disappointed at the defection of Brazil; they had hoped it would serve to unite the colonies with the mother country. The Regent Dom Pedro became Emperor, his father having, on his departure from Brazil, advised him to take the crown for himself if he could not succeed in keeping it for him. His accession to the crown and the independence of Brazil date from October 12th, 1822. In Portugal, the nobles and the clergy were bitter enemies of the Constitution. The clergy were enraged at the suppression of the Patriarchate and the secularisation of the monasteries. In the army many of the officers were jealous of Sepulveda, and disorders among the soldiers took place in Lisbon amidst cries of "Down with the Constitution!"

The Corcundas, or "Hump-backed," the counterpart of the Spanish Serviles, found their support in Ferdinand's sister, Queen Carlota, wife of King John VI. Her palace of Queluz was a centre of discontent, and her hopes were placed on Dom Miguel, her second son. He, indeed, took the oath to the Constitution, but the Queen refused to do so. She might have been expelled from the country, but she was banished instead to the remote palace of Ramalhao. There she lived in a state of penance, praying for her misguided country and receiving secret visits from Dom Miguel. The Liberals were most irritated by the conduct of the Eastern

Powers. They disapproved of the intervention of Austria in Naples, and of the attitude of France towards Spain. They even conceived the idea of making an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain against France, and only gave up the idea in consequence of the opposition of Canning. They disagreed with the resolutions of the Congress of Verona. When *William Tell* was performed at the Opera, a lieutenant-colonel cried from his box, "May all the tyrants of Europe be brought to destruction!" The army was mobilised, the Liberal journals denounced the Holy Alliance, and the clubs clamoured for war to the knife against the despots.

On the other side, Count Amarante carried the province Tras os Montes against the constitutional government in February, 1823, and he was joined by his uncle Silveira. A Regency was formed, similar to that of Seo de Urgel, with the Archbishop of Burgos at its head. The insurrection was put down by the Government, and Amarante and Silveira took refuge in Spain, where they attached themselves to Angoulême and the Royalists. The counter-revolution was strengthened by the success of the French arms in Spain. A party of Moderates arose in the Cortes, who supported a change in the Constitution, the establishment of the King's veto and of the bicameral system. But their leader, Fernandez Thomaz, died, and there was no one to keep the Exaltados in check.

Pepe, who had fled from Naples, was now in Portugal, and he promised the Portuguese that, if they could secure the assistance of Spain, he would endeavour to bring about a rising in his own country. The entry of the French troops into Madrid stirred the reactionary party to more energetic measures. Amarante returned to Lisbon, and Rego, who had conquered him, was deprived of his command for negligence. Colonel Sampayo, who was distrusted by the Liberals, was dismissed on May 27th, 1823. But he was supported by the regiment which he commanded, and declared for the absolute monarchy, with an amnesty and something of a constitution. He was soon joined by Dom Miguel, who wrote to his father that he could no longer put up with the degradation of the throne, and believed that he was serving him by setting the nation free. The Cortes placed Sepulveda at the head of the army; but, fearing for his life, he left Lisbon on May 29th and joined Dom Miguel. Almost the whole of the garrison followed him, with bands playing and banners flying.

The last hope of the Cortes lay in the King, who issued a proclamation threatening his rebellious son with condign punishment. But the cavalry regiment which Sepulveda had left behind

to guard the palace declared for the counter-revolution, crying, "Down with the Constitution!" forced the terrified King to enter his carriage, and carried him off to Dom Miguel's head-quarters in Villafranca de Xira. From this place the King was forced to issue another proclamation, in which he denounced the Constitution as the fountain of anarchy, civil war, and the dissolution of the Empire, and promised political arrangements of a more salutary character. The government of the Cortes was at an end, and ministers resigned their places. The prominent Liberals sought refuge on board an English vessel, and Pepe followed their example. The sittings of the Cortes were suspended on June 2nd.

It is possible that the Corcundas originally wished to establish a regency for Queen Carlota, but that was made impossible by the King separating himself from the Cortes, which was probably the action of Sepulveda. At the same time, John VI. was joined by so many Moderates that he could not assume absolute power. In a proclamation of June 3rd he promised a Constitution which should be free from all principles incompatible with the peaceful existence of the Government. He entered Lisbon on June 5th, Dom Miguel riding proudly before him. The counter-revolution had triumphed in Portugal even before it had succeeded in Spain. This was due to the French intervention in that country. Hyde de Neuville, French Ambassador at Lisbon, favoured the sending of Portuguese ships to take part in the blockade of Cadiz, and Portuguese troops to assist in the siege of Badajoz.

These plans were crushed by the appearance of a British squadron in the Tagus. But the success of Angoulême was joyfully celebrated at Lisbon, and when the ambassador of Ferdinand arrived there John VI. spoke to him of the power of the Divine blessing which had rescued both countries from an evil influence. The supporters of Legitimacy felt that they had triumphed over the revolution, now for ever discredited. The victory of the reaction in Portugal was not marked by the excesses which branded it in Spain. At the same time the reactionary party was not idle. All who during the last two years had been prominent on the Liberal side were banished or imprisoned or deprived of their offices. Even Sepulveda was attacked, whereas Silveira, Amarante and Sampayo were richly rewarded. The freedom of the Press was abolished, the Patriarchate was restored, and the monasteries were re-endowed. All civil and military officials had to sign an undertaking that they would not belong to any secret society, such as the Freemasons or the Carbonari, but punishment in case

of infringement, instead of death, was banishment to Africa or a heavy fine.

On June 18th, 1823, shortly after the entry of John VI. into Lisbon, a Junta had been appointed, under the presidency of Palmella, Minister of Foreign Affairs, for the discussion of a constitution which was to resemble the French *Charte* and reconcile the exercise of royal power with the security of popular rights. Nothing, however, was done, the movement being strongly opposed by Dom Miguel and the Queen. Spain warned Portugal not to set a bad example by renouncing the restoration of complete monarchical authority. The Eastern Powers did not desire that the French *Charte* should be imitated. They pointed out that there was no similarity between the condition of France in 1814 and the present position of Portugal. Even Hyde de Neuville was not in favour of transplanting to a southern soil the constitution of his own country, and his opinion was supported by Chateaubriand. Palmella lost confidence, and in 1824 it became clear that the only reform would be the restoration of the old Cortes of Estates.

The Queen and Dom Miguel were opposed even to this, and in the Ministry itself there were two parties, one headed by Palmella, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the other by Pamplona, Minister of War, who had received the title of Count Subserra. Palmella was devoted to Great Britain. In the summer of 1823 he had desired a landing of British troops in Portugal, and in the autumn of the same year he had worked for a British guarantee of the peace of Portugal, but both proved unattainable. However, a British fleet anchored in the Tagus, and Wellington advised Palmella to place Marshal Beresford, who had returned to the Tagus, at the head of the Portuguese army.

Subserra, on the other hand, took the side of France. He had fought under Napoleon in Spain and Russia, and had lived long in France. He detested the British, and declared that he would resign his office if Beresford entered the Portuguese service. He was regarded by the people as a traitor, but the King looked upon him with favour. Apparently he had defended him at Villafranca against the intrigues of Dom Miguel and the Queen. Yet, although they differed in these matters, Palmella and Subserra agreed as to the necessity of an amnesty and a policy of reconciliation. They were on the point of publishing an amnesty when a deed of violence rendered it impossible. On February 29th, 1824, the Marquis Loulé, a devoted friend of Subserra, was found murdered in the neighbourhood of the Palace of Salvaterra, where

the King was keeping carnival. On the walls of Lisbon one might have read, "Loulé is dead; Subserra will follow in a week." It is probable that the murder was instigated by Dom Miguel. The King, fearing Subserra would be the next victim, concluded that only Beresford was strong enough to command the army and to save the State. Beresford sought an audience of the King and accused Subserra of betraying the country to France.

This event was followed, on April 30th, 1824, by a rising of Dom Miguel. He called upon the army and the people to annihilate the devilish sect of the Freemasons, and told his father that he had resolved to summon the soldiers to arms. He placed his headquarters in the Rocio Square, and ordered the soldiers to assemble there. He arrested about two hundred persons, including Palmella and most of the Ministers, and blockaded the road to the King's palace, Bemposta. He was supported by the Patriarch, and the Queen arrived from Queluz. The plan was to murder Subserra and force the King to abdicate. Subserra sought refuge in the house of Hyde de Neuville, who contrived to reach the King, who summoned Dom Miguel to his presence. Here he told wonderful stories of a far-reaching conspiracy, but he was persuaded to dismiss the troops and release Palmella. The King appeared on the balcony of the palace and was received with acclamation, and the city was illuminated. But it was easier to arouse the storm than to allay it, and terror reigned in Lisbon. The King issued a decree on May 3rd, in which he excused the action of his son; but on May 9th the latter sought refuge on an English frigate, the *Windsor Castle*, where he met Beresford, the ambassadors, Palmella and Subserra. Dom Miguel was deprived of his command, and the prisoners who filled the jails were liberated. Lisbon breathed once more. Dom Miguel threw himself at his father's feet and asked for forgiveness, and on May 13th went on his travels. It was not so easy to get rid of Queen Carlota, the cause of all the mischief, even though her brother Ferdinand advised her to submit. She went to bed and refused to stir.

Palmella and Subserra were now able to resume their work of atonement. On July 5th they issued a decree of amnesty, and another decree, dated the same day, established the old Cortes of Estates. This was opposed by the ambassadors of the Powers, who feared even the moderate instalment of self-government, and the summoning of the Cortes was deferred to the Greek Kalends. The struggle between France and Great Britain for the mastery of Portugal continued. Beresford was found intolerable, and had to leave the country. Wellington wished to protect the King with

a body of 2,000 Hanoverians, but this was prevented by the jealousy of the French. Then followed a change in the British representation. Thornton, who was thought to be too submissive to French influence, was recalled, and the more energetic A'Court established in his place. A'Court worked to upset Subserra, who lost powerful support by the recall of Hyde de Neuville at the beginning of 1825. Subserra was accused before the King of having plundered the public treasury. A'Court promised to protect John VI. against any movement of Dom Miguel, and on January 15th, 1825, the Ministry of Subserra came to an end.

By this time Dom Pedro had established himself as Emperor of Brazil. The independence of that country was warmly supported by Canning and strongly opposed by Subserra. This was, indeed, the cause of the latter's fall. A'Court said, "We must make up our minds whether Count Subserra is to prevail over the interests of two worlds." A treaty was eventually signed on August 29th, 1825, by the offices of Sir Charles Stewart, who was sent by Canning to Lisbon and Rio, which determined the independence of Brazil. A treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Brazil, which abolished the slave trade, was drawn up but was not ratified till 1827. By this arrangement the financial condition of Portugal was greatly improved, and Brazil took over a portion of the Portuguese debt. Commerce began to revive; the troops received their pay and the civil servants their salaries; the Finance Minister was enabled to discover new sources of income; and the game laws were subjected to a commission of inquiry. All this tended to diminish the evil effects of the counter-revolution, the course of which in Spain, Italy and France was not so fortunate.

CHAPTER XII

THE CARNIVAL OF REACTION ON THE CONTINENT

IN Spain the reaction went much farther than in Portugal. A party called " the Apostolical " made its appearance, consisting of extreme Ultras. Under their influence Calomarde was appointed Minister of Justice, and they terrified the King by threatening to raise his brother, Don Carlos, to the throne. The Eastern Powers tried in vain to stop their excesses. Their work having been done, they found themselves neglected and put aside. Chateaubriand's advice to Talaru to behave as if he were King of Spain was mere idle talk. When Pozzo attempted to accentuate the influence of Russia he roused the jealousy of Austria, and Metternich complained of his childish vanity. Talaru quarrelled with Bourmont, who commanded the French army of occupation and favoured the Apostolicals. The general had to be recalled, and relations became less strained. The act of amnesty, promised to the Powers, was delayed, and Talaru was obliged to threaten the withdrawal of the army of occupation before it was issued. When it appeared on May 20th, 1824, it contained so many exceptions as to be almost a nullity ; indeed, it afforded pretext for fresh persecutions. But even the very name of amnesty excited the wrath of the Apostolicals. In Aragon the guerillero Capapé called his associates to arms, in order to liberate the King from the hands of the Freemasons and the French.

Acting under the advice of Calomarde, the King continued the system of terror. A certain number of Liberal refugees, setting out from Gibraltar, had taken the town of Tarifa, which they held for a fortnight, until it was captured by the French. About a hundred of these insurgents were either shot or hanged. De la Cruz, the Minister of War, who was hated by the Apostolicals, was arrested one night and imprisoned, and was succeeded by the bloodthirsty General Aimerich. A new Intendant of Police devoted his energies to the extirpation of the Liberals. Every instrument of terror was put into practice, including domiciliary visits. One man, who was in possession of a portrait of Riego, was sentenced to imprisonment for ten years in an African fortress. A man who, when drunk, exclaimed " Long live the Constitution ! " was

condemned to death. Freemasons and Communeros paid the penalty of their opinions with their lives. It is impossible to estimate the total victims of the White Terror, but it is reckoned that in Catalonia alone, up to the autumn of 1825, 1,800 officers and soldiers of the Constitutional army fell victims to the fury of the populace. The allied Powers found themselves again impotent. They talked of withdrawing the French army of occupation. Some improvement was effected by the resignation of Ugarte in March, 1825, who was appointed ambassador at Turin, and Zea Bermudez, who had been ambassador in London, and became Prime Minister in July, 1824, now began to do some good.

It was not till June, 1825, that matters showed signs of improvement. Aimerich was dismissed, and his place taken by a more moderate successor. An attempt of the Apostolicals to excite disturbances with the assistance of Bessières proved a failure. The risings were put down, and Bessières himself was shot. But Zea Bermudez could only maintain his position till October, 1825, when he was succeeded by the Duc d'Infantado. The financial condition of the country was deplorable. Public security could scarcely be said to exist, and travellers were obliged to bribe the brigands in order that they might journey in safety. The education of bull-fighters was thought more important than that of scholars. The possession and importation of books and drawings without the permission of the authorities was forbidden, corporal punishment being inflicted for any breach of this regulation. Only two newspapers were allowed to publish political news, and English and French newspapers were stopped on the frontier. The army and navy could not be said to exist. A decree of March 18th, 1825, fixed the peace establishment at 100,000 infantry and 18,000 cavalry; but the men existed only on paper, and if they had been mustered there would have been no money to pay them. In their place was a body of "Royal Volunteers," a horde of fanatics without discipline, whose number was estimated at 200,000. The navy possessed 600 officers, for the most part unfit for service. Of the three ships of the line, one dated from 1755 and another from 1771. A frigate was launched in 1826, but her timbers were so rotten as to make her unseaworthy.

As to the South American colonies that had been entirely lost to Spain, the allies of Verona had intended to plant the banner of Legitimacy in the New World. Chateaubriand dreamed of establishing two monarchies in that continent, and the Eastern Powers were not reluctant to assist him; but Canning, speaking with the

voice of England, positively refused. He had already supplied the colonies with British consuls to protect British commerce, and in October, 1823, had informed Polignac, the French Ambassador, that any intervention in the quarrel between Spain and her colonies would hasten the recognition of the latter by Great Britain, and that it was a matter of indifference to his cabinet whether they were governed as republics or as monarchies. The famous message of the American President, Monroe, delivered at the opening of Congress on December 2nd, 1823, declared that any attempt of the Allies to extend their system to any part of America would be regarded as a menace to France and to the security of the United States.

Canning declined to take part in a conference of the Great Powers, held at Paris on December 26th, 1823, to consider the affairs of the revolted colonies, and pursued the same policy in February, 1824. Chateaubriand asked, with reason, whether the continental Powers would be willing to draw the sword if Great Britain declared for the independence of the colonies and allied herself for that object with the United States. Whilst an expedition was preparing in Madrid to sail from Cuba to reduce the so-called rebels, an announcement was made by the British Cabinet, on January 1st, 1825, which recognised the independence of Buenos Ayres, Colombia and Mexico. It was the answer to the treaty between France and Spain which extended the French occupation for an unlimited period. Canning said that he had called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old. There was nothing left for Spain and the Allies but to vent their indignation in useless complaints.

In France there was but little sympathy for the Spanish colonies, even amongst the Royalists. The public mind was so fully occupied with the success of the military promenade from Irun to Cadiz that it could think of nothing else. The throne of the Bourbons seemed to be finally established by the triumph of the army. The Ultras were naturally in high spirits. A mild form of White Terror made its appearance, and some spoke of sending the *Charte* to keep company with the Cortes. All this increased the unpopularity of Villèle, who was made responsible for the recall of the Duc de Belluno, the darling of the Ultras, who were not appeased by the appointment of his successor, the Baron de Damas, a returned *émigré*. The Chambers, which hitherto had been subject to only partial renewal, were dissolved on December 24th, 1823, and the new elections resulted in a wholesale defeat of the Liberals. They numbered, together with the

Left Centre, only nineteen, Lafayette and Manuel being among the victims. The Government had used every device to secure a victory, recommendation, intimidation of officials, falsification of electoral lists. The bishops had been no less active than the ministers and prefects. The *Chambre introuvable* was at last *retrouvée*. But the *Quotidienne* declared that the work of Royalists was not complete; it was only beginning.

The Chambers were opened by the King in person on March 23rd, 1824. He spoke of the extension of the life of the Parliament to seven years, and the reduction of the interest of the public debt. The last measure met with unexpected opposition from small investors, but was easily carried by the large majority of the Government, only, however, to be rejected by the Peers. Though this was a serious blow to Villèle, he had no thoughts of retiring. One result of this was the dismissal of Chateaubriand on June 6th, as he was suspected of treachery to his colleagues, in the matter of the conversion of the Rentes. His own memoirs show that he was no statesman. He was vainly proud of having effected in Spain in six months what Napoleon had not been able to accomplish in seven years. In revenge he now threw himself into the Opposition and converted the *Journal des Débats*, which had hitherto supported Villèle, into a powerful instrument of attack. His fall was not altogether displeasing to Metternich, but Alexander remembered with sympathy his service to the Holy Alliance. The entire renewal of the Chambers every seven years was carried, although some sharp-sighted Ultras perceived that it was a weapon which was likely to be used against them. The session was closed on August 4th.

General Damas was made Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis, Minister of Religion and Education. But Villèle had undoubtedly lost in prestige, if not in power, by the withdrawal of Chateaubriand. The Duc de Broglie said that the Ministry had, with the loss of its poet, lost all its brilliancy. A still greater change was at hand. On September 16th, 1824, Louis XVIII. died. He had long suffered from gout and with difficulty performed the necessary duties of his position. The Comte d'Artois ascended the throne as Charles X., and the government of the Pavillon Marsan became the legitimate Government of the State.

French intervention in Spain had but little effect on the fortunes of Italy. Reaction had preceded it, and the Austrians, who were chiefly responsible for it, acted in a double capacity, as representatives of the great European Powers and as lords of

the Lombard and Venetian kingdoms. The trial of Confalonieri and his associates for participation in the revolt in Piedmont lasted for two years and a quarter, during which time the accused were detained in prison. At last Confalonieri and six others were condemned to death. By the favour of the Emperor this was commuted to imprisonment for life. On January 21st, 1824, in the bitter cold of winter, they were publicly exposed with chains on their hands and feet, and then conveyed to their prison in the fortress of Spielberg. As they passed through Vienna, Metternich paid Confalonieri a visit, in which he endeavoured to ascertain what were the relations between Lombardy and the Prince of Carignan. Confalonieri was promised favourable treatment if he would give the information which Metternich desired. The offer was refused and the prisoners continued their route to Spielberg. Here they were confined in grave-like cells, badly fed, kept for months without light or books, occupied in knitting stockings or in making lint, and attended by a confessor who played the part of a spy. Silvio Pellico has left us a description of their tortures in his book, "Le Mie Prigione." The published records of the trial were falsified, and when the Emperor visited Milan in May, 1825, he was led to believe that he ruled over a satisfied and contented population.

In Naples, Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies, died on January 4th, 1825, and was succeeded by Francis I., who, as Crown Prince, had excited hopes of a better reign. As King, he continued the system of his father. The nobles were given up to frivolous amusement, and the middle classes were kept under by police supervision and monkish education. The deficit in the public revenue could not be made good even by the most oppressive taxes, and the interest of the public debt was increased more than threefold. With the new reign the Austrian troops were, to a great measure, withdrawn from Naples, but their place was occupied by Swiss mercenaries, and the retiring troops were kept as a menace in Lombardy and Venetia. The Emperor informed the King that he would permit no change in the Constitution of Naples.

Of the smaller Italian States Lucca was ruled over by Charles Louis, who had succeeded his mother in 1824 and showed himself submissive to Austria. The Duchess of Parma was Marie Louise, the widow of Napoleon; but the government was in the hands of her husband, Count Neipperg, till his death in 1827. He used his powers, on the whole, wisely and moderately. The Duke of Modena, on the other hand, exhibited all the faults of a

tyrannous and ruthless reactionary. He made himself notorious by a Press censorship which rivalled that of Naples, and by a system of secret police directed against political agitators. He was especially suspicious of Tuscany, where, after the failure of the Neapolitan Revolution, Poerio, Colletta and Borelli had found a refuge. Vieusseux's famous reading-room remained a meeting-place for patriots, and his journal, the *Antologia*, gave hospitality to their writings. The Grand Duke Leopold II., who succeeded his father in 1824, tolerated this exhibition of Liberalism and followed the traditions of his house in looking after the material interests of his country. His budget actually showed a surplus of 3,000,000 lire in 1828, and he was able to begin the work of draining the Maremma. He was seconded by his Prime Minister, Fossombroni, who did his best to protect himself against Austrian interference.

In Rome Pius VII. died on August 20th, 1823. Against the wish of Metternich, Cardinal Della Genga, one of the party of the Zelanti and an adherent of Consalvi, was elected in his place and took the name of Leo XII. Consalvi retired, and was succeeded by Cardinal Somaglia, another of the Zelanti. The new Pope and his minister exhibited reactionary tendencies, favouring the civil power of the bishops and the nobles. The Jews were not allowed to hold property, were subjected again to the Inquisition, and were shut up in the Ghetto after dark. Compulsory vaccination was abolished; street lighting was done away with in the provinces as a "French invention," and only sanctioned in Rome because of the presence of foreigners; education was placed under a congregation of cardinals.

It is on record that the cardinals refused to receive a present of astronomical and physical apparatus, saying, "The Psalms inform us that the heavens are telling of the glory of God, and not these miserable instruments." Not less remarkable was their zeal for the improvement of public morality. An army of spies and informers watched over the life of the Romans. Taverns were closed, women were ordered to wear a prescribed dress, and innkeepers were forbidden to serve more than a certain quantity of wine. It was the desire of the Pope that the Jubilee of 1825 should be held in a city devoted to the practice of piety and free from every kind of fleshly lust. But these ecclesiastical regulations of civic life naturally produced the effect the Holy Father was anxious to avoid. Bunsen, who had succeeded Niebuhr as German Ambassador, reports that Rome was one of the most immoral cities in Europe, and that the

students in a church procession sang filthy songs instead of Litanies.

The Pope was well meaning, but pursued the wrong way to attain his ends. He visited the hospitals and supervised the attendance on the sick. He paid the debts of debtors out of his own purse, and released them from prison; he established a Board to superintend the civil servants, but this merely led to the increase of informers and the satisfaction of private vengeance. He placed a protective duty on foreign manufactures with a view to encouraging home industries, but this only had the effect of making foreign products dearer than before. The laity were discontented with the favours shown to clerical government and to the great families such as the Borghese, the Barberini, and the Rospigliosi, and declined to acknowledge their restored feudal rights, as these placed them in a worse position than ever. At the same time the finances were well administered.

But good intentions do not make wise laws. The Pope gradually became more and more unpopular, by the mediæval character of his government, the monkish regulation of everyday life, and the increasing power of the priesthood. The Legations and the Marches became hotbeds of political sects, where the Carbonari and the Sanfedisti watched each other with jealous hatred, and where the strife of parties sharpened the dagger of the assassin. Cardinal Rivarola was sent to Ravenna in 1824 with the mission of annihilating the Carbonari, and officials, shopkeepers, lawyers, writers, artisans were arrested in large numbers and thrown into prison. They were tried with closed doors, without witnesses or defence. Only two were condemned to death, but the sentences of imprisonment affected many families in the province. Monasteries were turned into prisons, and the sight of victims hanging on gallows for three or four days shocked and edified the Ravennese. Yet, despite these atrocities and gruesome spectacles, the Carbonari continued to flourish as vigorously as ever.

Charles Felix, King of Sardinia, although he belonged to the party of reaction, was more successful. His country was free from political agitation. He paid great attention to his navy, spent most of his time in Genoa, and when the Emperor Francis and Metternich visited him there in the spring of 1825, they could congratulate him on his excellent government. This was perhaps due to the hopes which were cherished of his successor, Prince Charles Albert of Carignan, who was now reconciled to his cousin, had taken part in the French expedition to Spain and borne himself bravely in the storming of the Trocadero. This went some

way to alter the opinion of Metternich with respect to him. He was present at the interview at Genoa, when the Emperor spoke to the Prince like a father, and Metternich gave him plenty of good advice. Metternich wrote to St. Petersburg that the young Prince was preparing a happy future for himself and his people.

Indeed, Metternich had reason to regard the condition of Italy as satisfactory. He saw the Revolution annihilated in the north, and not likely to raise its head again in the south. Austria was strong enough to deal with it in either place. She was allowed by treaty to garrison Piacenza, to secure the surrender of deserters, and to make arrangements about ports and smuggling. No foreign Power, not even France, could cross her plains. The Italians seemed to have forgotten their dreams of national unity and even of constitutional freedom, and the champions of their dreams were spending their lives in the misery of exile or in the darkness of a prison.

CHAPTER XIII

GREECE, 1822-5

IN the spring of 1822 the condition of Greece appeared to be desperate, and after the Battle of Peta nearly the whole of western Hellas lay open to the enemy. Mavrocordatos with difficulty collected a few hundred armed men behind the lagoons and entrenchments of Mesolonghi. Eastern Hellas was terrified at the destructive march of Dramali into the Morea, and Odysseus in Athens had difficulty in raising the courage of his countrymen. When the Greek Government fled on shipboard and Dramali advanced into Argolis everything seemed to be lost. There, however, disaster had brought concord into Grecian councils. Demetrius Ypsilanti, Kolokotronis and Petrobey became friends. Ypsilanti, made President of the legislative body, inspired the people with something of his own courage. He fortified the citadel of Argos and held it against Dramali till August. Kolokotronis summoned old and young to the seashore south of Argos. The Turks, in the burning and barren plain of the Inachos, had no provisions, and the ships that were to relieve them did not appear.

Dramali thought of retreating to Corinth and opened negotiations with Kolokotronis, who, however, was not to be deceived. Eventually the former was forced to retire to Corinth with considerable loss, and the Morea was preserved. In Corinth he was besieged by Kolokotronis and his connections with Nauplia, Patras and Megara were cut off. The Turkish fleet, commanded by a new Kapudan Pasha, Kara Mehmed, did not appear till September, and then it durst not approach the garrison of Nauplia from fear of the Greek fireships. It retired to the Bay of Suda in Crete, and by and by sailed to the Dardanelles. Kanaris followed it on November 10th and burned the vice-admiral's ship, and Kara Mehmed sought safety in the Sea of Marmora.

On land the Turks were not more successful. Mehmed Kiuse was sent from Thessaly by Churchit with 12,000 men to force his way to the Isthmus. He reached Salona on November 13th, and dispersed the garrison of Odysseus, but he allowed himself to be deceived by the offers of an armistice, which weakened the fidelity of the Albanians, who were eager for plunder. At this moment

Churchit, the conqueror of Janina, died. Mehmed hastened back to Larissa, and his troops took up their winter quarters at Zituni. Shortly after this the Turks were compelled to raise the siege of Mesolonghi. Ships from Hydra broke through the blockade of the Pasha of Patra and landed reinforcements. The Klephts rose in the rear of the Turks, cut off their supplies, and threatened their communications. An assault which the Turks attempted during the Christmas festivities was repulsed. At last, on January 12th, 1823, the commander, Omer Brionis, raised the siege. He suffered considerable loss in the retreat to Epirus, four hundred soldiers being drowned in the Aspropotamo. The defeat of Peta was avenged, and Acarnania and Aetolia were again free.

On the side of Greece the garrison of Nauplia was compelled to surrender on December 13th, 1822; but even before this Dramali had died of fever at Corinth, and his army had been almost annihilated. In this manner the great Turkish campaign of 1822 came to an inglorious end. But success was not favourable to the Greeks. Disaster had healed their differences; triumph was soon to open them again. The pride of the Greek generals was aroused by their successes, and they looked with contempt upon the Government which had disgraced itself by cowardice. The National Assembly, repulsed from Nauplia by Plaputas, the brother-in-law of Kolokotronis, met at Astros, in March, 1823, about three hundred in number. It contained deputies from Thessaly, Crete, and more distant islands, but many came on their own authority, while others complied with the mandate of 1821. A profound discussion between the civil and the military parties ensued, and the Assembly sat till May 10th. Petrobey, chosen President of the Executive Council, was supported by Andreas Zaimis, Charalampis and Count Andrea Metaxas. Mavrocordatos was made first Minister of Foreign Affairs, but Ypsilanti was neglected. The fifth place in the Government and the Vice-Presidency was offered to Kolokotronis, but he refused to receive it out of jealousy of Mavrocordatos. The executive quarrelled with the legislative, town with town, and family with family. This did not give great hopes for the campaign of 1823, but the Greeks were saved by the inefficiency of their enemies. The Kapudan Pasha, the lame Chosrev, at the head of a large fleet, contented himself with landing a few thousand men in Euboea, provisioning some places on the coast of the Morea, and leaving a few ships in Patras. At the approach of winter he sailed back to the Dardanelles, having accomplished nothing to hasten the fall of Mesolonghi.

This town was again attacked by Omer Brionis and the Pasha of Skodra, and was defended by the Suliote hero, Markos Botsaris, who fell at Karpenisi on August 21st, 1823. The Turks determined to lay siege to Anatoliko before they attacked Mesolonghi, but this they were unable to do. The water was too shallow for the Turkish ships, and the town was defended by the English Philhellene, Martin, who was an accomplished gunner. A cistern, discovered by the explosion of a bomb, supplied the garrison with water. The marsh fever made its appearance, the besieging leaders quarrelled among themselves, and the pashas retreated after burying their guns. Thus Mavrocordatos, arriving from Hydra in December, found the work of liberation nearly accomplished. The operations in the east under Odysseus were less picturesque, but he succeeded in capturing Acrocorinthus from the Turkish garrison in November. At the same time the quarrel between the civil and military authorities continued, and Panos, the son of Kolokotronis, drove the legislature out of Argos on December 10th. The members met again at Kranidhi, and chose George Konduriottis, a rich merchant of Hydra, as head of the executive; but its most important member was Doctor Kolettis, who had been educated in European universities. He had been in the service of Ali Pasha at Janina, and had there become acquainted with the Armistice of Rumelia, which he designed to make the nucleus of a new and more stable government.

The difference between the factions in Greece developed into civil war. Kolokotronis would not recognise the Government of Kranidhi. He established the old executive committee at Tripolitza, and ordered elections for a new legislative assembly. But Kranidhi depended on the islanders, the most powerful primates of the Morea, and on the armed Rumeliots. Panos Kolokotronis was shut up in Nauplia, and Acrocorinthus was surrendered by treachery. Then Kolokotronis, the father, lost a battle at Tripolitza and was obliged to leave the town. A large sum of money to assist the Greeks had been subscribed at the Mansion House in London, and of this £800,000 had reached Zante. The desire to obtain some of this money, which was intended for the Kranidhi faction, hastened the fall of Kolokotronis. Panos surrendered Nauplia on June 19th for 25,000 piastres. The Government took possession of it and proclaimed a general amnesty. No sooner was this quarrel appeas d than a second civil war broke out which, however, ended in the victory of the Government, directed by the prudent Kolettis. His hands were strengthened by a further instalment of £200,000 from England. Mavrocordatos,

who had been engaged in Acarnania and Ætolia, now accepted the post of Prime Minister at Nauplia.

The end of Odysseus was very tragic. He had an enmity of old standing with Kolettis, and always worked rather for his own interests than for those of the cause. During the first civil war he had played a waiting game. He summoned an Eastern Hellenic Parliament to Salona, and secured the co-operation of Negris, who joined him out of a common hatred of Kolettis. Negris, however, died in December, 1824, and Odysseus, finding himself neglected, became a traitor. He entered into negotiations with a Turkish pasha in Euboea, and placed himself at the head of an army of Klephts and Turks in Attica and Boeotia. Here he was defeated and taken prisoner, and brought in chains to Athens, where he was nearly stoned to death by the populace. He was imprisoned in a tower in the Acropolis, and was found dead at the foot of it on July 17th, 1825. Whether he had been strangled and then thrown over or had perished in an attempt to escape has never been determined.

Though the Government had thus been relieved of its enemies, it had serious difficulties to encounter, the chief of which was lack of money. No revenue could be expected from regular sources. The English loans were granted on very hard conditions —the security of national property, customs, and salt mines at an interest of more than 50 per cent.; and the money was plundered by sailors, Arnauts and Palikars before it reached the rightful authorities. Hydriotes sold worthless hulks at the price of sound ships, and many a *capitano* received payment for a hundred rations a day when he commanded only a handful of men. The Government offices were beset by a crowd of expectant placemen eager to share the spoil. The Rumeliot allies proved an intolerable burden, stealing oxen from the plough and plundering houses to the four bare walls. Prokesch, travelling in the Morea in the spring of 1825, found everywhere misery and poverty. He was met by crowds of blind beggars led by children. Nauplia, half in ruins, was a nest of robbers; the fortifications were nearly destroyed, and everyone seemed to live from hand to mouth.

The Turks now conceived a new plan of action. They determined, first, to seize the islands and ruin the naval power of the rebels, and then to lead an army into the Morea to co-operate with another army in the north. For these purposes the Sultan invited the assistance of his mighty vassal, Mehmed Ali, Pasha of Egypt.

Mehmed Ali, a native of Macedonia, began life as the proprietor of a small tobacco shop, and had gone to Egypt in the time of Napoleon as commander of a few hundred Albanian mercenaries. By the murder of the Mamelukes he had paved the way for the creation of an army on European lines, and had amassed great riches by the establishment of monopolies and exclusive rights, and the seizure of large territories. He used his resources to model Egypt on a pattern of Western civilisation. The natives, whether brown or black, were drilled in his regiments, cultivated his fields, tilled his cotton plantations, dug his canals, built his arsenals, barracks and magazines. European officers placed their knowledge at the service of the despot, who had not learned to read till he was forty-seven years of age.

The Sultan saw the growth of his vassal's power with jealous eyes, but his assistance was now indispensable. Mehmed promised to fit out an expedition which was to be commanded by his adopted son Ibrahim. The Egyptians had conquered the island of Crete after a two years' struggle in which every horror was committed. Amongst other cruelties four hundred men, women and children had been stifled to death by smoke in a cave otherwise impregnable. Their next conquest was Kasos, a rocky island to the east of Crete, the home of savage pirates. More important was the capture of Psara by a Turkish armament under Chosrev, which was completed on July 8th. The mariners of Hydra and Spezzia set themselves to avenge this defeat. They collected a fleet, of which Miaoulis was one of the commanders, Kanaris also being on board. Chosrev having left the island to keep the feast of Bairam at Mitylene, the garrison he had left behind was defeated on July 17th and the majority of his ships were destroyed. Chosrev quickly reappeared, and the Greeks fled with their booty.

The Greek fleet prevented Chosrev's attack on Samos, but in September the Turkish-Egyptian squadron routed their enemy in the Roads of Budrun opposite the island of Kos. Exclusive of transports, they numbered 100 ships, armed with more than 2,000 guns, whereas the Greek ships had only 350 guns of very various calibre. Chosrev and Ibrahim, however, unable to agree, soon separated, Chosrev going to the Dardanelles and Ibrahim to the Sea of Marmora. In December the latter proceeded to Suda Bay, in Crete, where he carefully prepared an army of 20,000 men. Reserves of equal strength were ready to support him from Egypt. On February 23rd, 1825, the vanguard of Ibrahim, 4,500 strong, landed at Modon, on the south-west coast of the Morea. Egyptian ships broke through the blockade of Patras

and Ibrahim marched against Old and New Navarino. The Government of Nauplia sent as many Rumeliote and Suliote mercenaries as they could collect into Messenia, and the President, Konduriotti, took the command, accompanied by Mavrocordatos. A more inefficient commander could not have been found than the old Hydriote merchant, who could scarcely sit upon a horse, and spent several weeks in reaching the frontiers of Messenia. He then went back, and left Captain Scurtis in command. On April 19th the Greek army was defeated by the Turks, and the Rumeliote Palikars went home in disgust to defend their own country against Reshid Pasha.

Ibrahim continued his siege operations. Old Navarino, the ancient Pylos, was defended by Bishop Gregory of Modon, New Navarino by the Piedmontese Collegno. Their only means of safety was from the sea; in order to secure this, the Greeks had occupied the island of Sphakteria, so celebrated in the Peloponnesian War. This was, however, captured by the Egyptians on May 8th, Santa Rosa, the hero of the Piedmontese revolution, being one of the victims. This was followed by the fall of Old and New Navarino at the end of the month. The way seemed opened for the conquest of the Morea. In their despair the Greeks had no other resource than to set Kolokotronis free, recall him to Nauplia, and invest him with full powers. Ibrahim pressed into the mountains of Arcadia and defeated the Greeks at Achovo on June 19th. He then advanced to Tripolitza—which offered no resistance—crossed the passes of Argolis, and appeared with a body of cavalry before the gates of Nauplia. This was bravely defended by the Greek patriots, assisted by a British squadron under Commodore Hamilton.

Ibrahim retreated to Tripolitza, from which centre he sent plunderers and murderers in all directions. He had expected the assistance of Chosrev, who was to attack Hydra and Spezzia, assist in the siege of Nauplia and bring provisions to the Egyptian army. But he did none of these things. The Greeks, however, profited little by his inactivity. An attack on the Egyptian and Turkish fleet in the Bay of Suda only resulted in the destruction of a single corvette, and the attempt of Kanaris to destroy the docks of Alexandria nearly cost him his life. The union between Egypt, Crete and the Morea continued. Their ships being too small to contend with the Egyptian navy, the Greeks endeavoured to procure the assistance of a steamer, and Captain Frank Abney Hastings, an ardent Philhellene, who had received his baptism of fire when eleven years of age at Trafalgar, promised to give £1,000

towards the purchase of a vessel if he were placed in the command of her.

After some delay it was determined to build a steam corvette in London and buy two more in New York. In the summer of 1825, Lord Cochrane, just returned with his laurels from South America, offered to take command of the Greek fleet if he were highly paid and five other steam vessels were provided. But the Greeks were everywhere cheated and deceived. The steamship from England did not arrive till the autumn of 1826, and two others followed when too late to be of use; while three vessels built for Greece rotted at the London wharves. Of the two American ships, one was only saved from being sold by the action of the Congress of Washington, and this did not make its appearance in 1825 or 1826. So that the Greeks had to dispense with this assistance in the time of their deepest need.

The eyes of the world were now turned to the siege of Mesolonghi, where Byron had died in April, 1824. In the spring of 1825, while the Egyptians were besieging Navarino, Reshid Pasha, the Sultan's ablest general, had led 10,000 Albanians before its walls. He had been told on his departure, "Mesolonghi or your head," and he did his utmost to save his head. The roads from Epirus were blockaded, and the Klephts of Eastern Hellas were detained beyond the Ætolian frontiers by the siege of Salona. He could procure a siege-train and ammunition from Patras; European engineers were hired to conduct the siege, and the peasants were compelled to execute their orders. The garrison, consisting of 4,000 men, were not alarmed, for they were commanded by Notis Botsaris, the uncle of the hero Markos, while the townsmen were prepared for every sacrifice. Ships from Hydra brought supplies and sustained their hopes of relief. Their condition became worse when, on July 10th, Chosrev drove away the Hydriote vessels and occupied the shallow lagoon with a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats. The town was now invested on both sides, but the garrison would not hear of surrender, repelling two violent attacks on July 28th and August 2nd. Even Gentz, who eagerly desired the success of Reshid, could not gainsay their heroic conduct.

On August 3rd, Miaoulis led his Hydriotes against the fleet of Chosrev, assisted by the Spezziote, Andrutsos, and the Psariote, Apostolis. The Kapudan pasha retreated to Zante, and then sailed to Alexandria. Mesolonghi received supplies of food and ammunition, and the lagoon flotilla was captured. Miaoulis had succeeded so fully that he thought it safe to leave Mesolonghi and

pursue Chosrev. The besieged defended themselves bravely during the autumn. Two-thirds of Reshid's army perished by fever, hunger and fighting. An Albanian corps deserted bodily, the rest were kept together with difficulty, and Reshid was reduced entirely to defensive measures. But a change was to take place. Miaoulis could not prevent Reshid from obtaining supplies and reinforcements by way of Patras, especially as he had been deserted by the Spezziotes. It must have been a bitter pill for the Sultan to swallow to ask for the assistance of Ibrahim in reducing the town, but Mehmed Ali responded with alacrity.

By the help of Chosrev, 10,000 fresh African troops had been landed in the Morea, and Ibrahim was burning to employ them and to effect in a short winter campaign what Reshid with his Albanians had failed to accomplish. He sent a portion of his troops by sea to Patras. With the main body he marched to the Isthmus of Corinth, having left behind a small force to garrison Tripolitza. The populace fled before him, offering no resistance. The Egyptian navy reached the coast of Ætolia at the end of December, and in January, 1826, Ibrahim placed his army by the side of Reshid's before the walls of Mesolonghi. Europe anxiously watched the fortunes of the little town, and the destiny of Grecian freedom hung upon the fate of the death-place of Byron.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PHILHELLENES

THE rise of the Philhellenes produced a profound effect on the future and fortunes of Greece. The cause of Greek freedom was of a nature to arouse enthusiasm in all parts of Europe, and to identify the struggle for liberation from the Mohammedan yoke with the cause of Liberty all over the world. Those who had fought for this cause in their own country, even though they had been ousted in the struggle, naturally fled to Greece, to lend their assistance to a people who had better hopes of success and whose oppressions were more generally obnoxious. So we find Fabvier, Santa Rosa and Collegno fighting for the Greeks, as well as Count Almeida, who had fled from Portugal; General Rossaroli, who had been condemned to death as a Carbonari in Sicily; Poles such as Mizewski, who fell at Peta; and Germans like Franz Lieber. No doubt many of these were disillusionised and disappointed. They found in the barbarous Klephts few representatives of Aristides and Epaminondas, but they threw the blame not so much on the nation as on its oppressors. What else could be expected of a people that had been subjected for four hundred years to every kind of barbarous misgovernment?

The general enthusiasm for the Hellenic cause led to the foundation of Philhellenic societies in different parts of Europe. Germany was among the first to feel the impulse. Ipitis, the body surgeon of Alexander Ypsilanti, appeared there in 1824, and secured the support of Frederick Thiersch in Munich, who received the title of Præceptor Bavariæ. He proposed the formation of a German legion in Greece. At Aschaffenburg, E. L. von Dalberg, who had commanded a regiment of the *Landwehr* in the War of Liberation, offered himself as the leader of a corps of volunteers to Greece. A society for assisting the Grecian cause with money was formed first in Stuttgart by Schott, the friend of the poet Uhland, and similar associations were established in Tübingen, Freiburg, Heidelberg, Darmstadt, Frankfort and Munich. The movement spread to Northern Germany, and Voss, the translator of Homer, contributed a thousand gulden to the cause.

This agitation was strongly opposed by Metternich, who

regarded it as toying with the revolution; and his disgust was increased by the suspicion that Ludwig, Crown Prince of Bavaria, and the King of Wurtemberg were favourable to the Philhellenes. He urged the Court of Berlin to emulate his hostility. Thiersch was given to understand that unless he desisted from the insurrectionary efforts he would be removed from his post. The movement, however, spread. Money was collected for the Greeks, and expeditions were dispatched to help them. William Müller, the popular poet, wrote a number of Greek songs, which had an enormous circulation and were incorporated with the literature of the people.

The next country to obey the impulse was Switzerland, whose history had so much in common with the history of the Greeks. Zürich became the centre of an agitation, at the head of which were Bremi, Orelli and Hirzel, and a union of the German and Swiss Committees took place at Stuttgart in September, 1822. The result was a loan of 150,000 gulden, and the formation of a body of 200 volunteers, many of them of very doubtful character. They were intended to assist the rising in Eastern Hellas, but proved a dismal failure and returned home without having effected anything.

The flame of Philhellenism now seized upon England, its progress being largely due to the murderous outrages in Chios. Attention was called to them by Thomas Stuart Hughes. Lord Erskine, anticipating the action of Gladstone in the Bulgarian massacres, wrote an open letter to Lord Liverpool, begging him to renounce the alliance of the murderers in Constantinople and to lead the movement for the liberation of Greece. When Canning succeeded Castlereagh as Foreign Minister, the Tories became better disposed to the Grecian cause, which had always been supported by the Whigs and Radicals. A committee for assisting the Greeks, formed in London at the beginning of 1823, was joined by Erskine, Joseph Hume, Hobhouse and Bowring. The Zürich Philhellenes hailed the co-operation of England with joy. Captain Edward Blaquière, the secretary of the London society, was sent to the Morea to make inquiries, and on his return, on September 13th, 1823, published a favourable report. He said that the National Assembly at Astros had introduced popular education on the method of Bell and Lancaster, and that schools had been founded in Tripolitza, Gastuni and Mesolonghi. Blaquière also published a history of the Greek Revolution in 1824.

But undoubtedly the most important recruit of the Philhellenes was Lord Byron. He had been passionately enthusiastic

for the cause of liberty in Italy, and through Count Gamba, of Ravenna, the brother of Countess Guiccioli, had been closely connected with the operations of the Carbonari. When the cause of Italian liberty seemed hopeless, he turned to Greece. He heard of the London Philhellenic Society from Blaquière, and was appointed its representative. He sailed from Genoa on July 15th, 1823, in a vessel provided with arms, munitions of war, medical appliances and money, and was accompanied by Count Gamba and Shelley's friend, Trelawney, who afterwards married the sister of Odysseus. On July 29th, 1823, in Leghorn, he received the last greetings of Goethe, and anchored in the harbour of Argostoli, in the island of Cephalonia, then under the protection of Great Britain, of which Charles Napier was the governor. Byron found himself the object of competition between the factions at that time dividing Greece. Petrobey was anxious to obtain the loan of a few thousand pounds, and Kolokotronis was ready to receive him in the Morea, on condition that the hated Mavrocordatos was placed on the back of a donkey and flogged out of the country. Byron, however, felt drawn to Mavrocordatos, whom he regarded as the Greek Washington or Kosciusko. He entered into negotiations with him, and, when Mavrocordatos established himself at Mesolonghi at the end of 1823, Byron sailed thither and reached the town on January 5th, 1824. He was received with royal honours, and was lodged with the Primate, Tricoupis. Unfortunately, he caught a chill on April 9th and died of fever ten days afterwards, on April 19th, 1824.

The spirit of Philhellenism now infected France, receiving an impulse from Fauriel's *Popular Songs of Modern Greece*. The cause was supported by the painter Delacroix and the poet Delavigne, and was stimulated by the news of the Egyptian invasion of the Morea. A philanthropic society in favour of the Greeks was formed at Paris in May, 1825, which numbered on its committee men of such different views as Chateaubriand and Sebastiani, Duke Fitzjames and the banker Laffitte. Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orleans, was one of the first subscribers. Bazaars, exhibitions and collections in favour of the Greeks were held in nearly every French town. With France was closely connected Genoa, where the historian Sismondi worked for the cause. Another prominent Philhellene was Eynard, the diplomatist, who sent 50,000 francs to the Paris Committee. Blaquière complained that Paris was more active than London. In fact, Louis Philippe had great hopes of obtaining the crown of Greece for his second son, the Duc

de Nemours. Other adherents were Prince Leopold of Coburg, the Prince of Wasa, and Jerome Bonaparte.

On the other hand, Mavrocordatos, his brother-in-law Spiridion Tricoupis, and the principal inhabitants of the islands and the Morea were in favour of the predominance of Great Britain. Canning was known to be in favour of liberty on the Continent. When in the summer a communication came from Russia, proposing that peace should be made with Turkey on the basis of a limited independence, the provisional Government begged for the assistance of Great Britain. They were influenced in this by the support already accorded to the Spanish colonies in America. The feeling in favour of Great Britain was strengthened by the conduct of Commodore Hamilton in the assault of Nauplia by Ibrahim, and Mavrocordatos succeeded at the beginning of August in persuading the executive council to place themselves finally under British protection. The request was signed by several thousand persons; four copies were made, of which two were sent to the Commissioners of the Ionian Islands and two to Canning. The French and the Americans protested in vain, but Hamilton was the idol of the ruling party.

Mesolonghi still held out. In January, 1826, Miaoulis succeeded in forcing the lagoon and bringing assistance to the besieged, but after his departure the town was invested by a combined force of Turks and Egyptians. All suggestions of surrender were rejected, house after house was bombarded and destroyed, but the inhabitants vied in bravery with the Palikars. Ibrahim had jested at Reshid's not being able to take the place, but Reshid could now return the compliment. Ibrahim was determined to attack the lagoons first, and Fort Vasiladhi, which covered them, was captured on March 9th. Three days later the island of Dolma was stormed, which led to the fall of Anatoliko. The inhabitants fled with the remains of their provisions to Arta. The Commissioners of the Ionian Islands attempted to mediate with the Turks, but to no purpose, and the unequal contest still went on. The island of Klisova resisted a force seven times as large as its garrison, which made a sortie, in which Reshid Pasha was wounded and many Albanians and Egyptians were killed. But no help came to Mesolonghi from the outside. The Government in Nauplia was helpless; Fabvier had suffered a severe check in Euboea; Kolokotronis sulked in the Morea; Miaoulis tried his luck again with a small squadron, but it was too weak to effect anything; hunger and sickness were helping the work of the besieger, and the Swiss doctor, Meyer, wrote to a friend, "Our hour is at hand."

The brave defenders determined not to surrender without a blow. They sent a message to Karaiskakis in the mountains to attack the enemy in the rear, but he was ill with fever and his lieutenant could only command a few hundred Klephts. In the evening of April 22nd some musket-shots gave the signal of their approach. But Ibrahim and Reshid were on the watch, and they were driven back by a more numerous band of Albanians. The garrison waited for a second signal, and when none came, and midnight approached, they determined to break out—old men, women, children, sick and wounded, all indeed who could move. They were received by a hail of musket-balls, a cry arose of "Back!" and the unwieldy mass now began to retreat. The enemy pressed with them into the town, and all males were slain. Constantine Tricoupis and Kokinis, the engineer of the fortress, fell, and with them Philhellenes like the Swiss Meyer and the Prussian Dittmar. The Bishop of Rogon set fire to a powder magazine and was afterwards beheaded, half burnt. The aged Primate, Kapsalis, shut himself up in a windmill full of cartridges, with a number of men unarmed like himself, and blew it up, singing a hymn as the enemy were breaking in from the roof. Some thousands of women and children, rescued from the burning city, were sold into slavery. In the beginning of June a handful of 1,300 fugitives from Mesolonghi reached Salona, among them only seven women and a few children.

The heroic fate of Mesolonghi aroused enthusiasm for the Hellenic cause throughout the whole of the West, and its siege became the theme of poet and painter throughout Europe. The new King of Bavaria, Ludwig, gave 20,000 gulden towards the Greek cause. He brought Philhellenism to the throne, and after the fall of Mesolonghi spent 100,000 francs on the Greeks. In Berlin, Hufeland and Neander signed an appeal in favour of Greece, the King himself subscribing 1,200 friedrichs d'or, and noble ladies going about with collecting-boxes. A concert given by the famous singer, Sonntag, produced a large sum. Stein subscribed £20 a year for the unhappy victims of the savage Ottomans, and Niebuhr saw, not without emotion, his son Marcus empty his money-box for the Greeks. New life was thrown into the movement in Switzerland, and the Genevese Eynard redoubled his efforts. He held constant correspondence with the heads of the Greek Government, and had representatives in Ancona, Corfu, Zante, Cerigo and Nauplia, while he kept Europe fully informed of the course of events.

Enthusiasm was just as strong in Paris. The Duchesse de

Broglie made collections for the Greeks, and Rossini gave concerts for them. French workmen contributed their sous in the cause of freedom. Philhellenism became the fashion, and Marseilles, Lyons and Nîmes vied with Paris. Chateaubriand forbade captured Greeks to be carried to the slave-markets in French ships. Noailles proposed that the Peers should contribute a sum of money for their liberation, and was supported by Benjamin Constant, while Perier, Sebastiani and Hyde de Neuville rebuked the lethargy of Villèle. It is said that up to the end of 1826 the Paris Committee had contributed a million and a half of francs to the Greek cause. But the moral support of the Greeks was even stronger than the material. Hyde de Neuville said, "The Greeks are no revolutionists; they are fighting for their God and their freedom"; and all Europe was of the same opinion. Similar feeling manifested itself in Stockholm, Edinburgh, The Hague and Florence. High and low, Conservatives and Liberals, believers and unbelievers, were at one with each other. For the first time since 1815 there was a real European Concert.

After the Congress of Verona, the Tsar had committed all negotiations with the Porte to the care of the Allies—that is, to whatever the representatives of Austria and Great Britain might persuade the Turks to grant at Constantinople. The question of chief importance for Russia was the evacuation by the Turks of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the appointment of a Hospodar. There remained the questions of the navigation of the Black Sea and the occupation of certain fortresses in Asia Minor to which the Turks raised objections. Russia, therefore, declined to send an ambassador to Constantinople until these matters were regulated. Nor could the future condition of the Greeks be a matter of indifference to either Russia or Turkey, although it did not take the first place. The Turks showed some disposition to yield in the navigation of the Black Sea, but resisted the complete evacuation of the Principalities.

The Tsar and the Emperor of Austria met in October at Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina. Metternich was unwell and had to remain behind in Lemberg. "Any war," said the Tsar, "except the one undertaken against revolution and revolutionaries would at the present moment endanger the existence of all Governments. I dread it, as I should consider it a misfortune for the whole of Europe. If the general interest demanded that the Turks should be driven from Europe I should be happy to use all my efforts to that end, but I would never attack them by myself." The Tsar further proposed that the pacification of

Greece should be discussed at St. Petersburg, with the co-operation of the representatives of Austria, Prussia, Great Britain and France.

The Russian plan for the pacification of the Greeks was as follows, contained in a memoir dated January 9th, 1824. It laid down that the Turks would never consent to the independence of Greece, and that the Greeks would never submit to resume their former position. Accordingly, it was necessary to find a middle course the results of which were to be placed under the guarantee of the Great Powers. Three principalities were to be formed under the suzerainty of the Sultan—Eastern Greece, from the northern frontier of Thessaly to the sea; Western Greece, consisting of Epirus, Ætolia, and Acarnania; and thirdly, the Morea, with the possible addition of Crete. The islands of the Archipelago were to remain with Turkey, but their principal institutions were to be secured. The Sultan was to receive a yearly tribute, with permission to keep garrisons in certain places. The Greeks were to be allowed full freedom of commerce, under their own flag, and all officials were to be Greek. They were, further, to be represented at the Porte by the Patriarch of Constantinople, whose independence was to be secured by international law.

This proposal was equally distasteful to Greece and Turkey. The Greeks would accept nothing short of independence, and the Turks objected to foreign interference in their affairs. The French were well disposed towards it, but Berlin and Vienna gave it a half-hearted reception. On the other hand, Canning was more than suspected of being a Philhellene. Sir Thomas Maitland, who died in 1824, was succeeded as Commissioner of the Ionian Islands by Frederick Adam, well known to be a friend of the Greeks.

The St. Petersburg Conference, held in June and July, produced little effect; but matters were looking better in the land of the Golden Horn, where the new Grand Vizir, Ghalib, was a man of European culture. The Porte declared its willingness to reduce its army in the provinces to what it was before Ypsilanti's raid. This paved the way for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia. Lord Strangford, who did not share the views of Canning, prepared to leave his post. But even before he left, Ghalib had expressed his discontent at the Russian plan. The differences between Metternich and Canning grew gradually wider, but Metternich did his best to prevent Great Britain from leaving the alliance. Canning had selected his cousin, Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, as the successor of Lord Strangford at Constantinople. On his way to his mission he was

to visit Vienna and St. Petersburg, with the double purpose of excusing Great Britain from taking part in the St. Petersburg Conferences and of settling some differences between Great Britain and Russia with regard to the north Armenian frontier.

In Vienna Stratford Canning had long conferences with Metternich and Gentz. Gentz describes him as "the other eye of his cousin," and the discussions proved almost barren. His reception in St. Petersburg by the Tsar and Nesselrode was chilling, and he was told that it was no good saying anything so long as Great Britain would take no part in the conference.

The second St. Petersburg Conference dated from February 24th to April 7th, 1825. It began with a proposal from Russia that Turkey should be compelled to grant an armistice to the Greeks by threats of withdrawing all ambassadors from Constantinople, and that negotiations between the Turks and the Greeks should take place on a neutral ship in the Bosphorus, under the mediation of the Great Powers. Metternich was afraid that a measure of this kind might lead to a war between Russia and the Porte, which he was most anxious to avoid, and he said, of the two alternatives—withdrawal of ambassadors or Greek independence—he preferred the latter. This master-stroke was intended to frighten the Porte and force Russia to drop the mask. Nesselrode protested in answer that Russia had no desire for Greek independence, that she wished Greece should remain under Turkey, but with a more peaceful existence and complete administrative independence. The continuance of the conference only accentuated the differences between Austria and Russia. At length, on April 7th, a protocol was signed, by which the representatives of the Powers in Constantinople were to put pressure upon the Reis Effendi to admit the mediation of the Great Powers. But no sanction was laid down in case of failure, although the Tsar would have desired, to apply compulsion.

Metternich received the news of the conclusion of the conferences at Paris with much satisfaction. He had gone there to confer with Charles X., Villèle and Damas about the Eastern question, in which France was now taking a more active interest. General Guilleminot had been sent to Constantinople in the spring of 1824 with magnificent presents. He established the new French Embassy in the Golden Horn in stately splendour, while Admiral de Rigny was sent with a fleet to the Levant. Metternich naturally supported the policy of France, as diminishing the influence of Russia. He was in high spirits, and thought that he had achieved a brilliant success. George IV. invited him to England,

and Metternich believed that if he could have accepted the invitation he would soon have annihilated the influence of Canning. But Canning opposed his coming so strongly that he thought it advisable to decline. So he went from Paris to Milan, where he was to meet the Emperor Francis and report his successes.

Meanwhile, the proposals of the St. Petersburg Conference were emphatically rejected by the Porte. The Reis Effendi declared, "The Greek question is purely a domestic one; we watch over our Rayahs as jealously as we watch over our harems." Metternich was more delighted than ever over the humilation of Russia, and still more jubilant at hearing that the Greek Government at Nauplia had, on August 1st, 1825, placed itself under the protection of Great Britain. He regarded this as a species of Divine intervention which comes specially to help those who follow what is right. He said, "What line will Mr. Canning now take? That is for him to decide; but, whatever he does, it is quite certain that he will always stick in the mud." However, in the result Russia deserted the Alliance. On August 18th Nesselrode announced that his master had resolved henceforth to act in the Eastern question without reference to his allies, and with consideration of his own dignity and the interests of his Empire. Tatischev was ordered to hold no further communications with Metternich. On the other hand, there was a *rapprochement* between Russia and Great Britain which was marked by the dispatch of Lord Strangford to St. Petersburg.

Canning took pains not to offend the susceptibilities of Russia by too much eagerness for the Greek cause. Being asked whether there was any likelihood of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg accepting the Greek crown, he said that this would be impossible without the consent of the Sovereigns, and their consent would certainly not be given. In sending this answer, he begged it might not be regarded as a proof of unfriendliness towards Greece if Great Britain determined to adopt an attitude of "unswerving neutrality." Next day, August 30th, a Royal Proclamation warned British subjects of the danger of violating this neutrality; so, when the document of August 1st arrived from Nauplia, Canning announced his readiness to put an end to further bloodshed, but declined the offered protectorate.

At this time Caninng also sought to unite Great Britain with France in putting an end to the conflict in the East. He contemplated a junction of the British, Russian and French fleets for the purpose of enforcing peace between the combatants. Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador, became on more familiar terms

with Canning and agreed that the past should be forgotten and that the two Governments should have confidence in each other. This change of attitude was to be communicated to Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington, but not to the King, who was sure to report it to Esterhazy.

In this manner, towards the end of 1825, an understanding was completed between Russia and Great Britain. It only required the seal of the Emperor Alexander to give it efficacy. But his sudden and unexpected death at Taganrog, December 1st, 1825, produced an entire change in the course of Eastern policy.

CHAPTER XV

THE ACCESSION OF NICHOLAS I. AND THE TREATY OF LONDON

THE Tsar Alexander had no children and, on August 28th, 1823, had drawn up a paper assigning the throne to his younger brother Nicholas instead of to the elder brother Constantine. Constantine had also written a formal renunciation of the succession. He felt that he was not fit to govern ; moreover, he had been separated from his wife in 1820 and had no heir to the throne. He was also anxious to marry the Polish Countess Grudzinska, whose children would not be entitled to the succession. Alexander was not willing to publish the document in his lifetime, but the original was preserved in the Church of the Assumption at Moscow, and copies were kept in the archives of the Council of State, the Senate and the Synod. The seals of these documents were to be broken after his death. These facts were told to the Empress Mother, when assent had been obtained to the arrangement ; and Prince William of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor William, heard of it on a visit to St. Petersburg and informed his father. Nicholas, of course, knew all about it. Before his departure for Taganrog, Alexander was advised by Prince Alexander Galitzin to make the document public, but refused, saying, " Let us depend upon God : He will understand how to direct matters better than we poor mortals."

When Alexander felt himself dying he did not say a word about the succession, and the two general-adjutants who were present at his death-bed, Prince Volkonski and General Diebich, regarded it as their duty to consider Constantine as Emperor. Diebich directed the dispatch sent to Warsaw announcing Alexander's death, " To His Majesty, the Emperor Constantine," and asked for his commands. When Constantine heard of the news he surrendered himself to sorrow, but forbade those who surrounded him to give him the title of Tsar. He read the renunciation to Novolsitzov and a few others, and sent his brother Michael to St. Petersburg with a letter affirming it. The authorities at Warsaw were anxious to salute him as Tsar, but he shut himself up in his palace under plea of illness and would see no one. Nicholas was prepared to assume the sceptre, but Miloradovich,

the Governor-General of St. Petersburg, had informed him, two days before the news of the Tsar's death arrived from Taganrog, that he would not allow anyone but Constantine to succeed to the throne, and when the news came he announced that everyone must swear allegiance to Constantine. Nicholas did so, although his mother told him that the sealed paper should be opened first, and all authorities in the capital followed his example.

When the Council of State assembled in the afternoon Galitzin demanded that the document of August 28th, 1823, should be unsealed, and the copy preserved in their archives was accordingly opened and read. Then Miloradovich appeared and stated that Nicholas had already taken the oath of allegiance to Constantine. Nicholas refused to attend the sitting, and induced all the members of the Council of State to take the oath to Constantine. This was done, and the document was sealed up again. The copies in the archives of the Senate and of the Synod were not touched. The original, which, according to Alexander's orders, had to be unsealed by the Archbishop and the Governor-General of Moscow, was also left unopened. Constantine received homage in Moscow likewise. A decree of the Senate ordered that an oath of allegiance should be taken to him throughout the Empire, passports were prepared in his name, and his portrait was exhibited in all the windows as that of the new Tsar.

These events produced considerable confusion. Prince Sachovski said to Miloradovich, "If Constantine holds to his resignation your taking the oath will be regarded as an act of violence." Miloradovich answered, "When one has 100,000 bayonets in one's pocket, it is easy to speak with boldness." Nicholas had immediately sent an adjutant to Warsaw to inform Constantine of what had occurred, with a few lines in which he signed himself "Your faithful subject." This messenger was crossed by the Grand Duke Michael, who brought Constantine's renunciation to St. Petersburg. The Imperial family were in great embarrassment. They did their best to persuade Constantine to come himself to St. Petersburg, or at any rate to make a public declaration of his intentions, and the Empress Mother and Nicholas wrote to him to this effect. The letter was answered on December 24th. Constantine was deeply distressed that the provisions of Alexander had not been followed, and rated the Council of State soundly for neglect of duty. He refused either to abdicate or to issue a proclamation, but gave Nicholas his blessing as Emperor and referred everybody to Alexander's declaration, which he said would explain everything.

Nicholas was determined to act, and a manifesto announcing his succession was drawn up by Speranski. The Council of State was summoned on December 25th to hear this from the mouth of Nicholas. When he took leave of them he said, " To-day I entreat, to-morrow I shall command you." On the following day the manifesto was published and an oath of allegiance was taken to the Tsar Nicholas. This led to the rebellion of the Decabrists, as they were called. With Prince Trubetzkoi as their leader, they determined to assemble as many troops as possible in the Senate Square and seize the Winter Palace, the ministerial offices, the post, and the banks. They hoped for a provisional government, which should grant a Constitution with representative government and abolish serfdom. A Diet was then to be elected which would determine upon the election of a new Tsar. There is no doubt that the ends of the Decabrists were as pure as their methods were ridiculous, but they acted with incredible frivolity.

The morning of December 26th broke cold and cheerless. Nicholas said to Alexander von Bernstoff, " This evening perhaps we shall not be alive, but if we die we shall die in doing our duty." The commanding officers of the divisions, brigades, and regiments of the Guards had been summoned. Nicholas appeared before them and read to them his own manifesto, Constantine's renunciation, and Alexander's testament. He received from them an assurance that they regarded him as their legitimate sovereign. He made them answer with their lives for the safety of the capital, and said, as he parted from them, " For myself, if I am Emperor only for an hour, I will show myself worthy of the post."

The first sign of disaffection came from the horse artillery of the guard. Some officers said that the Grand Duke Michael had been removed from St. Petersburg as a supporter of Constantine, and demanded that he should appear and confirm the legality of Nicholas's accession.. Michael went into the barracks and removed all doubts. In the meantime a part of the Moscow Guard regiments refused the oath. The soldiers accepted what they were told by Alexander Bestuchev and his companions, and refused to take the oath to Nicholas, who they believed had violently seized the throne and murdered his brother in prison. Two generals who tried to appease the rebels were wounded. About a thousand men, accompanied by a crowd, marched into the Senate Square with cries of " Hurrah, Constantine ! " There they were joined by a battalion of the Marine Guard, a battalion of the Finland Guard, and three companies of bodyguards. This handful of rebels stood round the monument of Peter the Great, in a temperature

of 10 degrees below zero, with an east wind blowing. The soldiers had no idea of the purpose of the revolution. They were told to shout, "Long live the Constitution!" and they thought it was the name of Constantine's wife. A large crowd gazed at the spectacle without moving a finger. Prince Trubetzkoi was nowhere to be seen, and at length, when Prince Obolenski took the command, there was complete anarchy, all shouting in confusion.

This disorderly body might have been dispersed by a single cannon-shot, but half the day passed before the order was given. Nicholas desired to avoid bloodshed, and he did not know how far he could reckon on the support of the army. In the course of the day he gave orders that if necessary the Imperial family should leave St. Petersburg. Standing before the Winter Palace, he read his manifesto and received the homage of the crowd. Those nearest to him kissed him, and he returned their kisses. Then he placed himself at the head of the Preobradzhensky Guard and summoned the cavalry of the guard to his aid. Miloradovich, relying on his popularity, went into the midst of the insurgents and addressed them. They seemed to listen to him, but he was fatally wounded by the pistol of Lieutenant Kutsovsky. Some others were killed and stones were thrown, but as the cavalry advanced all fled. The entrances to the square were occupied, new regiments surrounded the insurgents, and, when cannon arrived, their muzzles were pointed at the crowd.

The Grand Duke Michael made an attempt, at the risk of his life, to persuade the soldiers of the guard to return to their duty, but with no success. Then the Metropolitans of St. Petersburg and Kiev appeared in full canonicals, but their voices were drowned by the beating of drums. It began to grow dark, and Generals Toll and Vasiltzikov urged Nicholas to fire, and the guns were loaded. A final attempt at pacification was made by General Suchosanet, who promised a pardon if the ringleaders were given up, but he was fired at. Then the first shot was fired over the heads of the crowd, but others struck in their midst, and the insurgents dispersed in wild confusion. Many were killed in the side streets, and several were drowned in the Neva. At 7 in the evening Nicholas returned to his family, and attended a solemn Te Deum. The city soon resumed its normal appearance. The Decabrists' trials came to an end in the summer of 1826. Five of the accused were condemned to be quartered, among them the famous Pestel, and thirty-one were condemned to execution. But the harshness of their sentences was mitigated by the Tsar, and eventually only five were put to death.

Before Alexander's death Russia had deserted the European Concert, and effected an alliance with Great Britain, the conclusion of which was only prevented by his demise. The events which immediately followed aroused keen interest in Vienna. Metternich naturally desired the accession of Constantine. He said: "With him a history would begin for Russia, in which romance would have no place." He believed that Constantine was devoted to Austria, detested the British, despised the French, and regarded Prussia as possessed with the revolutionary spirit. On the other hand, Nicholas was rather opposed to the Austrian policy. He was aware that Count Lebzeltern, the Ambassador of Austria to St. Petersburg and the brother-in-law of Trubetzkoi, had been connected with the Decabrists. Certainly he had shown himself in favour of Constantine, and had said that the accession of Nicholas would be a misfortune for Russia. Lebzeltern, therefore, knew that his position was untenable, and asked to be recalled. Metternich dreaded a war between Russia and Turkey.

An opportunity now occurred of sounding the views of Nicholas on the Greek question. The Archduke Ferdinand of Este was sent by Austria to congratulate Nicholas on his accession, together with the Duke of Wellington from Great Britain and Prince William from Prussia. The Archduke brought a suggestion that the five Powers should propose a mediation between Greece and the Porte, which, however, neither country should be punished for not accepting. If Turkey showed great stubbornness, Russia might withdraw her ambassador from Constantinople. Canning disliked this proposal, but Metternich approved of it, and recommended it warmly to the Tsar.

The Archduke was well received, and Nicholas wished to be joined with Austria and Prussia in securing the peace of Europe. He expressed some dislike of Great Britain, and called the Greeks "rebels," but he also showed an intention of putting pressure on Turkey. "I have the necessary means," he said; "I will soon settle the rascals." He seemed, however, to lay more stress on the points in dispute between Russia and Turkey than on the fate of Greece. Metternich did his best to moderate the excitement of the war party in St. Petersburg, and to counsel submission at Constantinople. On April 5th, 1826, a Russian ultimatum was presented to the Porte. It asked for the restoration of the Principalities in every respect to the position in which they were before the disturbances of 1821, for the granting of the demands of Servia, the liberation of the ambassadors who were kept in prison at Constantinople, and the carrying out of the Treaty of Bucharest.

These demands did not cause any great excitement, but the terms in which they were couched were peremptory. An answer was to be given in six weeks, and failing it, the Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, would be occupied by a Russian army. Metternich used all his influence to get these terms accepted, and on May 4th the Porte agreed to them.

As he passed through the Archipelago on his way to Constantinople, Stratford Canning had met Mavrocordatos and Zopalus, a member of the Greek Parliament, on the coast of Hydra, on January 9th. He proposed to mediate on the terms that Greece should receive, not complete independence, but a certain amount of self-government, pay a yearly tribute to the Porte, and compensate the Turkish landed proprietors. That the Greeks should contemplate the acceptance of such terms shows the low state to which they were reduced. But at Constantinople itself Stratford Canning had no success at all. The Turks were elated by their victories, and would not hear of the mediation of Great Britain. Ottenfels, the Austrian Ambassador, was delighted. He wrote to Vienna, "Never was the Porte less disposed to surrender itself to England than now." Metternich replied: "Stratford Canning has come to the end of his business. Instead of saving the Greeks, he has isolated his own country."

But Metternich was mistaken. Wellington was now in St. Petersburg and Count Lieven arrived there at the same time. On April 4th, 1826, a protocol was signed between Great Britain and Russia in the following terms:—The two Powers were to propose to the Porte the recognition of a position for Greece similar to that which Stratford Canning had sketched at Hydra, and the Greeks had practically accepted; the Sultan was to retain his suzerainty; the Greeks were to pay a fixed yearly tribute, to have the right of choosing their governors, subject to the approval of the Porte, to have freedom of government, of commerce and of worship, and to have permission to acquire land now held by Turks, so as to effect a complete separation between the two nations. The limits of the new Greece were to be defined later. There was no mention of compulsion, but Russia and Great Britain bound themselves to regard these points as the foundation of an arrangement between the two parties. Both parties were to renounce for themselves any increase of territory, predominating influence, and any special commercial advantages.

This protocol was to be communicated confidentially to Vienna, Paris and Berlin, with the offer of joining in it, but it became known long before it was officially published. Nicholas protested

to Lebzeltern that he thought he deserved the gratitude of his allies by having compelled Great Britain to forgo any selfish advantage, and he used similar language to Laferronays. But, as a fact, the Alliance had received a fatal blow by Russia uniting herself with Great Britain, which since the Congress of Verona had gone her own way. Canning was quite aware of this, although the Tsar attempted to conceal it. He laid stress on the fact that the mediation was an independent act of the two Powers, made before they had been requested by the belligerents to exercise mediation. Metternich was beside himself. He called the protocol a "miserable work," for which he would not be responsible. It could have no practical results: should peace be kept between Russia and Turkey, Canning would not interfere in favour of the Greeks, but should war break out, the fate of Greece would depend upon its issue. The protocol had been published by *The Times*, but it seemed to produce no effect.

More attention was paid to the negotiations which were going on in the Bessarabian town of Akkerman with regard to the execution of the Treaty of Bucharest. The main question in dispute was the surrender of certain fortresses in Asia Minor, which had been occupied by Russia. The feeling in Russia was in favour of war, and nothing remained for the Turks but absolute submission. Indeed, at the moment Turkey found herself unarmed. She had depended for her defence on a body of janizaries, a Prætorian Guard who enjoyed special privileges, but were unsuited to modern warfare, and exercised a tyrannous control over the Government. Mehmed conceived the plan of selecting 150 men from each battalion who should form the nucleus of an army drilled and exercised by Arabs on European methods. Hearing of this the janizaries mutinied, expecting to be supported by the populace and the Ulemas or priests. Both, however, withheld their countenance, and on June 16th, 1826, thousands of the rebels were destroyed by bullet, fire and sword. The janizaries throughout the Empire were abolished and a beginning was made of a new model army. But, as this required time, the Turks meanwhile were powerless, and Mehmed had no other course but to submit to the Russian demands, and the Treaty of Akkerman was signed on October 6th, 1826. It allowed Russia to occupy the fortresses in Asia Minor and to acquire a rectification of frontiers in Bessarabia; promised Russian subjects full compensation for their losses and unlimited freedom of navigation in all Turkish waters; and gave a firm position to Servia in the Principalities. The Hospodars were to be elected from the Boyars, and could not be deposed without

the consent of Russia. Indeed, by the Convention of Akkerman, Russia became almost the sovereign of the two Principalities.

Canning formed the idea of keeping a strong British squadron in the Archipelago, in order to intercept the Egyptian fleet on its way to Greece, and thus render Ibrahim Pasha impotent. When Lieven returned to England, after having been raised to the rank of prince, the negotiations between him and Canning were resumed. The latter desired to put every pressure upon the Porte short of actual war. This was to be effected by sending consular agents to Greece, by recognising the provisional government of Greece, and, in the last resort, by threatening the recognition of the independence of the Morea and the islands. He wrote to his cousin: "Every means, except war, will be employed to break the Turkish obstinacy. You need not fear that the Holy Alliance will fetter you. It no longer marches in step."

Canning now proceeded to constitute a triple alliance for the liberation of Greece, between Russia, Great Britain and France, and for this purpose he went to Paris, where the enthusiasm of Philhellenism was very strong. He desired to counteract the influence which Metternich had exerted a year before, and found Charles X., Villèle and Damas ready to fall in with his views. They proposed to turn the St. Petersburg protocol into a formal treaty, a scheme which entirely coincided with the views of Canning, who returned to London full of confidence, and renewed his conversations with Lieven. Lieven went even farther than he did. He was empowered to agree that the signatories of the protocol should, even without the co-operation of the other Powers, break off diplomatic relations with the Porte if the Turks did not accept its terms. Canning was not prepared to go as far as this. As much of the correspondence between them as was not confidential was, at the end of the year, communicated to the Courts of Paris, Berlin and Vienna, with a request that they would collaborate in carrying out the protocol. Their answers soon arrived. France was quite ready to accept the proposal and turn the protocol into a treaty, but Metternich feared to use measures by which a sovereign might be compelled to renounce his authority over his subjects, and Bernstorff demanded absolute unanimity from the members of the great European alliance.

The Turks showed no disposition to yield. The Reis Effendi remarked that the Turks had never attempted to mediate in the quarrels between Great Britain and the Irish; why, then, should Great Britain interfere in the rebellion of the Greeks? The Russians were told that all their demands had been satisfied at Akkerman. The Porte issued a manifesto on June 9th, which was

communicated to the Great Powers and foiled all attempts in future at foreign intervention. Stratford Canning, in despair, advised that the cause of the Greeks should be given up, unless the Powers were prepared to employ force, and the Russians and French began to draw up schemes for a triple alliance.

At this juncture a change of government took place in England. Lord Liverpool fell seriously ill and the Wellington party left the Cabinet. Canning, with the assistance of the Whigs, formed a new Government, more favourable to the dissemination of Liberal opinion in Europe. One of the last official acts of Wellington was to object to an interpretation of the St. Petersburg protocol which might invest mediation between the Greeks and the Turks with the character of compulsion. Canning did not entirely agree with the attitude of Russia, but he was not unwilling to use the threat of compulsion in certain contingencies. France endorsed the views of Canning, but, as might be expected, Austria and Prussia held different opinions, which they justified in various ways. But all Metternich's attempts to discredit Canning in the eyes of the Russians and the French totally failed.

The Treaty of London was signed on July 6th, 1827. Great Britain, Russia and France bound themselves to put an end to further bloodshed in Greece and to crush piracy in the Archipelago at its fountain-head. They determined to offer an armistice to both the belligerents. If the Porte did not accept the mediation, the contracting Powers would take steps to show their sympathy with the Greeks, in the first instance by establishing commercial relations with them. If the armistice were not concluded within a month measures would be taken to compel them to it. This was to be done without taking the side of either belligerent. Everything else was left to the instructions which were to be given to the admirals commanding the three squadrons in the Levant. Further consultations would be held in London to meet emergencies.

A few days later the convention, together with the secret articles, was published in *The Times*, and great was the joy of the Philhellenes. If the treaty did not fulfil their expectations, it at least warranted the belief that the sufferings of Greece would soon be at an end. On the other hand, Metternich regarded the convention as an unholy action. He did not fear so much the political freedom of the Greeks, or the triumph of a new revolution in Europe, as the outbreak of war in the East. He wrote to Ottenfels: "The treaty may lead to anything except to that which is its object. What it certainly leads to is a war between Russia and the Porte." As the event showed, his inference was sound.

CHAPTER XVI

NAVARINO

AFTER the fall of Mesolonghi, the condition of Greece was most serious. Contemptuous critics asked where was the Greece for which the Great Powers were to undertake personal responsibility. One symptom of the country's state was that the National Assembly at Piadha relieved the members of the Government of their authority and offices. In its stead they appointed eleven men, under the presidency of Andreas Zaimis, as a temporary Committee of Government, and created also a Committee of Surveillance, with the Archbishop Germanos at its head. The Moreotes had a majority in both assemblies. When the new Government entered Nauplia, they found only sixteen piastres in the Treasury, and were continuously threatened by Suliote and Rumeliote marauders. Piracy at sea and disease on shore completed their misfortunes.

In other respects, however, matters were more promising. The numbers and enthusiasm of the Philhellenes throughout Europe grew apace. Money began to flow into the Greek coffers, the English loan was paid and creditors were satisfied. Moreover, the operations of the Turks, both at sea and in the Morea, were very weak. Mehmed began to cool in his devotion to the Porte, having good reason to believe that Chosrev, the Kapudan Pasha, his ancient enemy, was endeavouring to wear out his fleet. On the other hand, Reshid Pasha was able to capture Athens. The Acropolis was defended gallantly by Guras, and when he was killed by a stray shot, his widow took his place, and succeeded in rescuing the citadel from the hands of the Turks.

Warned by these events and by the fall of Mesolonghi, the Government removed from Piadha to the island of Aegina, on November 23rd. This change was followed by new victories. On December 6th Karaiskakis gained the Battle of Arachova, where he completely defeated Mustapha Bey, who commanded an army four times as strong as his own. Six days later the Frenchman, Fabvier, succeeded in forcing his way through the Turkish lines into the Acropolis. He brought the besieged a supply of powder, which they sadly needed, but, as his retreat was cut off, and he could not succeed in raising the siege, there were so many

more mouths to feed. Reshid Pasha continued the bombardment, doing irreparable harm to the buildings, and burying the widow of Guras under the ruins of the Erechtheum.

Another attempt was made by the Philhellenes to rescue the Acropolis. During the autumn the Englishman, Hastings, had arrived at Nauplia with his ship, the *Karteria*, which was followed in December by an American vessel, the *Hellas*. Thomas Cochrane, afterwards Lord Dundonald, was expected to take the command of the fleet, and Richard Church to take charge of the army. Before they arrived, Thomas Gordon, a Scot, determined to imperil his life for the cause he loved, and was joined by the Bavarian Colonel von Heideck, who had been sent with several officers and sergeants by King Ludwig. Gordon's plan was to land some thousand men at the Piræus, protected by the guns of Hastings. Another body was to march from Eleusis to Menidhi. This was commanded by Colonel Bourbaki, of Cephalonia, whose son became a distinguished general under Napoleon III.

Everything was ready for the attack in February, 1827. On February 5th Gordon landed his troops and entrenched himself on the hill of Munichia, but was unable to capture the convent of St. Spiridion, which barred his passage. Bourbaki was defeated and killed on the march by Reshid Pasha, and the Palikars of Gordon's army fled to their ships and retired to Salamis. Reshid was now free to turn the whole of his strength against Gordon, who found himself blockaded. Attempts of Heideck and Karaiskakis to cut off Reshid's communications were not entirely successful, and the hopes of the Greeks now centred on the two great Englishmen, Church and Cochrane. Church landed at Argolis on March 13th, and was received by Kolokotronis and Metaxas with the cry, "Here is our father; we will obey him and our freedom will be secured." Church, however, left them and proceeded to the seat of government in Aegina. Cochrane, whose reputation was known in both hemispheres, arrived in command of a brig equipped by the French Philhellenes, and with a considerable sum of money from the same source. Both he and Church stipulated that, before they did anything, the Greeks should cease to quarrel among themselves and agree upon a united command.

At this time there were two main parties in Greece. One was headed by Kolokotronis, who was joined by the wealthy Hydriote, Konduriotti, and had its seat at Kastri, the ancient Hermione, in Argolis. The other, in Aegina, was led by Mavrocordatos and Tricoupis. The latter, devoted to Great Britain, was supported by Commodore Hamilton, and was in constant communication

with Stratford Canning. Kolokotronis, on the other hand, disliked the British and looked for support to Russia, especially to Capodistrias, who had been the favourite of the Emperor Alexander. The French party, who favoured the Duc d'Orléans, had by this time lost ground, but it was rather inclined to Kolokotronis. Cochrane and Church spoke their mind forcibly to both factions.

A new Assembly was summoned at Dramala, near the ruins of the ancient Troezen, and on April 11th, 1827, Capodistrias was elected President for seven years, with the consent of all parties and the sanction of Stratford Canning and Commodore Hamilton. Cochrane was appointed Chief Admiral and Miaoulis placed himself under his command, giving up to him the *Hellas*. On April 19th Church took the oath as Commander-in-Chief. They then set themselves to a united enterprise for the relief of the Acropolis. Three thousand soldiers marched from the Morea, by the Isthmus of Corinth, to Megara and Eleusis. A number of Hydriote and Spezziote mercenaries, paid by Cochrane, under the command of Urquhart, landed at Phalerum. Cochrane and Church consulted with Karaiskakis as to the best means of attack. The Greek advised the cutting-off of Reshid Pasha's supplies, but Cochrane determined on a front attack. On April 25th he stormed the Turkish trenches in front of St. Spiridion, but the monastery was still held by Albanians. After three days the defenders capitulated, but were most shamefully murdered by the Greeks. Gordon sent in his resignation to the Government, while Cochrane and Church protested against the outrage in vain.

Cochrane did not understand that the strength of the Greeks lay in guerilla warfare, and that they were comparatively useless for a direct attack. Thus he and Church continued to press on for the relief of the Acropolis, with the untoward results that Karaiskakis was killed on May 4th, and Church and Cochrane were completely defeated before Athens on May 6th. Reshid Pasha put 240 prisoners to death in revenge for the massacre of St. Spiridion. After this defeat, the Acropolis surrendered on June 6th, and, by the intervention of the French Admiral de Rigny, generous terms were granted to the besieged. They were to retire with arms and baggage and be shipped on board French and Austrian vessels. The convention was carried out honourably. Two thousand persons—men, women, and children—marched sadly from the scene of ancient glory to the shore.

The capture of the Acropolis set Reshid free for action in Rumelia, and he cleared the north of Klephts as far as the frontiers

of Thessaly. He might then have marched through the Isthmus of Corinth to assist Ibrahim, but the latter declined his aid. During the winter, Mehmed Ali had exacted hard terms from the Sultan. His enemy Chosrev was required to retire from the post of Kapudan Pasha, and the Kapudan Bey, Tahir, was established in his place. He was to go to Alexandria and receive the orders of Mehmed Pasha, and the island of Crete was placed under him. The command of the whole force in Greece, naval and military, was committed to his adopted son Ibrahim, who was strengthened by reinforcements. Ibrahim landed in Elis, marched to Patras, and was about to take part in the reduction of the Acropolis when he heard of the capitulation. Cochrane, anxious to recover his reputation, made an attack upon Alexandria, which wholly failed. Church found it difficult to reduce the Greek captains to obedience, a number of primates and kapitani either deserting the Greek cause or being lukewarm in its defence.

On May 17th, 1827, a Constitution was promulgated by the Assembly at Troezen which, although at first only a piece of paper, contemplated a united Greece, and served as a model for the constitution eventually adopted for the liberated Hellas. It was probably influenced by the Cortes Constitution of 1812.

A senate was established, elected by eparchies, extending over the whole of Greece. The president was responsible, but he had only a suspensive veto over the decrees of the senate. He nominated six ministers or state secretaries, who were responsible to the senate. The yearly meeting of the senate and the duration of its sittings were determined by the Constitution. The senate was elected for three years, with a renewal of a third every year. No one could be a deputy for two successive terms, a very unfortunate provision. This put an end to the idea of a divided or a tributary Greece, such as had been formed by Stratford Canning and the Powers. The news of the Treaty of London reached Nauplia at the end of July. One of its conditions proposed an armistice, and this was agreed to by the Greek Government, which removed to Aegina on August 21st.

On August 16th the ambassadors of Great Britain, Russia and France handed to the Reis Effendi the collective note which offered the mediation of the three Powers, and demanded the conclusion of an armistice. The answer was to be given within fourteen days. The Reis Effendi refused to receive the note, and said that the Porte would never suffer any mediation in favour of the Greeks. Again, on August 31st, the ambassadors informed the Reis Effendi that the three Powers would compel the granting of the armistice,

and he made answer that, "To the day of the Last Judgment, the Sublime Porte would never take cognisance of intervention, or armistice, or peace."

What were the admirals to do now? The Russian admiral, von Heyden, had not yet appeared, so that the responsibility lay upon Codrington and de Rigny. They were ordered to cut off all supplies of soldiers, arms and provisions, between Turkey or Egypt and Greece; to avoid all acts of war, though, as eventualities could not be foreseen, they were allowed a certain liberty of action, and to apply for instructions to the Conference of Ambassadors at Constantinople. This laid down, as the limits of their action, the coast of the Greek continent from the mouth of the Aspropotamo and the Gulf of Volo to the southern point of the Morea, the neighbouring islands of the Archipelago, including Euboea, but excluding Samos and Crete. On Codrington asking Stratford Canning how far he was to oppose force to force, the ambassador told him, on September 1st, that in case of necessity he was to allow his cannon to speak.

Colonel Cradock, a British officer, had been sent by Canning secretly to Mehmed Ali, to persuade him to refuse his assistance to the Turks, and not to hinder the operations of the Convention of London; but he appeared too late. The grand fleet, with four thousand fresh troops, munitions, money and provisions of all kinds, had already sailed on August 5th, under the command of Tahir, the Kapudan Bey, and Mohassem Ali, Mehmed Ali's son-in-law. Cradock persuaded Mehmed Ali to declare himself and Ibrahim neutral, and Mehmed consented, provided that Arabia and Syria were handed over to him, and his independence were recognised. Cradock did not feel authorised to agree to these terms, although he expected that, if Mehmed Ali made himself independent, Great Britain might then recognise him as such. Mehmed Ali, however, promised to send some warning to Ibrahim.

The armada entered the harbour of Navarino on September 8th, where it was impatiently expected by Ibrahim. It consisted, probably, of two ships of the line, twelve frigates, twenty corvettes and about a dozen and a half of smaller vessels and fireships, and about forty transports. It gave Ibrahim an overwhelming force, which it was to be feared he would use to deal a long-looked-for and fatal blow at Hydra and Spezzia. Codrington, for his part, without waiting for de Rigny, had sailed in pursuit, and when he heard that it had reached Navarino, he went thither and prepared to blockade it. He informed Ibrahim that the three Powers would carry out the provisions of the Convention of July regardless of

consequences. On September 22nd de Rigny also appeared and, together with Codrington, sent a warning letter to Ibrahim.

On the following day Codrington had an interview with Ibrahim, and received the impression that the latter would be glad to meet the views of the Powers, if Mehmed Ali allowed him to do so, but felt bound to have some regard for the suspicions of the Turks around him. On September 25th both admirals had an interview with Ibrahim in his tent, where they found him in the midst of the commanders of the fleet. He eventually gave his word that he would keep the armada in the harbour of Navarino until he could receive instructions from Constantinople and Alexandria. In the meantime he held that he was free to provision distant garrisons like Patras and Crete. The two admirals, content with this assurance, raised the blockade of the harbour, leaving only two warships. From private communications with Ibrahim, de Rigny imagined that, even if the Sultan ordered him to fight, a mere demonstration of the Allies would suffice to secure the withdrawal of the fleet either to Alexandria or the Dardanelles. Codrington was by no means so confident, but felt certain that, in consequence of secret instructions from Mehmed Ali, a month's practical armistice would be gained.

At the same time the Greeks were not disposed to give up the hopes of new conquests. In the second week of September Cochrane had appeared with a squadron before Mesolonghi, and bombarded Fort Vasiladhi. Codrington had heard of the probable landing of troops in Albania, which he and de Rigny thought quite inadmissible, and, on September 25th, they had assured Ibrahim that they would prevent anything that would extend the theatre of the war. At the same time, they said that until the Porte accepted the armistice the Greeks might move as they pleased within the prescribed limits; but Ibrahim was not quite satisfied with this. At any rate, on September 30th Hastings pressed into the Gulf of Patras with a small squadron and annihilated a Turkish flotilla which had anchored in the Bay of Salona.

On this very day, Mustapha, a vice-admiral of Ibrahim, sailed from Navarino to Patras with a division of the fleet, and Ibrahim followed with a second division. When Codrington heard that Mustapha was approaching, he stopped him with three ships and told him that if he did not return he should fire, and Mustapha retreated. In the night of October 3rd–4th a number of Turkish ships sailed into the harbour of Patras. Codrington hastened thither and opened fire, which they did not return. Ibrahim then sailed back to Navarino. Codrington would have wished to prevent

this and to break up Ibrahim's fleet, sending the Turks to the Dardanelles and the Egyptians to Alexandria, but his force was not adequate. Many of his ships had gone to Malta for provisions, de Rigny was cruising with the French squadron off Cerigo, and Heyden had not yet appeared. The three fleets did not unite until October 13th, when they anchored together before Navarino.

Ibrahim was at this time not present. He had received instructions from the Porte to allow of no mediation, but to secure at all hazards the reduction of the Morea, in which Reshid Pasha was to assist him. He had ordered three columns in different directions, and was burning olive groves and vineyards. Hamilton saw from the Gulf of Koroni the columns of smoke rising in the sky, and knew that the soil was being turned into a desert. Accordingly the three admirals sent Ibrahim an ultimatum, demanding the immediate return of the fleet to Alexandria and Constantinople and the cessation of hostilities in the interior. On October 18th they determined to sail into the harbour of Navarino and renew their demands.

Codrington must have been aware that there was great likelihood of a battle, but the first shot must not be fired by the Allies. On October 20th, about 2 p.m., the allied fleet began to sail into the harbour of Navarino. Codrington's ship, the *Asia*, leading the way and anchoring opposite the ship of the Kapudan Bey. On his left were two British ships of the line, on his right two French ships, the farther being the frigate, the *Siren*, on which de Rigny flew his flag. Behind him was a second line of British and French ships; the remainder and the whole of the Russian squadron had not yet passed. Codrington had under his command twenty-seven vessels with 1,298 guns, while the Turko-Egyptian fleet numbered sixty vessels with more than 2,000 guns. But in everything except numbers the allied fleet was far superior.

Mohassem Bey, who commanded in Ibrahim's absence, ordered Codrington not to enter. But Codrington replied, "I have not come to receive commands, but to give them." Before the allied fleet reached their position, the captain of the *Dartmouth* asked the commander of a Turkish fireship to make room for him to anchor. The request was refused. A boat was sent from the *Dartmouth* to cut the cable of the fireship, and it was received with musket-shots. The *Dartmouth* and the *Siren* replied. Then a cannon-shot was fired against the *Siren*, and the battle became general. The *Asia*, whose pilot had been struck by Turkish bullets, hoisted the signal for action, and her fire destroyed the ships of the Kapudan Bey and Mohassem. She was roughly handled by

the second and third lines of the Turkish fleet, her mizzen mast being cut in two. After three hours the battle was at an end, the major part of the Turkish armada being destroyed. Six thousand of its complement perished, among them nearly all the pupils of Mehmed Ali's school. When the sun rose next day it was seen that the narrow harbour was filled with corpses and that three line-of-battle ships, twenty frigates, and twenty-four corvettes had been wrecked. The Allies lost some 200 killed and wounded. After issuing a proclamation against piracy, the three admirals retired, Codrington to Malta, de Rigny to Smyrna, whilst Heyden remained in the Archipelago.

The news of the battle at Navarino brought joy to the Philhellenes of all countries. They did not stop to inquire whether what had happened was in accordance with international law, or was likely to precipitate a war between Russia and Turkey. They saw in the event of October 20th only the righteous punishment of deeds of blood-curdling horror and the liberation of the Greeks from the danger of annihilation. Stein wrote to his friend Capodistrias, "The curse of Heaven has fallen upon the rude, stupid Ottoman, and an unhappy, persecuted population will be allowed to breathe again and to hope for a happy future." Schön said, "In the Battle of Navarino, Heaven has for the first time since 1813 spoken with no uncertain voice." Victor Hugo exclaimed, "Greece is free; six years have been avenged in a single day."

But the Great Powers were not so well satisfied with the result. Metternich was discouraged. He had hoped much from the death of Canning, and these hopes were now dashed to the ground and the threads of his diplomacy torn asunder. He saw in the disaster the beginning of a new era, in which Constantinople would be blockaded by the fleet and armies of Russia. Gentz called the victory a horrible crime. Bernstorff thought that the peace of the world was endangered by it, and that such a battle, without a previous declaration of war, was the beginning of an epoch of barbarism. At the same time he refused the invitation to act with Metternich.

In London, opinions were divided. The Whigs rejoiced, but the Tories were alarmed. Codrington was made a K.C.B., but was required to explain his conduct. Canning would probably have used the victory to procure the recall of Ibrahim, but similar energy was not to be expected from Lord Goderich. Lieven proposed a blockade of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, but the Ministry hesitated to consent. In Paris the joy was pure and undiluted. The King expressed himself delighted with the victory,

and hoped it would have a good effect upon the approaching elections. The nation was proud of the success of French arms, on which fortune seemed to smile after a long interval. But the greatest jubilation took place in St. Petersburg. The Tsar wrote to congratulate Codrington, and gave him a Russian order. Nesselrode wrote to Tatischev, "What will our friend Metternich say to this unparalleled triumph? He will again chew the cud of his wearisome old principles and dilate upon order and law. Long live force: it rules the world to-day." Lieven in London had a conversation with Huskisson, the friend of Canning, in which he sounded him as to his views, before surprising Dudley and Goderich with the proposal that the Russians should be allowed to occupy the Danubian Principalities with their troops. Huskisson would not encourage him.

The Greeks, carried away with delirious excitement, made no attempt to check piracy, but encouraged it. They had no thoughts of limiting the sphere of the war, but extended their operations in all directions. Fabvier attempted the conquest of Chios, paying no regard to the warnings of the three admirals. With 1,000 regular and 1,500 irregular troops, he landed on the island on October 28th, and drove the Turkish garrison into the citadel. But there his successes came to an end. He had no siege-train or ammunition, and, in spite of warnings from all sides, persisted in the hope that he would eventually force Jusuf Pasha to surrender. In Constantinople the ambassadors of the allied Powers had asked Pertev Pasha, the Reis Effendi, what he would do if hostilities should break out between Ibrahim and the allied fleets. He replied, "No one can give a name to an unborn child whose sex is not known." On November 2nd, when he heard of the battle, he said to the interpreters of the three Powers, "Now that the child is born and its sex known, I can answer the question. I demand satisfaction for the disgraceful act of violence which has been committed on the fleet of the Sultan." A general mobilisation was ordered, the Bosphorus was closed, and ships lying in the harbour of Constantinople were confiscated.

But the Turkish Government was too weak to run the risk of open rupture, and the Austrian Internuntius attempted to arrange matters. The Porte demanded compensation, an honourable apology, and a promise that there should be no further intervention. The ambassadors threw the responsibility upon the admirals, but laid stress on the demand for an armistice, according to the terms of the Convention of July. They even threatened their departure, in which step they probably exceeded their powers.

On November 24th the ambassadors had an interview with Pertev, in which he appeared to be more yielding, and referred the decision to his master. Sultan Mahmoud said that if the rebels submitted he would release them from the payment of the poll-tax, which had been owing for six years for the payment of the costs of the war, and would excuse them from all payment of taxes for a year. The ambassadors declared this insufficient, and demanded their passports. The Ulemas condemned the weakness of Pertev, and their reproaches were enforced by the arrival of the defeated Tahir. A great divan was held on December 2nd, Mahmoud listening to the discussions behind a curtain. Outside thousands of all ranks surrounded the hall. The divan rejected the proposals of the ambassadors as inconsistent with the Koran, and ordered the arming of the Empire for a defensive war.

Some delay ensued in giving passports to the ambassadors, but eventually Stratford Canning and Guilleminot left Constantinople on December 8th, and Ribeaupierre passed the Dardanelles a week later. The Turks began to arm immediately. On December 20th, 1827, the Grand Vizir issued a proclamation denouncing Russia as "the sworn enemy of Islam and the Moslem people." She had incited the Greeks to rebellion and dragged France and Great Britain with her. He solemnly called upon all believers to join the banner of the Prophet against the unbelievers. The "Franks," who had been placed under the protection of the Dutch minister, were driven out, and thousands of Catholic Armenians, old men, women and children, were driven into Asia in circumstances of great cruelty in the middle of winter.

This action of the Porte was very grateful to the war party in Russia, the success of Paskevich in the war with Persia stimulating their feelings. The Tsar seemed to be drawn with the stream, and Russian troops assembled on the frontiers of the Principalities. In order to explain the attitude of Great Britain and France, a protocol of the London Conference was issued on December 12th, in which they renounced any exclusive commercial privileges or accession of territory, even if war should break out with Turkey. On January 6th, 1828, Nesselrode wrote to Lieven proposing that the three Powers should issue a manifesto that the Russian troops should enter the Principalities and not pause until the Porte had granted all the demands of the London Conference; that the three fleets should act together before Alexandria, Constantinople, and the coasts of the Morea, and establish order in Greece; that Capodistrias should be assisted by a loan; that the three ambassadors, who had been engaged in Constantinople,

should be sent to the Archipelago, and that, if this ultimatum should be rejected, the Russian armies should cross the Pruth. The Tsar said that he awaited with impatience the answer of his allies, to whom he had given new evidence of his moderation, uprightness, and unselfishness, and that they should regard any interference of other Powers as inconsistent with their dignity. This last stroke was directed against Metternich.

Indeed, the hope of Metternich that he would be able to arrange matters at Constantinople proved futile. The New Year did not break happily for him. He found himself in a "world of delusion," and said that the spirit of Liberalism which had recently appeared in all its nakedness was responsible for the mischief. His hopes were raised by the Duke of Wellington succeeding Lord Goderich as Prime Minister on January 8th, 1828. Huskisson remained in the Cabinet as Colonial Secretary, but Eldon retired, as Peel came back, and Dudley returned to the Foreign Office. Although the retention of Canning's friends gave some guarantee for the maintenance of his policy, it was known that Wellington did not agree with it. Metternich hoped that the cause of right would find a supporter in Wellington, and Gentz that he would perform his duties with wisdom and prudence. The King's Speech of January 29th characterised the Battle of Navarino as an "untoward event."

In Paris a change of ministry also took place. On January 4th Villèle made way for Martignac, and Laferronays became Foreign Minister. But Metternich was disappointed in him, for he demanded the unconditional fulfilment of the Convention of July and did not object to the occupation of the Principalities by Russia, if it were accompanied by the occupation of the Morea by the Western Powers or the French. Gentz complained that the confidant of the Tsar was possessed by the most foolish ideas, and that France submitted herself to the leading of St. Petersburg. Laferronays had some hope to strengthen the Triple Alliance by the accession of Prussia, but Nicholas would not hear of it.

Dudley's answer to the Russian Note was given on March 6th. He would not allow that a general attack on the Turkish possessions should be made to enforce the conditions of the July Convention, saying that the march of armies after so long a peace might produce incalculable effects. He disapproved of the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia and of moving the fleets to Constantinople, and could not allow such an extreme measure as the blockade of Alexandria in order to hasten the withdrawal of Ibrahim from the Morea. If this were done, the Greeks might co-operate with

the three Powers to set free the rest of the territory to which the convention referred. He thought that the limits of the Greek frontiers might be more restricted than had been proposed by the ambassadors at Constantinople in August, 1827.

This answer crossed a memorandum of Nesselrode's, dated February 26th, 1828, which stated that the condition of things was now altered. The destruction of Russian commerce by the blockade of the Bosphorus, the compulsory sale of Russian corn-freights, the expulsion of Russian subjects; above all, the proclamation of the Grand Vizir of December 20th, 1827, showed that the Porte was determined to tear up the Treaty of Akkerman and the other treaties made with Russia during the last fifty years. The Porte had used her influence with the Shah of Persia to break the peace which Paskevich had extorted from him. Russia, he said, had no choice but to take up the challenge and obtain justice by arms. The coming war would be a war neither of religion nor of conquest, but it must give Russia satisfaction for the past and security for the future. A secondary effect of it might be to secure the fulfilment of the Convention of the three Powers which had undertaken the cause of Greece. Great Britain and France might take their choice whether they would support Russia materially or morally. If they did neither, Russia would consult her own interests.

Metternich made a desperate attempt to secure peace, by proposing, on March 15th, that independence should be granted to the Morea and the islands. He could hardly have expected to be successful. He said in his Note, "There are moments in the course of human affairs when the strongest will must submit to the commands of necessity. It is a fact that causes, revolutionary in their origin, have often triumphed, and that the strongest and most enlightened governments have had to compromise with obvious usurpation. If the independence of a part of Greece, with all the evil and danger which will follow in its train, is the indispensable condition of the maintenance of the peace of Europe, we must no longer hesitate to accede to it." The answer to this was easy. Wellington declared that the proposal was not in accordance either with the demands of justice or the conditions of the London Convention; and the Tsar replied, "You are deserting your stronghold; you are setting the rebels a bad example. So far as I am concerned, I detest the Greeks, although they are my co-religionists. They have behaved disgracefully. I always regard them as insurgents, and I will not agree to their liberation."

Nicholas was bent on war. His brother Constantine in vain

urged him to avoid it, and Paskevich sent word that Persia had accepted his conditions, that his frontiers had been pushed back to the Araxes, and the Caspian Sea had become a Russian lake. Dudley's answer to Nesselrode's note of February 26th was not very encouraging. The British Cabinet regretted that Russia was going to war, and, as signatories of the July Convention, they could not approve of, much less take part in, an invasion of Turkey. They pointed out that the concert of the three allied Powers would now become difficult, but did not question the right of the Tsar to determine at what point his interests must be settled by the sword. They added that the most complete success in the most righteous cause could not excuse the strong from demanding sacrifices from the weak, which would endanger their political position or destroy their territorial possessions, on the basis of which rested the general peace of Europe. Vienna spoke more strongly. The Emperor Francis wrote to Nicholas that to kindle the flame of war at such a time was to load oneself with the heaviest responsibility, and to threaten the world with a burden of evil which would throw into the shade the horrors of the French Revolution.

These warnings and prophecies fell in St. Petersburg upon deaf ears. At this time, Prince William of Prussia, the future Emperor, was on a visit to St. Petersburg, attended by Leopold von Gerlach, and heard, as early as April 10th, that the Emperor was contemplating his departure to the army. A few days later General Diebich said to him, " If we come to the Balkans, and win a battle at Adrianople, why should we not capture Constantinople by *coup de main?*" The formal declaration of war was carried on April 26th. Metternich expressed the view that the Porte had only the choice between death and prolonged agony. This would resemble the second Punic War, and give the Sultan's power the death-blow. Gentz prophesied that Turkey would in three months lie at the feet of the conquerors. " This war will either be the last, or the last but one, which Russia will have to wage against the Porte: the last but one if the Sultan submit in the first or second act of the tragedy; the last if he await the third act."

CHAPTER XVII

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR, 1828-9

THE war now undertaken by Russia against Turkey, which might have the effect of making the Black Sea a Russian lake, of developing largely the resources of Southern Russia, and perhaps of securing to Russia the possession of Constantinople, did not apparently cause any great excitement in Europe, or stir the Powers to the defence of the Sultan. France was well disposed to Russia, and Laferronays was assured by Nesselrode and Pozzo di Borgo that France should not be excluded from any advantages which might eventually arise from the course Russia was now taking. The Duc de Montemart succeeded Laferronays as French Ambassador in St. Petersburg. His instructions spoke of the danger of a general European conflagration. From fear of this the King of France would not enter the field, but would assure Russia of his moral support. It was necessary to consider what compensation France would expect if there should be a partition of European Turkey. If Russia were to incorporate the Danubian Provinces together with conquests in Asia, if Austria were to lay her hand upon Servia and Roumania, and Great Britain were to confirm her position in the Archipelago, ought not France to strengthen herself by the acquisition of Belgium or some other neighbouring territory? On this point Montemart was ordered to sound Nicholas. The war would naturally be followed by a congress, and in this Russia must support the righteous and reasonable claims of France. If this could not be done, France might assert herself in arms.

Wellington had some inkling of this possibility, and he felt it necessary to act cautiously, so as not to throw France entirely into the arms of Russia. At the same time, he objected to sending supplies of money to the Greeks, and still more to undertaking a common expedition to the Morea. He was ready to bring about the fulfilment of the London Convention by peaceful means. A breach, however, took place in the Cabinet. Huskisson and the other Canningites left the Ministry, and Wellington was able to form a pure Tory Government. Dudley was succeeded by Lord Aberdeen, who was an enemy of the Triple Alliance, and assured Lieven that Great Britain could not make the settlement of the

Greek question dependent upon the issue of the Russo-Turkish War, and warned him of the danger of disturbing the equilibrium of Europe.

But he renewed with him and Polignac the discussions about the fate of Greece, which had been interrupted for several months. A protocol of June 15th determined that Stratford Canning, Guilleminot and Ribeaupierre should meet representatives of the Greeks in Corfu and discuss the best means of carrying out the London Convention. On July 19th Aberdeen gave his approval to the dispatch of a French corps to the Morea, in order to compel the departure of the Egyptians by a land blockade. Austria was too weak internally to take any decided step, and Prussia felt that neutrality was necessary for her prosperity. The King refused to assist his son-in-law with arms, and forbade his son, Prince William, to take part in the war. Russia had nothing to fear from a joint opposition of Austria and Prussia.

The Russian army crossed the Pruth on May 7th, 1828. Jassy and Bucharest were speedily occupied, and the two Principalities were placed under a Russian Governor-General. The plan of campaign was to cross the Danube, to occupy the most important places on the coast of the Dobrudsha and in Northern Bulgaria. When Braila and Silistria, Varna and Shumla had fallen, the Russians would press on across the passes of the Balkans and might attempt an attack on Constantinople, a movement which would be supported by the Russian fleet.

These schemes did not meet with a ready fulfilment. The Danube was not crossed till June 8th, and Braila did not fall till June 17th. The Russians then occupied the whole country from the mouth of the Danube to the wall of Trajan, and obtained a valuable harbour in Kustendje. The advance into Bulgaria proceeded slowly, as the Russians had not enough soldiers. The occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia and the siege of Silistria employed 23,000 men, and only 40,000 men, with 194 guns, were left for the attack upon Varna and Shumla. The Tsar had to give up the attack on Varna for the moment and confine himself to Shumla, which was defended by 40,000 men, well supplied with provisions. The siege of Varna proceeded slowly, and Silistria held out. In a series of engagements before Varna, fought in the last five days of September, in which Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg highly distinguished himself, the Turks were on the whole victorious, but Omer Brionis did not follow up his advantage, and Varna fell on October 12th. But the Russians had gained only a very partial success. The sieges of Shumla and Silistria were given up,

and there could be no thought of an advance on Constantinople. The brilliant successes of the Russian arms in Asia, which gave them Poti and Kars and a large portion of Asia Minor, did not compensate for their comparative failure in Europe, and a second campaign was necessary for the passage of the Balkans.

Metternich was delighted. He compared the failure before Silistria with that before Moscow in 1812; only, he said, there was here no genius to make the disaster good. He tried his utmost to make peace, and to bring about an intervention of Austria, Prussia, Great Britain and France. He had little comfort in Prussia. He found Prince William more Russian than the Emperor Nicholas himself, and ascribed his partiality to the belief that the victory of Russia would bring aggrandisement and conquests to Prussia. He discovered that all Prussian Liberals were on the side of Russia. In his sight the brothers Humboldt were the scourge of Europe. Henry von Bülow, the son-in-law of William von Humboldt, belonged to the same faction. Metternich fixed his hopes on the King, the Crown Prince, and on Bernstorff. He said, "So long as Bernstorff lives Prussian policy will have the same character as the Austrian."

Great Britain was in a peculiar position. Admiral Heyden received orders to blockade the Dardanelles, and Admiral Grieg to shut up the Bosphorus. This was a serious blow to British trade, and the British Press clamoured against this exhibition of Russian perfidy. But neither Wellington nor Aberdeen was prepared to prevent it, and Wellington lost in popularity. Wellington would have been very glad if the engagements of the London Conference could have been brought to an end, and he could have been free to come to an understanding with France, a sentiment that was not unreciprocated on the banks of the Seine. The expedition to the Morea had fulfilled its object. The London Conference had agreed, on November 16th, that at least the Morea, the neighbouring islands, and the Cyclades should be placed under the guarantee of the three Powers, while the final settlement of the Greek frontiers should wait for the present. Nesselrode consented to this, but would not assent to France and Great Britain approaching the Porte by themselves, although it was pointed out that, as Russia was at war with the Porte, she was not likely to be listened to. It was agreed that, in any case, the future constitution of Greece, its limits, its position towards the Sultan, and its internal organisation, should be approved by the Tsar. Under these conditions Nesselrode agreed to the separate action of Great Britain and France, although very unwillingly.

THE TSAR'S ANGER WITH METTERNICH

Metternich now conceived the plan of a common intervention between Russia and Turkey. He began to talk of the military strength of Austria, suggesting the possibility of an armed intervention. She could put under arms 400,000 men within a month; her *Landwehr* was as good as the Prussian, whereas in reality it did not exist. Gentz said, "If the Tsar desires peace, he must surrender all idea of compensation. We know the Sultan well enough to know that it is no good asking for anything which goes beyond the former treaties. It is possible he may demand that the Russians shall recross the Pruth before he listens to any negotiations." Austria wished to convey the impression of a coming ultimatum, but Metternich knew in his heart how much of this was bluff. If he had the men, which he certainly had not, he had not the money. So he fell back upon the suggestion of a congress. He said to Laval Montmorency, the French Ambassador in Vienna, "I am the patron of congresses." But he desired that the proposal for a congress should not proceed from Vienna, but from Constantinople, and should be regarded in Europe as a sign of "progressive Turkish civilisation." The Internuntius, as the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople was called, was instructed to press this matter on the Reis Effendi. But Bernstorff would hear nothing of these plans, Wellington was opposed to them, and Laferronays was too cautious to fall into Metternich's net, saying that his Sovereign would never join in a common step against the Tsar. He rejected the idea of a congress, unless it was likely to bring some advantage to France.

It may be supposed that the representatives of Russia did not regard Metternich's policy with satisfaction. Pozzo di Borgo represented him, both in Paris and London, as the most accomplished mischief-maker. In France he had encouraged the Bonapartists by raising hopes of the succession of the Duke of Reichstadt; in Italy he stirred up the King of Sardinia against the Bourbons and the Prince of Carignan; in Constantinople, he supported the obstinacy of the Sultan. Pozzo advised his master to renew the war with spirit in order to force Austria either to advise the Turks to submit, or, by assisting them, to bring destruction upon herself. The Tsar needed no stimulus to increase his wrath. He charged Austria with every kind of secret enmity. He believed that she was plotting a coalition against Russia, and Tatischev was ordered to demand explanations.

To calm their apprehensions, General Count Ficquelmont was sent from Vienna, in January, 1829, with an autograph letter of the Emperor Francis addressed to the Tsar. The Tsar said, "I

place confidence in everything which comes from the Emperor, but others [meaning Metternich] come in between us." He did not wish to destroy the Turkish Empire, which would fall of itself; but that, if the Turks would not listen to reason he would press on to Constantinople. He did not desire the city for himself, but would not ask the Sultan to take it back again; it was desirable to anticipate those who wished to seize the inheritance of "the Sick Man." Ficquelmont represented to him the dangerous condition of France, but the Tsar replied that, until the crisis of the East was settled in a manner worthy of Russia he could not divert his attention to the affairs of the West. Nesselrode said that Russia must first have an honourable and advantageous peace in her pocket before she could attempt to deal with the revolutionary spirit in the West of Europe; but the miserable policy of Austria had never ceased since the beginning of the war to put difficulties in the way of Russia. Metternich found himself beaten, and sent a note to London, Paris and Berlin to say that he had never desired an intervention of the four Powers, and that his words had been mistaken.

On January 2nd, 1829, Laferronays, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was struck by paralysis, and was succeeded by Portalis, which brought no change in the situation. Charles X. had wished for Polignac, but the other ministers refused to work with him. On March 22nd a new protocol was issued as the fruit of the London Conference. The Greeks were to cease operations at the Isthmus of Corinth; but Northern Greece, from the Gulf of Volo to the Gulf of Arta, together with Euboea and other islands, were to form part of their half-sovereign State. They were to pay tribute of one and a half million piastres, but none for the first four years. The government was to be a species of monarchy with a tributary feudal prince, hereditary, and Christian, but not drawn from the reigning families of Russia, Great Britain or France, and to be chosen by agreement between the three Powers and the Porte. Both nationalities were to have liberty to retire and set their property in order within a year. These were the bases upon which the ambassadors of Great Britain and France came to negotiate at Constantinople, speaking also in the name of Russia. Turkey was not likely to accept these terms, unless they were made a part of the conditions of peace.

Energetic preparations were made on both sides for the campaign of 1829. Diebich was made Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces, and the departure of the Emperor from headquarters left him a free hand. On the Turkish side, Omer Brionis

was deprived of his command, and Mehmed Selim, the Grand Vizir, was replaced by Izzet Pasha, who had defended Varna. But as he allowed, on February 15th, 1829, the Russians to seize the port of Sisebulo (Sozopolis) by *coup de main* he was deposed and Reshid Pasha appointed in his room. Attempts were made to form an offensive and defensive alliance with Austria, and territory in Moldavia and Wallachia was offered as a bait. But Metternich gave a decisive refusal, advising the Porte to make peace with Russia as soon as possible, to surrender Anapa and Poti, and allow Russia a protectorate over the Danubian Principalities in addition to certain commercial advantages. This advice was rejected by the Sultan with equal decision. Diebich crossed the Danube in the beginning of May and began the siege of Silistria. In the meantime, Reshid Pasha had collected a large and well-disciplined army at Shumla, but in a battle at Kulevscha on June 11th, 1829, he was completely defeated. His army was not, however, destroyed, and Diebich had not sufficient force to cross the Balkans until Silistria had fallen. He began, therefore, to think of peace, and the military operations were discontinued.

On June 18th, a week after the victory of Kulevscha, the French and British Ambassadors returned to Constantinople. Guilleminot kept his old post, but Stratford Canning was replaced by Sir Robert Gordon, brother of Lord Aberdeen. The Porte would not listen to any proposals for peace. They were convinced that Nicholas desired to turn the Turks out of Europe, and, besides, they had hopes of victory. But Russia was sincerely desirous of peace. The continuance of the war was disastrous to her southern provinces, and recruiting went on slowly. As the Sultan made no sign, the Tsar looked round for a possible mediator. Great Britain and Austria were regarded as impossible, being too favourable to Turkey, while the Turks would consider the French too favourable to Russia. Prussia alone remained. A note from Nesselrode declared that the King of Prussia would do his master a great service by inducing the Sultan to open up negotiations for peace, while a letter from the Tsar to Frederick William III. gave the assurance that the Russian terms would be moderate. A meeting between the two sovereigns was arranged.

Nicholas was at the time being crowned at Warsaw; but, to the disgust of the Poles, not with the true Polish crown. He arranged to meet his father-in-law at Sibyllenort in Silesia. But Frederick William was taken ill and could not attempt the journey, so the Tsar made a sudden journey to Berlin, where he arrived on June 6th, just as Prince William was being married to Princess

Augusta of Weimar. In the event General Müffling was sent to Constantinople. He was head of the general staff, and had been attached to Wellington during the Waterloo campaign. This mission was announced to the Powers in a circular note, dated July 5th, but it was not altogether approved of. Russia did not like the employment of another German in her affairs; one, Diebich, was quite enough. Aberdeen wrote to Wellington that Prussia would not hesitate to surrender to Russia the independence of Europe if she could get any advantage out of it; and Wellington regarded Müffling as a mere agent of the Tsar, dispatched by the King of Prussia to save appearances. France was the only Power which candidly supported the step. The relations both of Austria and Great Britain towards Russia became strained. Russia took precautions against an Austrian invasion, and Wellington positively hated Lieven.

The war, however, continued. Silistria fell on June 29th, and Diebich was able to cross the Balkans, an operation which he completed on July 24th, after nine days' march. On August 19th he lay before Adrianople with less than 20,000 men. Adrianople had 80,000 inhabitants, of whom many thousands were Mohammedans, capable of bearing arms, and about 15,000 Turkish soldiers had collected in the place after the recent battle. Notwithstanding, the town surrendered without a struggle. The troops had to give up their arms, colours and cannon, and were allowed to go where they wished, excepting to Constantinople. On August 20th Diebich fixed his headquarters in the former seraglio of the Sultan.

Müffling had arrived at Constantinople on August 4th, but found the Turkish cabinet very stubborn. All he could obtain was the consent of the Sultan to negotiate with regard to Greece on the basis of the London Convention. This was received with satisfaction by Guilleminot and Gordon, though the arrangement was confined to the Morea and the Cyclades. The Sultan, however, felt himself hardly pressed. One Job's post after another reached him from the seat of war in Asia. Paskevich had taken Erzeroum, and the way to Trebizond lay open to him. On August 9th he had the banner of the Prophet carried into the camp above the Bosphorus, but it produced no effect. The massacre of the janizaries had damped enthusiasm. Conspiracies began to break out, and, if the Russians reached Constantinople, his life would be in danger. The same fear worked upon the Powers, especially Great Britain, which would rather go to war with Russia than see Constantinople in her hands.

PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE

The result was that on August 17th the Sultan empowered Müffling to seek an interview with Diebich for the discussion of peace. Just then came the news of Adrianople. The Reis Effendi asked for the advice of Gordon, Guilleminot and Müffling. Negotiators of high rank were sent to Diebich, saying that the Sultan would leave the indemnity to be settled by the magnanimity of the Tsar. Müffling also sent a messenger to Diebich, begging him to pause. His last act was to advise the liberation of some Russian merchants and prisoners of war, and the sending of an embassy to St. Petersburg to beg for generous terms of peace. He returned home on September 5th, his mission having been a brilliant success.

The Turkish negotiators met at Adrianople with Count Alexis Orloff and Count Pahlen, who had been dispatched from St. Petersburg to make peace. They brought the draft of a treaty, which was to be unconditionally accepted. The negotiators said that they could not possibly do this without consulting the Sultan, and Diebich granted a delay of five days, adding that unless he received a satisfactory answer in that time he would enforce it in Constantinople with the sword.

Russian troops were placed on the road to the capital. The Turks were in great embarrassment. The Reis Effendi had recourse to the ambassadors of France and Great Britain, and besides them more especially to Royer, the representative of Prussia. They advised submission, but sent to Diebich begging him to stay his march. As a fact, he was in a very bad way, and not at all in a position to capture Constantinople. Deducting the 8,000 troops he had dispatched towards the capital, he had only 5,000 left before the city, and could not expect reinforcements for some time. His army was decimated by fever, scurvy and dysentery, and plague threatened to break out. His great hospital held, on September 1st, 3,600 sick, who had no attendants, medicine, or linen, and not even enough straw. His wretched condition must soon become manifest. Mustapha, the Pasha of Scutari, was marching from Sophia, by way of Philippopolis, with 30,000 Albanians, and the Grand Vizir held firmly the camp of Shumla. Royer did Diebich a great service when he promised the Turks to make peace.

The Peace of Adrianople was signed on September 14th, 1829. It was extremely favourable to Russia. Turkey lost a large domain in Asia. The Pruth and the southern arm of the Danube remained the boundary of Russia, but the Porte undertook to leave the southern bank of the Danube uncultivated for a considerable distance, so that the Russians could cross it when they

pleased. The Porte was to pay 11,500,000 Dutch ducats, and Russia was to occupy the Principalities and Silistria until this debt should be wiped off. Russian merchant-ships were allowed a free passage through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and this was extended to all nations at peace with the Porte.

With regard to the affairs of Greece the Porte gave its adhesion to the London Protocol of March 22nd, 1829, and promised to come to terms with the representatives of Russia, Great Britain, and France as to the best means of carrying it out. Hospodars for life were to be appointed in Moldavia and Wallachia; all Turkish places on the left bank of the Danube were to be evacuated and all fortresses razed, and Mohammedans were not to have permanent residence in the Principalities.

By the treaty the influence of Russia in the East was confirmed, her frontiers were strengthened, and her commerce was secured. She had destroyed the last ties between Turkey and the Principalities, and, without annexing them, obtained complete control over them, and she had loaded Turkey with a debt she could not pay. Nesselrode said of the treaty, "Turkey henceforth will be compelled to live under Russian protection and to lend an ear to Russia; this will be much more in accordance with our political and commercial interests than any new conditions that would have compelled us to extend our domains by conquest, or to permit other States to take the place of the Turkish Empire, which would soon have become our rivals in power, cultivation, and riches." This programme had been carefully considered in the councils of the Tsar. Nesselrode said, on September 22nd, "Before everything we must decide on what is natural and what is not. The idea of driving the Turks out of Europe, and establishing the worship of the true God in Hagia Sophia is certainly very fine, but what will Russia gain by it? Doubtless glory, but at the same time the loss of all the advantages which she obtains by the neighbourhood of a State weakened by many wars, and she will also run the risk of inevitable conflicts with the great Powers of Europe." This conclusion was arrived at by a committee which sat at St. Petersburg under the presidency of Count Cocubej. It was influenced by the change of ministry in France, Martignac having been succeeded on August 8th by Polignac, who was likely to agree with Metternich and Wellington. They felt that the destruction of the Turkish power in Europe was not for the true interests of Russia. The signing of the Treaty of Adrianople put an end to all schemes for the partition of European Turkey.

This caused great disappointment at Paris, where the French had looked for an increase of territory. In the spring of 1829 General Richemont had published a pamphlet in which he said, "What the Danube is for Russia the Rhine is for France." He claimed for France not only the Rhine, but Belgium and Luxembourg. Prussia was to have Saxony; Austria, Silesia and Eastern Hanover; Holland, Western Hanover and Oldenburg. Bavaria was to have Salzburg, to compensate for the loss of the Palatinate; Austria, Servia, Bosnia and Albania; Great Britain, Crete. He thought that this could only be brought about by a war in which Prussia, France and Russia were ranged against Great Britain and Austria, but he did not fear its result. This pamphlet was published just when Polignac had become minister, and had an enormous sale.

Polignac had a plan of his own, known as "the Great Plan." Russia was to have Moldavia, Wallachia, and large possessions in Asia Minor; Austria's share was Servia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The rest of European Turkey, including Greece and the islands of the Archipelago, was to be formed into a kingdom of Greece with Constantinople as its capital, and given to the King of the Netherlands. The remains of the Turkish Empire might be left to Mehmed Ali, including Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli. Holland being unoccupied, Great Britain was to have her colonies, Prussia Holland itself, together with Saxony; and Saxony was to have the Rhine provinces of Prussia, with a capital at Aachen. France was to receive Landau, Saarbrücken and Saarlouis; Belgium, Luxembourg, Zeeland and North Brabant. This was the plan of territorial reorganisation proposed by Polignac, but how was it to be brought about—by a congress or a secret treaty with Russia? Its author declared for the latter, but saw that it might produce a war in which Russia, France, Prussia and Bavaria should be ranged against Austria and Great Britain. Polignac's plan was approved of by the King and the Council, and Montemart was ordered to sound Nicholas with regard to it. But when it reached him the Treaty of Adrianople was already signed.

Prussia, however, disclaimed any idea of surrendering the Rhine provinces, and expressed her delight at the conclusion of the treaty. The feeling in Austria was very different. The Emperor Francis reminded the Tsar that the enemies of order and society would be encouraged by the hostile attitude of Russia towards Turkey. The Peace of Adrianople might disappoint their commercial designs. It was natural that Austria should regard

a commanding position of Russia at the mouths of the Danube and in the Principalities as a menace to herself. Metternich said that Russia had seized her prey and would not let it go, and told his Emperor that the affairs of the East would not have led to so untoward a result had the financial and military resources of Austria been in a better condition. But he congratulated himself on the peace, as the war might have produced worse consequences. Gentz looked to the future with fear and trembling, and lamented the disruption of the Great Alliance. Metternich contemplated its restoration as a bulwark against the moral pest which would prove the destruction of Europe. He tried to stimulate Prussia and France to the renewal of the Triple Alliance, but without effect.

Wellington wrote to Aberdeen that it was foolish to think of supporting the Turkish power in Europe. It would have been better if the Russians had taken Constantinople, as the Turkish Empire would then have been partitioned by the great Powers. Aberdeen expressed the same opinion to his friends. They dreaded the success of Russian power, and felt they had suffered a moral defeat. Their opinions were private, and the only public step was to write a dispatch to the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg severely criticising the treaty, a dispatch which remained secret till the outbreak of the Crimean War. A plan was now formed for guaranteeing the Turkish possessions in Europe by the five great Powers. Wellington and Aberdeen suggested this, and Metternich would gladly have complied, but Russia refused to take any such step. Nesselrode pointed out that Turkey was exposed to two dangers, internal and external. Against the first—the misgovernment or rebellion of the Pashas—no guarantee would be of any service. External dangers could only come from Russia, and why should Russia be asked to assure guarantees against herself? Besides, the inviolability of Turkey was already guaranteed by the Treaty of Adrianople.

Nicholas took up a magnanimous attitude towards Turkey by reducing the amount of indemnity she had to pay. This was done by a treaty signed in April, 1830. The indemnity was reduced to 8,000,000 ducats, to be paid in eight years, and partly in kind. The Principalities were to be evacuated as soon as the Russian subjects living there were compensated, and Silistria alone was to remain in Russian hands. Another 1,000,000 ducats was remitted as a reward for the accession of the Porte to the London Conference, which decided the fate of Greece. All this gave Nicholas great influence in the counsels of the Sultan. Orloff and

RUSSIA'S DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPH

Ribeaupierre stood at the head of the diplomatic body in the Golden Horn. The aged Chosrev was of opinion that the welfare of Turkey depended on the support of Russia. His adopted son Chalil, who was devoted to the Tsar, was made Kapudan Pasha, and Hamid Bey, who was also a Russophil, became Reis Effendi. It was evident to Europe that the triumph of Russia at the Porte was even greater in peace than it had been in war.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE

THE arrival of the new President, Capodistrias, was anxiously expected in Greece, but it was first necessary that he should make the tour of Europe. At St. Petersburg the Tsar released him from his service, but gave him instructions that he was on no account to favour the independence of Greece. She was to remain subject to the suzerainty of Turkey, an arrangement which was entirely opposed to the Constitution of Troezen. In Lisbon he found public opinion wholly changed since Canning's death. When he reached London, George IV. would hardly look at him. In Paris his reception was better, although Charles X. regarded him as a rogue and a revolutionist. In Turin he announced the welcome news of the Battle of Navarino. He arrived at Malta on board of a British man-of-war, sent him by Sir Edward Codrington, and, accompanied by a Russian and a French ship, reached Nauplia on January 19th, 1828, where the foreign vessels saluted the Greek flag for the first time. On January 24th he landed at Aegina, the seat of the provisional Government and the Senate.

In many respects Capodistrias was not suited for his mission. He was accustomed to the life of drawing-rooms and a regular government, but in Aegina he lived within four bare walls and had to deal with a crowd of unruly rebels. He was full of devotion to the cause and absolutely unselfish, but he was unacquainted with the details of government and totally ignorant of military affairs. His experience in aristocratic Russia unfitted him to deal with the unbridled democracy around him. He thought that the only course open to him was the establishment of a dictatorship. Of the state of things in Aegina he said, "The public revenues are plundered, commerce and industry have ceased to exist, agriculture is at an end. The peasant has ceased to sow because he does not know if he will ever reap, or if he will be able to protect his harvest against the rapacity of the soldiers. The merchant in the towns is afraid of pirates. Robbery is protected by murder, and the right of the strongest alone prevails." He informed the Senate privately that the one condition of his remaining would be the suspension of the Constitution. The Senate resigned, and in their

place was established a Panhellenion, a deliberative body, divided into three sections, for finance, home affairs, and war. George Konduriotti, Andrew Zaimis and Peter Mavromichalis were respectively placed at the head of these departments.

Capodistrias employed Spiridion Tricoupis, Zographos and Klonaris as secretaries, while Mavrocordatos assisted him without a definite office, and he could depend upon the support of Kolokotronis. He had, in fact, no rival of importance to fear. Greece was devoid of funds. At the beginning of the war with Turkey, Russia contributed about a million and a half of roubles, and France paid 500,000 francs a month; but it was uncertain how long this would last, and the negotiation of a third loan was impossible. The army was in a wretched state, consisting almost entirely of half-civilised Kapitans and Palikars and Rumeliot mercenaries, who were little better than brigands. As to the fleet, after Cochrane had returned to England, in January, 1828, it was almost impossible to keep down piracy. Viaro Capodistrias, the brother of the President, who took Cochrane's place, was a complete failure.

Capodistrias did not understand the needs or the characteristics of the country. He encouraged the planting of potatoes, for which the soil of Greece was not adapted. The mulberry trees and chestnuts, which he supplied, were destroyed by the carelessness of the shepherds. He collected the demoralised boy-servants of the Palikars, and the half-naked offspring of the camps, into a school at Aegina, where they were clothed and fed and taught, according to the methods of Lancaster. He told Eynard that these men were to be civilised, not by the bayonet, but by the spade. He bought agricultural machines in Switzerland, and slates and slate pencils in Malta. He made a great mistake in suppressing the demes and introducing a centralised authority.

Ibrahim could not be induced to leave the Morea, but collected 20,000 men at Navarino, and occupied Koroni, Modon and Patras. "I will not stir from here," he said, "so long as I have a dog or a cat, without positive orders from the Sultan or my father." Outside the Morea things were not better. Hastings was killed in the storming of Anatoliko, and Church was compelled to abandon the siege of Mesolonghi. In the circumstances the outbreak of the war between Russia and the Porte was a comfort.

On August 6th, 1828, a treaty was signed with Mehmed Ali at Alexandria, by which Ibrahim was recalled from Greece. Codrington, too, was recalled and accused of having exceeded his instructions, for Wellington and Aberdeen were not favourable

to his views. Now came the French expedition to the Morea. On August 30th, General Maison landed 14,000 men between Koroni and Patras, and, at the same time, the Egyptian fleet, which was to take Ibrahim back, anchored before Modon. Ibrahim, pressed by the admirals of the Allies, began to embark, and, on September 16th, 5,000 of his soldiers sailed to Alexandria, accompanied by the allied fleet, but he himself did not leave until October 5th. The French, free to clear the Morea of Turks, encountered no difficulties. The garrisons made little or no resistance, and in a short time there was not a single Mohammedan left in the Morea.

The French found the Greeks very different from what they expected. Grecian girls preferred Egyptian harems to liberty. An eye-witness reports that the most salient characteristic of the Greeks was their hatred of the foreigner and their passion for stealing. The French army, decimated with fever, prepared to leave the Morea and to fight on the other side of the Isthmus, but was prevented by the action of Great Britain. The London Conference, of November 16th, 1828, confined liberated Greece to the Morea, the neighbouring islands, and the Cyclades, and the French were obliged to return in the spring of 1829. A French brigade under General Schneider, however, remained in Modon and Navarino, and assistance in money and officers came from Paris. The engineers, the artillery, and the military school at Nauplia were aided by the French. They did as much as they could, in the circumstances, to help the Hellenic cause, and deserved the gratitude of Capodistrias.

The Russian War now began to be of great assistance to the Grecian cause. The best officers having been recalled by the Sultan to defend the Balkans, Demetrius Ypsilanti took Salona at the end of 1828, Thebes was blockaded and Helicon and Parnassus were occupied. Church began to make way in the west, and Greek cruisers to sail in the Gulf of Arta. In May the Greek flag floated above the ruins of Anatoliko and Mesolonghi. On September 24th, 1829, Ypsilanti defeated a body of Albanians at Petra, and all Greece up to the Gulf of Volo was free from Turkish garrisons excepting the Acropolis at Athens and a fort opposite Chalcis in Euboea.

The London Protocol of March 22nd, 1829, had extended the frontiers of Greece to the Gulfs of Volo and Arta, but it had also required the withdrawal of Greek troops inside the Isthmus of Corinth. Capodistrias could not comply with this. He had already sent Coletti to Samos to assist the island in its rebellion against the Turks, and the Philhellene Baron Rheineck to encourage the

insurgents in Crete. Unfortunately, the Allies in the London Conference refused to allow Crete to be included in the Greek kingdom, and none of the great Powers would accept the island as a gift. Capodistrias was compelled, therefore, to recall Rheineck in September, 1829. The jealousies and quarrels between the Grecian leaders continued: Church broke with the President in the summer of 1829, and Ypsilanti left the service in the beginning of 1830. Capodistrias had other troubles. Many inclined to suspect him as an agent of Russia, and the heads of the English party, Mavrocordatos, and Tricoupis began to be unfriendly towards him. He was opposed to the Panhellenion, but the people saw in him their only saviour, and at the election he was returned in thirty-six constituencies, while the new Chamber was composed almost entirely of his adherents.

Capodistrias opened the National Assembly at Argos on July 23rd, 1829, clad in Russian uniform. The ceremony began with a Te Deum in the church, and the members then marched in solemn procession to the ancient theatre. He ended his address with the statement that he desired to serve Greece as a simple citizen, but was answered with the cry, "We wish to retain our saviour, the President." Kolokotronis kept the peace of the Assembly with his Palikars. The laws passed were chiefly of a financial character. Capodistrias refused any compensation and salary. A Senate was formed to take the place of the Panhellenion: it was to be nominated by the President, in part directly and in part from candidates suggested by the Assembly. The assent of the Senate was necessary in financial matters. A Constitution was to be drawn up by the President and the Senate, but for the moment the Head was invested with a dictatorship and all his acts were approved. He had now reached the summit of his power. The Assembly was dissolved on September 18th, with a speech from the President and a proclamation addressed to Hellenes.

Still Capodistrias was not without difficulties. Important members of the English party withdrew from him and Miaoulis refused to be made a senator. Mavrocordatos would not serve under him any longer; Lazarus Conduriotti resigned the governorship of Hydra; and the Hydriotes, Spezziotes and Psariotes were opposed to him. The President's attempts to change the irregular into regular forces made him many enemies. Money was wanting; the treasury had only sixteen and a half millions of piastres to meet twenty-eight millions for pressing needs. The change from payment in kind to payment in money caused great distress, as it did also at a later period. The ambassadors of the three Powers,

Stratford Canning, Guilleminot and Ribeaupierre, met at Paris to deliberate and determine the future frontiers of Greece, and gave their decision on December 8th, 1828. The northern frontier was a line drawn from the Gulf of Volo to the Gulf of Arta, over the range of Othrys and Pindus. The sea limit was 36° N. and 26° E. They promised to consider the inclusion of Samos and Crete, and fixed the tribute at a million and a half piastres. Capodistrias agreed to this generally, but thought the suzerainty of the Sultan would require consideration. He desired the creation of a kingdom under the guarantee of the Powers, and suggested Prince Leopold of Coburg as a possible sovereign. The meeting at Paris came to an end, but in London Wellington and Aberdeen were full of fears. Dreading lest Greece should become an outpost of Russia, they disapproved of the action of Stratford Canning. The frontiers as delimited were accepted in the London Protocol of March 22nd, 1829; but the two ministers would not allow a hereditary monarchy in Greece to be part of the ultimatum, and this condition was only secured by the victory of Diebich.

Up to the present moment it had always been assumed that Greece should be a tributary State under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but a doubt arose whether a Christian prince could be found to occupy this position, and whether the vassal condition might not occasion new disputes. In the summer of 1828, while his soldiers were in Bulgaria, the Tsar had declared that he was ready to accord to the Greeks their complete independence. At the same time he considered the Greeks as rebels, had no love for the Constitution, and wished to give Greece a government strong enough to destroy secret societies and the germs of revolution. A tributary Greece would be a discontented country and offer a favourable soil for conspiracies and revolt. The views of the British Government were different. Wellington wrote to Aberdeen, "The Greek cause is the greatest humbug that ever was; thank God, it has never cost us a shilling." He and Aberdeen were especially anxious that the Ionian Islands should not be added to Greece, and they were afraid of Capodistrias on this account. However, in the final protocol of February 3rd, 1830, the independence of Greece was secured, but her frontiers were restricted. The northern boundaries were fixed by a line drawn from the mouth of the Aspropotamo to the mouth of the Spercheius, passing across Livadia. The sea frontier was the same as in the protocol of March 22nd, except that the Devil's Islands and Scyros were added, while Crete, Samos, Psara and Chios were excluded.

But it was no longer necessary that the question of a hereditary sovereign should be approved by the Porte. Two further protocols were signed on the same day. One guaranteed the Catholic worship and missions, hitherto under the protection of the French, and secured the equality of all the subjects of the new State without distinction of creed. The other offered the kingdom to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Other candidates, however, had been put forward—Prince Ferdinand of the Netherlands, Prince Charles of Bavaria, Prince John of Saxony, and Prince Philip of Hesse-Homburg. George IV. was strongly opposed to the choice of Prince Leopold, preferring Prince Charles of Mecklenburg, and his objections were with difficulty overcome by Wellington.

The Turks agreed to swallow the pill, after it had been gilded by Nicholas with the remission of 1,000,000 ducats of debt. Prince Leopold at first yielded his consent, but afterwards withdrew it. Capodistrias, whom he consulted, advised him to demand the frontiers of Paris, the inclusion of Crete and Samos, a guarantee of a loan by the Powers, and the sending of a few thousand Swiss or German mercenaries. He also said that the Greeks would require their ruler to be of their own religion, and would demand a Constitution, which might be procured for them, but for which they were not really fit. Leopold was very cautious. He was tempted by the offer, and tried to secure Crete for Greece, but was snubbed by Aberdeen. When he received the protocol, he drew up a note, containing five conditions, one of which was the alteration of the frontiers, but, by the advice of Wellington, this was withdrawn. At last he agreed to accept the offer, making a few suggestions. His acceptance was confirmed by a protocol of February 20th, in which the Powers refused to extend the frontiers of Greece or to grant Crete or Samos. At the same time, they declared that they would interfere on behalf of the islanders if they were inhumanly treated by the Porte. They guaranteed the existence of the Grecian kingdom, and were willing to grant a loan for the maintenance of a body of troops in the service of the King. The French troops were to be left in the Morea for a year. Although Leopold did not want to throw back Greece into chaos, he was disappointed that he could not obtain better terms. Even as early as April 10th, 1830, he feared there would be a breach.

When the London Protocol was known in Greece, the Greeks were disgusted at having to surrender their brethren in Ætolia and Acarnania. The conduct of Capodistrias has been a matter of great discussion, and it is not possible to come to a decision upon it. When he received the protocol he replied by thanking

the Powers for having secured Greek independence, and for the choice of the sovereign, and promised that the Greeks should evacuate Acarnania and Ætolia as soon as the Turks evacuated Attica and Euboea. He did not protest against the change of frontiers, but only said that it would be necessary to provide for the numerous families who would have to emigrate from the northern provinces. At the same time, he pointed out that the last congress at Argos had decreed that it was necessary to have the consent of the National Assembly to any new constitution, and this it might not be easy to obtain. At his suggestion, the Senate made some objections to the protocol, which Leopold should bring before the Powers. Capodistrias then wrote to Leopold, urging him to come to Greece as soon as possible, but describing the agitation of the Epirotes, the sad state of the finances, and the almost insuperable difficulties of surrendering the northern provinces. He told him that he must accept the religion of the country and respect the decisions of the National Assembly at Argos.

Undoubtedly it would have been better had Capodistrias taken the straightforward course of summoning the National Assembly, and leaving it to accept or reject the final protocol. The resolution of Leopold was much shaken by the letter of Capodistrias and the resolution of the Senate. The promise of a loan of 60,000,000 francs did not appease him, and he could not get over the separation of Acarnania and Ætolia. General Church, who was well acquainted with the military conditions, confirmed him in this view. After requesting time for consideration, he gave his final decision on May 21st, 1830. He said that the formal consent of Capodistrias had been extorted from him, and that he really had strong objections. He would not force himself on an unwilling people, nor disgrace his government by the surrender of districts which had been already conquered, or by opposing the Powers who had appointed him. He therefore declined the offer, and communicated his decision to Capodistrias on June 1st.

The Greeks were terribly disappointed, and the glamour of the Philhellenic cause vanished. The revolution of July drew the attention of the world to France, and henceforth the cause of Greece excited only a feeble interest, which was scarcely stimulated by the elevation of Otho, a boy of seventeen, son of King Ludwig of Bavaria, to the throne in 1832.

CHAPTER XIX

THE TERROR IN PORTUGAL

THE treaty of August 29th, 1825, had secured the entire independence of Brazil, which had previously been a Portuguese colony, governed by King John VI., and now became a constitutional empire under the sceptre of his eldest son, Dom Pedro. But Dom Pedro had not surrendered his right of succession to the throne of Portugal. Yet if he attempted to unite the two crowns great difficulties might ensue. Lisbon would not consent to be governed from Brazil, nor Brazil from Lisbon. On the other hand, it was not to be desired that Dom Miguel should succeed to the throne of Portugal. He had been banished for his misdeeds, and was now living at Vienna under the tutelage of Metternich. But if he came to live in Lisbon there would be danger of a revival of the "White Terror" of 1824. The Portuguese Government wished the succession of Dom Pedro to be guaranteed by Great Britain, but the British Cabinet had no desire to increase its responsibilities.

In March, 1826, John VI. became seriously ill, and it was necessary to appoint a regency until the will of the Emperor Pedro could be ascertained. The Infanta Donna Maria was placed at its head, and it was supposed that if either Queen Carlota or Dom Miguel created a disturbance, Donna Maria would receive the protection of the British Ambassador, A'Court. Four days later, on March 10th, the King died. Queen Carlota kept away from his deathbed and made no revolutionary movement, while Dom Miguel, by Metternich's advice, wrote to the Regent expressing submission to the last will of his father.

After some consideration, on May 2nd, 1826, Dom Pedro renounced the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter Maria da Gloria, who was seven years old. But this renunciation was really conditional. Three days before it was made public, on April 29th, he promulgated a Constitution for Portugal, framed on the model of the French *Charte*. Article 92 of this Constitution entrusted the regency to the Sovereign's nearest relation of full age. Dom Miguel would not come of age for seventeen months, and therefore the regency passed to Isabel Maria, his sister. Pedro also desired to marry Maria da Gloria to Dom Miguel, and

made his renunciation of the crown depend upon two conditions —first, that all officials should take the oath to the Constitution; and, secondly, that the marriage of Dom Miguel to Maria da Gloria should be carried into effect.

It has often been supposed that the granting of this Constitution was due to the influence of Charles Stewart, the ambassador at Rio, and of Canning. But the diplomatic correspondence, which is now accessible, does not support this view. Stewart warned Dom Pedro against taking a step which might involve Portugal in war with Spain, and Canning was surprised at the news of the Constitution being granted, and still more so by the fact that Stewart was deputed to carry it to Lisbon and to see that it was executed.

Stewart, on arriving at Lisbon, disclaimed responsibility for Dom Pedro's action, and at the same time did his best to execute the commission which had been entrusted to him. The Liberals were delighted. There were shouts in the theatre of "Long live the Constitutional King! Long live England!" Isabel Maria issued a proclamation declaring to the people that the Emperor Pedro had given them a Constitution, to which the officials in Lisbon took the oath on July 31st. On August 1st the Council of Regency was dissolved, and Isabel Maria assumed their functions, threatening all who attacked the immortal Constitutional Codex with condign punishment. She formed a new Ministry, consisting of Liberals, and fell herself under the influence of her doctor, Abrantes, who had the reputation of being an arch-Jacobin. The Miguelites resisted this action and tried to gain over the army. Indeed, some regiments mutinied in the provinces of Tras os Montes and Alemtejo, and the heads of the mutiny took refuge in Spain.

The Government of Ferdinand VII. thought the Constitution of Portugal to be a bad example and a standing invitation to Spanish Liberals. This feeling was stronger amongst the party of the Apostolicals, whose leader was Don Carlos, and who were stirred up by his wife, the Portuguese Princess Maria Francisca. Ferdinand was himself afraid of the Apostolicals, but refused to recognise Isabel Maria as Regent or to take any steps against the Portuguese refugees.

The attitude of the great Powers against the action of Dom Pedro might have been foreseen. The Emperor Francis expressed his sorrow that his granddaughter, Maria da Gloria, should at such an early age be obliged to receive the dower of a Constitution, while Metternich denounced it as a regrettable work, an act of madness, a cause of future anarchy. On July 4th he sent

a circular note to Berlin, Paris and Petersburg, in which he reminded them of the agreements made at Troppau and Laibach. He said that the Emperor of Brazil had, by his action, threatened the social order with death and destruction, and that it was impossible to tell what the effect might be on Spain, France and Italy. He pleaded for a new conference of ministers. Berlin emphasised the danger of a system of government whose object was to secure the triumph of all Liberal ideas, which for a quarter of a century had devastated Europe with fire and sword. The Tsar, however, was restrained from the expression of similar opinions by his friendship with Great Britain. He doubted the wisdom of Dom Pedro's action, but went so far as to call the opponents of the Constitution " rebels."

Canning, " the scourge of the world," as Metternich called him, felt considerable anxiety, and ordered Stewart to return home as soon as he had finished his commission, in order not to engage Great Britain further. But he denied the right of anyone to interfere in the domestic affairs of Portugal. Wellington advised him to suspend the articles of the Constitution, the publicity of the sittings of the Chambers, and the freedom of the Press, fearing that they might produce a conflict between Portugal and Spain. But Canning declined, advising, instead, a course to moderate the zeal of the Liberals, and ordering Frederick Lamb, the ambassador to Madrid, to urge the Spanish Government not to give protection to Portuguese rebels, and to threaten his departure if Spain should violate her neutrality with regard to Portugal. The attitude of France was more cautious. The Ultras were very bitter against the Constitution, and put pressure on Villèle, but the journey of Canning to Paris smoothed difficulties, and Moustier, at Madrid, was ordered to support the representations of Lamb. The French Government preserved towards the Constitution an attitude of absolute neutrality.

Metternich found himself forced to yield to the inevitable. On October 4th, 1826, Dom Miguel swore before the Portuguese Ambassador obedience to the instrument of Dom Pedro, which Metternich had branded as an " act of madness," and applied to the Pope for a dispensation to marry his niece, Maria da Gloria. In writing to Dom Pedro, Miguel had expressly reserved his own rights, and Metternich was of opinion that this gave him the liberty of resuming them whenever he was in a position to do so. The Miguelites in Portugal did not despair of receiving assistance from Spain, and the Apostolical party was very active. Rebellions arose in Portugal against the regency of Isabel Maria

and in favour of Queen Carlota and Dom Miguel. The ambassador of the Regent left Madrid, and relations between the two countries became sorely strained. Indeed, the Government of Lisbon was weak in resources. The mass of the people were indifferent to the Constitution, which was opposed by a large part of the nobility and clergy. The army could not be depended upon, and the Regent talked of retiring to a monastery. At the end of November a body of Miguelites marched into Tras os Montes under the command of Chaves. Some troops were sent to repel them, but neither the militia nor the police could be trusted, and the Regent was prepared to take refuge in an English ship.

Appeal to the British for assistance was presented by Palmella on December 3rd, and Canning was prepared for immediate action. He believed that France would offer no opposition, and the other Powers were not likely to interfere in force. The landing of 5,000 men in the harbour of Lisbon would save constitutional government and prevent civil war. On December 12th he appeared in Parliament, pale from recent illness, to support a Royal message, which asked for support to England's oldest ally against a foreign foe. He said, "It is a duty to hasten to the assistance of Portugal, be the aggressor who he may." He deprecated a war, not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles. Such a war would range under one banner all the discontented and restless spirits of all nations. He said with regard to Great Britain, in the words of Shakespeare, "It is a great thing to possess the strength of a giant, another thing to use it as a giant." This famous speech obtained the applause of all Liberals in Europe, but the Eastern Powers were dismayed at the desertion of the path of Castlereagh. Metternich described the speech as a "dream." He could not understand how anyone could have the courage to turn the banner of an Empire into an oriflamme for the destruction of social order. Even in Paris the effect was doubtful. The French did not approve of the well-known words, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." The Cabinet of Paris was much embarrassed, but the efforts of the Apostolicals, and an ambiguous letter of Ferdinand VII. to Charles X. produced no effect. Ferdinand, despairing of French assistance, recognised the Regent, and allowed his ambassador to return to Lisbon.

The words of Canning gave encouragement to the Government of Portugal, and disturbances in the provinces gradually ceased. The British troops, under the command of General

Clinton, reached the mouth of the Tagus at the beginning of January, 1827, a portion of them occupying the forts and a portion proceeding to Coimbra. The Spanish Government gave way, on the French recalling the Swiss regiments from Madrid. Canning, by his energetic action, had won a splendid victory. He had raised the reputation of Great Britain, had preserved the peace of Europe, and had assisted the progress of Liberal ideas.

The action of Canning, however, did not meet with the entire approval of his colleagues. Wellington disapproved of some of the passages of Canning's speech of December 12th; nor, a few months later, did he agree with the signing of the London Convention with regard to Greece. On the questions of Free Trade and Catholic Emancipation the Cabinet was also divided, Huskisson being a Free Trader, while Wellington was not. However, in the spring of 1826 a certain amount of foreign corn was imported into England. Eldon, Peel and Wellington were opposed to the emancipation of the Catholics, which was an important matter for Ireland, but public opinion seemed to be against it. Lord Liverpool kept his discordant Cabinet together; but, on February 17th, 1827, he was struck by paralysis. Canning must either be got rid of or lead. The decision turned mainly on Catholic Emancipation, and the hopes of the Tories were excited by a division in the Commons on March 6th, 1827, when a motion of Sir Francis Burdett in favour of emancipation was rejected by four votes, although Canning had warmly supported it in opposition to Sir Robert Peel and Sir John Copley, the Master of the Rolls.

The Duke of Newcastle did his best to persuade the King to get rid of Canning, but this was found impossible, and on April 10th Canning was empowered to form a new Ministry. Peel, Wellington and Eldon retired, and with them other Tories; only Huskisson, Robinson, Wynn and Harrowby remained. The Tories had serious doubts as to Canning's probable success. However, he formed a strong Government, in which the King's brother became Lord High Admiral, and Copley, with the title of Lord Lyndhurst, was Lord Chancellor. Among the Whigs, Canning was supported by Lord Lansdowne, Lord Holland, Tierney and Brougham. The world, however, was not allowed to see what Canning might be able to effect as Prime Minister. In the summer he fell ill, and died on August 8th, 1827, at the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick, in the same room in which Charles Fox had died twenty-one years before. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, by the side of William Pitt.

Canning's death produced a profound effect on Europe. He was mourned by all Liberals as the man who had released Great Britain from the fetters of the Holy Alliance. On the other hand, Gentz regarded his death as an act of God. Metternich compared it to the "quenching of an unholy meteor." He said, "Canning did not build; he only pulled down." His three months' Ministry, however, will be placed in history by the side of another Hundred Days. In that short time he had been able to create the Triple Alliance for the liberation of Greece.

In Spain, at the end of August, 1827, a rising, the work of the Apostolical party, took place at Manresa, in Catalonia, a place intimately associated with the fortunes of Ignatius Loyola. The garrison of the town was overpowered, and the officers and the populace embraced the Apostolical cause. Their cry was that the time had now come to cast the insane enemies of Holy Religion and of Absolute Monarchy in the dust. Arms and ammunition were requisitioned under penalty of death, the example of Manresa was followed by other places, and the contagion spread to Aragon and Valencia. The numbers of the rebels were swelled to many thousands. Up to this time Ferdinand, following the advice of his minister, Calomarde, had tried to manage the Apostolicals by flattery, but now more strenuous measures were required. The King and his ministers went to Tarragona, and the rising collapsed. The few who resisted were overpowered by General España, while several of the leaders escaped to France, and others were delivered up to the executioners by their old friends Calomarde and España, Calomarde stamping himself for ever as a traitor. España tried to regain the confidence of his former friends by cruel persecution of the Liberals, in his capacity as Captain-General of Catalonia. The result, however, of these events was a policy of moderation. The Apostolical party suffered a great loss in the death of Queen Josefa Amalia on May 17th, 1829.

The King, who had no children, immediately prepared to contract a fourth marriage. The Apostolicals wished, first, that the King should not marry at all; in this case the crown would descend to his brother, Don Carlos. If he did marry, they desired that his bride should favour their opinions. They hoped for an alliance with a Sardinian princess, or the widowed Princess Beira, the sister-in-law of Don Carlos. But Luisa Carlota, the wife of Don Francisca de Paula, a bitter enemy of the wife of Don Carlos, the Portuguese Maria Francisca, and of his sister-in-law, continued to direct the King's attention to her younger sister, Maria Cristina, and she was assisted by Calomarde. The King's passions were

aroused and the marriage was hastily concluded. The newly-married pair entered Madrid on November 11th, 1829. The marriage, however, led to a step which altered the succession to the throne and prepared a long series of disasters for Spain.

In the year 1713, Philip V., the first Bourbon King of Spain, altered the old Castilian law of succession to the crown. He promulgated a law which procured the inheritance of women after the last male heir. In 1789, however, Charles IV. induced the Cortes to pass a Pragmatic Sanction, restoring the old right of inheritance. He had lost four sons by death, and the two that survived were weakly, and he wished to secure the crown to his daughter Carlota, who was betrothed to the Crown Prince of Portugal, instead of its going to his brother, the King of Naples. The Pragmatic Sanction was kept an entire secret, and was never promulgated as a law. The health of Charles' sons, Ferdinand and Carlos, improved, and the French Revolution broke out. The Constitution of 1812 restored the old Castilian order of succession. But this Constitution was suspended in 1814, and this fact, together with the recrudescence of the doctrine of Absolute Sovereignty, made matters more complicated. On March 29th, 1830, a Royal decree revived the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles IV., and two days later it was proclaimed in the capital with the sound of trumpets. The people received it quietly, but Don Carlos and his friends were deeply stirred. The Queen was expecting her confinement, and was anxious to secure the succession of her child, whatever its sex. Don Carlos did not break with his brother Ferdinand; his party awaited the birth of the child. If it were a male they would acknowledge its claims to the succession; if a female, they would assert the rights of Don Carlos.

We must now return to the affairs of Portugal. One of the last actions of Canning had been to send a British auxiliary force to that country to defend her against the threatened attack of Spain. The result of this was that the Constitution granted by Dom Pedro was maintained and his sister Isabel Maria remained at the head of the Government. But this Constitution had not taken root in the country, being detested by the clergy and the great landowners. Indeed, it had few friends, and had not been a success. The treasury was empty, and public security was not preserved, the army being without discipline. In June, 1827, Saldanha became Prime Minister and displayed no lack of energy. He inaugurated a Liberal regime, but was opposed by his colleagues, and the Regent lacked the firmness to help or defend him. He retired on July 23rd, after little more than a month's

term of office. Dom Miguel was now of age. It will be remembered that Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, had renounced the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter Maria da Gloria, who, in May, 1826, was seven years of age, on the condition that, before she left Brazil, her uncle, Dom Miguel, who was appointed Regent, should take the oath to the Constitution and marry his niece. Miguel fulfilled the first condition in word certainly, but the second could not be fulfilled till the child was of marriageable age. There was now a general desire that Donna Maria should leave Brazil and come to Portugal to put an end to the uncertainties of the situation. Great Britain and Austria, differing in so many matters, were agreed upon this.

Dom Pedro could not make up his mind. In February he wished Miguel to come to Brazil, to receive both his daughter and the Regency; by summer he had altered his views. Palmella, who was ambassador in London, assured him that the presence of Dom Miguel was required in Portugal. "We require a man and a prince," he said, "who must, like Henry IV., have the energy and will to close the Temple of Discord, to adopt honourably the principles of the Legitimate party, but to protect their opponents from their vengeance." Dom Pedro was convinced, and agreed that Dom Miguel should proceed to Lisbon instead of Rio Janeiro. By a decree of July 3rd, 1827, he appointed him Regent, on condition that he governed according to the Constitution. But he did not absolutely renounce the crown of Portugal; Dom Miguel was to govern in his name. Dom Pedro asked the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of Austria to sanction these decisions. Consequently, conferences were held in Vienna, which issued a series of protocols on October 18th, 20th and 23rd. Dom Miguel accepted the Regency under the conditions proposed by his brother; he promised an amnesty for the past and peace between the contending factions.

In London the Ministry promised to assist him with a loan, and sent a squadron to accompany him to Lisbon. Frederick Lamb went with him as ambassador. However, the news of his coming excited the enemies of the Constitution and the supporters of absolute monarchy. He arrived at Lisbon on February 22nd, 1828, and was anxiously received by the Regent, Isabel Maria. His first visit was to his mother, Queen Carlota, who had been his evil genius. In the evening the mob went about singing, "Long live King Miguel!" The foreign diplomats, however, were afraid that the days of the Constitution were numbered. On February 26th he swore obedience to the Constitution, in the

presence of the Cortes, in the palace of the Ajuda. But his friends declared that he had never repeated the words of the oath, and the fact was published in the official part of the *Journal*. He appointed as Prime Minister the Duke of Cadaval, President of the House of Peers and a known enemy of the Constitution.

The palace of Dom Miguel became a meeting-place for all discontented spirits, the friends of the Queen-Mother, retired officers, dismissed officials, monks and priests. The mob hindered the playing of the constitutional hymn and attacked prominent Liberals with violence. The British and Austrian Ambassadors made representations to Dom Miguel, but found him like wax in the hands of his mother. He prepared for a *coup d'état* by changing the military governors and the officers, dissolved the Chamber on March 13th, and made no arrangement for a new election. Liberals were denounced as the enemies of Holy Church and of the rightful King Miguel. Riots took place, not without bloodshed, and many sought refuge in flight. The British troops under Clinton were the only security for order, and Lamb begged Clinton to defer his departure, although he despised both parties and wrote to Wellington that both Pedrists and Miguelists deserved a good flogging. At the same time, to save the honour of Great Britain, he asked that reinforcements should be sent, and that the command of the troops might be given to the ambassador. Wellington refused, on the ground that the troops had been sent to secure Portugal against invasion, and that they could now go home. Great Britain had no right to complain if Dom Miguel preferred to choose his ministers from one party rather than the other. If things grew very bad, Lamb must demand his passports and leave a chargé d'affaires behind. The British troops were embarked on April 5th.

The Miguelists now had a free hand. On April 25th, the birthday of Queen Carlota, the town hall was surrounded by troops and Dom Miguel proclaimed as King, a number of people signing their names to the proclamation. Dom Miguel affected a show of moderation. He asked the Town Council to wait and proceed in a constitutional manner. He had conceived the idea of summoning the ancient Cortes of Estates, which had not met since 1698, and which was called the Cortes of Lamego, from the place where it had first met in 1143. Queen Carlota, however, was strongly opposed to these steps. She demanded that her son should be proclaimed immediately as King. In fact, the Cortes of Lamego, consisting of the representatives of the clergy, nobles, and towns, was summoned on May 3rd, by a proclamation signed

by Miguel, in which he did not call himself either Regent or Viceroy. He had burned his boats. The diplomatic body declared their functions suspended, and Palmella and the Portuguese diplomats in other countries protested against the violation of the Constitution and of the rights of Dom Pedro.

On May 16th the garrison of Oporto declared itself against Dom Miguel, and was supported by the population. Coimbra rose in the south, and even Algarve showed signs of resistance. A junta under General da Costa was formed in Oporto. However, these movements had for the time no success, and Dom Miguel succeeded in putting them down. Saldanha, Villaflor and Palmella arrived too late to be of any use. Wellington declined to interfere, and though Dudley might have done something, his place was now taken by Aberdeen. The Cortes met on June 23rd, and was called by Metternich a "mad Parliament." He tells us: "The pretended representatives of the nation were nothing but chosen instruments and notorious accomplices of corruption. Their deliberations, begun and ended in two or three tumultuous meetings, were the idle echoes of those resolutions which party spirit had long ago prepared and caprice and power were ready to carry out." On June 26th, Miguel was proclaimed the lawful successor of his father to the throne of Portugal, and everything which Dom Pedro had decreed as King, including the Constitution, was declared null and void. The Estates then separated. On July 4th it was announced that Dom Miguel had accepted the title of King, and the representatives of foreign Powers, with the exception of the Nuntius and the Spanish Ambassador, left Lisbon.

This was a blow for Austria and Great Britain. Metternich attempted conciliation by proposing that, until Donna Maria had reached a marriageable age, Dom Miguel should be considered co-Regent of the kingdom and share the throne with her, with the title of King. Wellington approved of this, and asked Dom Pedro to consent. Paris, St. Petersburg, Berlin and Madrid agreed, and the Pope was asked to influence Dom Miguel to accept this compromise. Miguel, however, continued in his course. Palmella and Saldanha returned to England, and a White Terror was established. Imprisonments, confiscations, and executions raged throughout the land, and the enemies of the Queen-Mother were barbarously treated. Only one spot in the Portuguese dominions refused its submission. This was the island of Terceira, in the Azores, which had once held the standard of Portuguese independence against Philip II. of Spain. The governor, Cabrera, could depend upon his garrison, and Miguel was unable to subdue it.

A FUGITIVE QUEEN

Under the influence of Austria and Great Britain, Pedro had, on March 3rd, 1828, declared his unconditional surrender of the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria. He determined to send her, now a child of nine, to Vienna, to be educated by her grandfather, the Emperor Francis. But when she arrived at Gibraltar, her Governor, Marquis Barbacena, heard that Dom Miguel had assumed the crown and established his authority. With the consent of Dom Pedro, therefore, the plan of his journey was changed, and, on September 24th, they reached the coast of England. Palmella was one of the first to do homage to her, and the fugitives of Oporto and Corunna clustered round her. A Brazilian expedition to Terceira was secretly being prepared. On October 25th Barbacena informed the Duke of Wellington of it, and asked for the help of a British man-of-war, and on November 25th presented a similar request to Aberdeen. Wellington set his face against any such step. He could not countenance the Emperor of Brazil making preparations in England to take a Portuguese possession by force. He thought that the assembling of the conspirators in Plymouth was a danger to the arsenal, and asserted the neutrality of Great Britain in the strongest terms. Notwithstanding this, the expedition of five ships and 600 men, under the command of Saldanha, sailed from Plymouth to Terceira on January 6th, 1829.

Two British frigates were cruising in the neighbourhood of the Azores under the command of William Walpole, who was ordered to prevent the landing of the troops. Saldanha's ship came in sight on January 16th, and Walpole fired a shot which killed one man and wounded another. Saldanha retired, watched by Walpole, and eventually preferred to go into Brest to being a prisoner in England. From that port he sailed to Terceira. Wellington was violently attacked in Parliament by Mackintosh, Brougham, Palmerston and Londonderry. On June 15th, 1829, Dom Pedro set up a provisional government in Terceira under Palmella, in favour of his daughter, while the little Queen returned with Barbacena to Rio.

The Reign of Terror in Portugal became worse and worse. Thousands of heads of families were imprisoned, and all classes of society were sent to the galleys. Dom Miguel even kept his own sister, the former Regent, under lock and key, and threatened her with a pistol. Queen Carlota was mistress of the situation. Her party demanded the restoration of the Inquisition, and posted placards, with the legend, " Our endeavour is to save the Throne and the Altar. The revolutionaries still hold important places,

and prisons are turned into Freemasons' lodges. May the galleys, the axe, and the gallows annihilate the monsters for ever!" Her party was connected with the Spanish Apostolicals. At the same time, there were furious quarrels between her and her son till her death, on January 7th, 1830, brought some alleviation, but misgovernment still continued. The state of the finances was hopeless, and the Bank of Lisbon suspended payment. Foreign capitalists refused assistance, and an attempt to sell the crown diamonds failed. No one was paid—neither the officers in the army, nor the artisans in the arsenal, nor the clerks in the offices. Portuguese paper fell 40 per cent. The scaffold, however, was kept busy, and an occasional *auto da fé* varied the gruesome spectacle.

CHAPTER XX

CHARLES X

WHEN Louis XVIII. died, on September 16th, 1824, the reconciliation between the old France and the new had made very little progress. On the one side stood the newly arisen middle class with its ideas of equality before the law and the easy transference of property; on the other, the returned nobility, with their ideas of feudal privilege and their struggle for the restoration of large consolidated estates. With the Church on its side, this latter party had won many victories during the last years of Louis XVIII. Villèle, a far-seeing and cautious minister, had done his best to restrain the fanatical zeal of the lay and clerical extremists of his party, which, on the accession of Charles X., conceived hopes of fresh victories. They had always been supported by the Pavillon Marsan, and they thought that the sixty-seven years of the new sovereign would not allow him to change the opinions of a lifetime.

The new monarch was careful not to show his hand prematurely. He promised to confirm the *Charte*, and he declared that all Frenchmen were equal in his eyes. He admitted the Duc d'Angoulême to the Royal Council, and gave the Duc d'Orléans the title of "Royal Highness," which had hitherto been withheld. He won all hearts by removing the censorship of the Press a fortnight after his accession. He was hailed as a new Henry IV.

However, this happy state of things did not long continue. The first note of discord was struck by a decree of December 1st, 1824, which put a number of officers of high rank on half-pay. This was worked so as to affect the soldiers of the Revolution and the Empire, while those who belonged to the Emigration were spared. The Chambers met on December 22nd, and the King, in his speech, announced a law which, to use the expression of Louis XVIII., was "to heal the wounds of the Revolution." It was proposed to compensate the families of *émigrés* for their confiscated property which had been sold by auction. The sum necessary for this purpose was 988,000,000 francs, which it was difficult to provide.

The debate upon the subject was, naturally, stormy. The Right was not satisfied with the amount of compensation, some rejecting the notion of compensation altogether and demanding that the "stolen property" should be restored entire. The Left objected that no compensation had been given to those who lost their property by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Why should the *émigrés* be compensated any more than others who had suffered by the Revolution? Had not they already received compensation in offices, honours, and other advantages? It was their fault that France had ever been conquered by a foreign foe.

Villèle tried to hold the balance between these conflicting views. He allowed amendments which implied that, notwithstanding the compensation, the possession of the property was not secured to its present owners. But General Foy declared that the proposed law, instead of being a measure of unity and peace, had become a declaration of war, an instrument of hatred and revenge. When the vote was taken on March 15th, it was found that there were 259 for and 124 against, and everyone was shocked by the largeness of the minority. The Peers endeavoured to modify the effect of these amendments by declaring that property secured by the law of December 5th, 1814, should not be affected by the present Act. The Duc de Broglie denounced the compensation as a measure of counter-revolution, and a means of stimulating the appetites of the *émigrés*. But, in fact, these properties now reached the settled value of ordinary estates, having been depreciated by the insecurity attaching to them.

Two other laws bore a reactionary character. One made it possible for nunneries to receive property without legal confirmation. This was enacted with the object of enabling ladies of good family to retire more easily to a cloister. The other was directed against sacrilege, which it was proposed to punish with death. This aroused violent opposition in both Chambers. Molé asked, "What should we say if Frenchmen of a different religion demanded from us a law which punished with death the violation of the sanctity of their churches?" Broglie remarked that the offence was the same, whether it was committed in a Protestant chapel or a Catholic church. In the lower Chamber, Royer Collard said, "The theocracy of our time is not so much religious as political. It is a part of the general reaction under which we live. It is recommended to us by its counter-revolutionary character. Certainly, the Revolution was godless to fanaticism, even to cruelty; but this brought about its destruction, and we may predict with

certainty that a renewal of cruelty, even upon paper, will stain and disgrace the counter-revolution." The law was carried by a large majority, but its worst provisions remained a dead letter.

At this time Metternich was in Paris, and although he disliked the prevailing "theocracy," he knew how to make the reactionary spirit subservient to his plans. But the popularity of Charles X. began to wane. The people had discovered that he was not a Henry IV., and the feeling became more obvious when he returned to Paris after his coronation at Rheims, on May 29th, 1825, a ceremony carried out with a revival of medieval pomp which excited the sneers of scoffers. Charles was anointed in seven places, and touched for the king's evil. Clerical oppression became more pronounced. Officers and officials were compelled to take part in religious processions. Religious tests were exacted, the writings of Voltaire, Diderot and d'Alembert were not allowed to be exhibited in the booksellers' shops and windows, or to be retained in lending libraries and reading-rooms. The little seminaries, intended originally for the education of priests, were used as a set-off against the State schools, and numbered 50,000 pupils. This was attributed to a supposed secret society called the "Congregation." The Jesuits, although forbidden by law to set foot in France, began to come back, and Gentz, who ought to have been well-informed, wrote about them, "The Jesuits in France are no empty name, but a very active, powerful machine, rightly feared by all enemies of religion and order, directed by very active, determined and logical supporters of the true Restoration."

There was, naturally, a reaction on the other side against the Congregationists and the black coat of Ignatius. The performance of *Tartuffe* produced violent demonstrations. Pamphleteers and song-writers assisted the movement. Foremost among the newspapers on this side were the *Constitutionnel* and the *Courier*. These were indicted in August, 1825, for their attacks on the State religion, and the public prosecutor asked that they might be suspended, one for a month and the other for three months. However, the *Journal des Débats* took their side, and they were acquitted—the *Constitutionnel* on December 3rd, the *Courier* on December 5th. The friends of General Foy, on November 28th, gave occasion for a Liberal demonstration in favour of this redoubted leader of the Left. A subscription of 400,000 francs was raised for his children, among the subscribers being Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans.

Villèle tried to recover his lost popularity with the Right by introducing a Bill for the restriction of primogeniture. It was violently opposed by the Peers. Broglie said, "This is no law,

but a manifesto against existing society. It is the forerunner of twenty other laws, which, unless your wisdom prevent them, will break in upon us and leave no peace to French society as it has been constituted for the last forty years." It was rejected by 120 votes against 24. In the evening Paris was illuminated. They cried in the streets, "Long live the Chamber of Peers! Long live the *Charte!*" Discontent was further increased by the appointment of the Duc de Rivière, an Ultra *pur-sang*, as governor of the Duc de Bordeaux, "the child of the miracle," and Thouin, Bishop of Strasbourg, as his teacher.

Charles X. had long regretted the first enactment of his reign, the granting of freedom to the Press. But, on December 29th, 1826, a law was introduced which was to remedy this defect. To prevent the circulation of small pamphlets, every copy with fewer than five leaves was to pay a franc for the first folio and ten centimes for every succeeding folio. To prevent the publication of larger works, they were to be kept back for periods varying from five to ten days according to their size. For periodical works, the responsibility was laid on the proprietor and the printer. The tax on newspapers was raised, the scale of fines was increased, paragraphs on private affairs were forbidden, except with the consent of the parties interested. These and many other provisions made up a formidable enactment.

The Bill was received with general execration. The *Débats*, the *Constitutionnel*, and the *Courier* attacked it together. Chateaubriand called it "Vandalish." The Academy opposed it, and Villèle confessed that he had never seen such excitement. The debates in the lower House lasted from February 7th to March 12th. Few Ultras followed Count Salabéry in his opinion that the "newspaper Press was the only plague which Moses forgot to inflict upon the Egyptians." Royer Collard said of the Ministry, "Last year they dug up the right of the first-born from the dust of the Middle Ages, the year before the law of sacrilege, to-day they prepare the annihilation of the freedom of the Press. They are going back in religion, in politics, in social affairs; they are proceeding by fanaticism, privilege, and ignorance to barbarism, and to the foolish government which is formed by barbarism." On the division the minority numbered 134, although the measure had been rendered less severe by amendments. The opposition in the Peers was so strong that the Bill had to be withdrawn on April 17th. Paris gave way to unrestrained enthusiasm. Evening after evening there were illuminations, processions, and cries of "Long live the Peers! Down with the Ministers!"

The Ministry now made themselves ridiculous as well as detested. On April 29th the King held a review of the National Guard, which passed off fairly well. Most of the soldiers cried out "*Vive le Roi!*" Some shouted "*Vive la Charte!*" "*Vive la Liberté de la Presse!*" "*À bas les Ministres!*" "*À bas les Jésuites!*" The King was, on the whole, satisfied. But, in the evening, he learned from Villèle that on their return the Guard had insulted him and Peyronnet, and also the Duchesses de Berri and Angoulême on their way from the Champ de Mars. Villèle advised their immediate dismissal, and the Cabinet agreed with him. The Ministers received this decree at midnight, and had to suppress an article in which they spoke highly of the review. Villèle thought he had made a great stroke; in reality, he had shattered his Ministry. Twenty thousand Parisian *bourgeois* felt themselves grossly insulted, and the Left redoubled its attacks. Benjamin Constant said, "The Ministry has crossed the Rubicon. Its standard is absolutism; the Apostolicals are its only allies." The session came to an end on June 22nd.

Two days later the censorship of the Press was restored. The funeral of Manuel, who died on August 27th, gave rise to a demonstration similar to that of General Foy. Villèle felt the ground tremble under his feet, and formed the plan of creating a number of new peers, chosen from his majority in the lower House, with the hope of filling their places with new adherents. On November 6th the Ministers announced a series of ordinances. The Chamber of Representatives was dissolved, and the decree establishing the censorship came automatically to an end. Seventy-six new peers were created, nearly half of whom were taken from the lower Chamber. The elections were fixed for November 17th to 24th. The opponents of Villèle made a coalition and issued a list of candidates, containing the names of Lafayette, Benjamin Constant, Laffitte, Casimir Périer, together with Labourdonnaye, Hyde de Neuville, Delatot and Lazardière, and this step was supported by Chateaubriand in the *Débats*. A society called "*Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera,*" led by Guizot, Duvergier de Hauranne, Odilon Barrot, Rémusat and Joubert, conducted a vigorous election campaign. They formed the party of the Doctrinaires. In the elections the Ministry were entirely defeated. Peyronnet could find a seat nowhere, and Royer Collard was chosen in seven constituencies. Out of 422 deputies, only 125 were supporters of Villèle.

The King did not know what to do, and his ideas changed every day. He would have liked to keep Villèle and to reform the Ministry. In January, however, Villèle resigned and was

succeeded by Chabrol, although the Ministry generally bears the name of Martignac, who was its most prominent member. Laferronays became Foreign Minister; Portalis, Minister of Justice; Villèle, Corbière and Peyronnet were made peers. When Villèle took leave of the Dauphin, the Duc d'Angoulême expressed his regret that he was so unpopular. Villèle replied, "Monseigneur, thank God I am." Barante said of him, "All great political faults came from Charles X. and his party; Villèle would never have made them on his own account; he allowed them to be committed without realising their importance."

Martignac had a difficult task to perform. The King declared himself devoted to the principles of Villèle, and Martignac was often regarded as the figure-head of a Cabinet inspired by Villèle's influence, or as a warming-pan for Polignac, whose advent to power was regarded with apprehension. At the same time, he showed that he was prepared to take a line of his own. The post of Director of the General Police, in which Franchet had made himself so detested, was abolished, and the Prefecture of the Paris Police was placed in other hands. The "Black Cabinet" of the Post Office was abolished. The three academicians, Michaud, Villemain and Lacretelle, who had been deprived of their professorships, were restored to their places, and a commission was appointed to inquire into the "little seminaries." All this offended the Ultras, while it did not satisfy the Liberals. Chateaubriand, who held aloof, did not see how the Ministry could obtain a majority in the Chamber.

The session opened on January 5th, 1828, the King, in his opening speech, declaring his determination to bring legislation into harmony with the *Charte*. A good effect was produced by a circular of Vatismenil, the newly appointed Rector of the University. He had hitherto been regarded as a violent Ultra and Congregationist, but now insisted on the close observance of the *Charte* and the laws, and promised to give the protection of the Government to every kind of useful education. A still greater success was the appointment of Royer Collard, the leader of the Doctrinaires, to the Presidency of the Chamber. Frayssinous and Chabrol were removed from office, and their places filled by Feutrier, Bishop of Beauvais, mild in manner and tolerant in character, and Hyde de Neuville, who, from a thoroughgoing Ultra, had become half a Liberal. Chateaubriand also joined and was made ambassador in Rome.

Unfortunately, the Chamber brought dissension into this scene of harmony. In their Address they spoke disrespectfully of the

Ministry of Villèle and made the King very angry. He declared he would rather saw wood than be a king under the same conditions as in England. To Martignac and Portalis he said, "There, you see what they are driving me to. But I will not allow them to cast my crown into the mud." He talked of reforming the Address and of dissolving the Chamber. Martignac asked him whether, in that case, he was ready to dismiss his ministers and had the means to suppress an insurrection. The King bethought himself. Next day he received the deputation in the Tuileries, heard the Address read by Royer Collard, and contented himself with expressing regret that the Chamber had shown lack of unity. Villèle was very angry at the King's weakness and Martignac's hesitation.

Two Bills were now introduced—one for securing greater freedom of election, and the other concerning the Press. The first was directed against intimidation and trickery in preparing the list of voters. Just at this time some by-elections were held, which resulted in a victory for the Left. The candidates had addressed large meetings in the open air, a practice which recalled the days of the Girondists and the Jacobin Club. This excited the Right to opposition, but the Bill passed both Chambers. By the second Bill the Act of March 17th, 1822, was abrogated, and more Liberal principles were introduced. This was also passed by both Chambers, although it did not satisfy the Constitutionals and Benjamin Constant. Two ordinances were published on June 16th, dealing with the Jesuits and the "little seminaries." They placed eight religious secondary schools under the University, and demanded a declaration from all teachers in religious secondary schools that they did not belong to forbidden Orders, and limited the number of students to 20,000. The session closed on August 18th, and Martignac had good reason to be satisfied with his work.

It was, however, found difficult to carry out the ordinances of June 16th. They were bitterly opposed by ecclesiastical and political Ultras. Portalis and Feutrier, whose names stood at the foot of the ordinances, were stigmatised as Diocletian and Julian. The ordinances were acts of revolutionary vandalism, and the age of martyrs was at hand! To forbid any Frenchman, clerical or lay, to teach was to violate the *Charte*. The Ultras fought under the banner of freedom of education, but they avowed that education belonged to the Church alone, because it alone possessed the treasure of truth, which is the foundation of life.

The bishops protested, Cardinal Clermont-Tonnerre, Arch-

bishop of Toulouse, leading the way. The Government sent Lasagni, a French judge, to Leo XII. at Rome. He found Bernetti, the Secretary of State, and Pope Leo XII. favourable to the views of the Government. Bernetti expressed the opinion that the Jesuitical and fanatical party in the Church were the real enemies of the Holy See and of the peace of Europe. The Pope said that, much as he should rejoice to see all education in the hands of the bishops, he could not regard their claims as well founded. Bernetti induced Latil, the Archbishop of Rheims, to draft a circular letter to the bishops, saying that, in the Pope's opinion, it was their duty to trust the wisdom of the King with regard to carrying out the ordinances. This brought about the submission of the bishops; but the Archbishop of Toulouse, continuing in his opposition, was forbidden access to the Court.

In September the King made a progress, accompanied by the Duc d'Angoulême and Martignac, through Alsace and Lorraine. He was received everywhere with enthusiasm. When the people were shouting at Strasbourg, whilst the cathedral was illuminated, he turned to Martignac and said, "These people cry, '*Vive le Roi!*' not '*Vive la Charte!*'" He confessed that if he had known the disposition of the people he would not have made so many concessions. The feeling of confidence in the popularity of his throne was strengthened by the reception which the Duchesse de Berri had met with in La Vendée and Brittany.

The sudden illness of Laferronays on January 9th, 1829, threatened a change in the Ministry. Polignac was sent for from London to receive the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, but the other Ministers declared they would all resign if he were appointed, and Portalis undertook the office. The King could not carry Polignac and would not hear of Chateaubriand, who was supported by Hyde de Neuville. The Chambers met on January 27th, 1829, with little or no foreboding of coming events.

Martignac was desirous of remedying the extreme centralisation of French Government and establishing some system of representative local self-government, in place of the bureaucracy of mayors and provincial councillors, who now governed France. At an earlier period this had been one of the plans of the Pavillon Marsan, and Charles X. could hardly refuse his consent to it. On February 9th Martignac introduced Bills for the establishment of representative councils in the Departments and municipalities, and pointed out, in a masterly speech, how it would open a new career of usefulness to young men of talent and tend to allay discontent. The proposition was received with acclamation by the

Liberal Press, but the Right ridiculed the idea of establishing "thousands of little republics," and the Ultras, forgetting their previous attacks on bureaucracy, joined the opposition. Difference of opinion became accentuated as to which proposal should have the priority. Martignac desired to give this to the municipalities, whereas the Liberals and the Liberal Centre wished first to deal with the Departments. The Doctrinaires, under the leadership of the Duc de Broglie, also set themselves against the Bill.

This question, which in these days does not appear very important, brought about a defeat of the Ministry. The Left and the Right formed a coalition for giving priority to the law about the Departments, and Martignac was beaten. He would have been glad to make concessions to the Liberals; but the King, before giving his consent to the introduction of the Bills, had exacted a promise that no alterations should be made in them. When, on April 8th, an amendment was carried against the Ministry, Martignac and Portalis left the Chamber. It was supposed that they would return and announce their resignation, but instead of this they brought back a Royal Ordinance which removed the two measures from the Chambers.

Those who did not know the arrangements which had been made with the King blamed Martignac for behaving like an "angry child"; but the truth gradually leaked out, and the Ultras and Villèlians triumphed. They felt certain that the King had determined to dismiss the Ministry, and he was only waiting till the budget had been passed, fearing to strengthen the Ministry by any additions. For this reason he refused to admit Chateaubriand and Pasquier; and Portalis, whose office had previously been temporary, was now made permanent Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

The session closed on July 30th, and Charles set to work to carry out his own views. Polignac arrived from London, and was in constant communication with him at St. Cloud. Labourdonnaye also was taken into confidence. Martignac soon became aware of these negotiations, and discovered that Polignac was designated as his successor. The King threw off the mask, and on August 8th, 1829, dismissed the Martignac Ministry, retaining only Roy, the Minister of Finance. He, however, refused to serve when he learnt that Martignac was excluded. The *Moniteur* of August 9th published the names of the new Ministers, and the result was general consternation. The Prince de Polignac, the son of the friend of Marie Antoinette, now Minister of Foreign Affairs, was regarded as a standard-bearer of the Emigration

and the Congregation; Labourdonnaye recalled the days of the White Terror; Bourmont, Minister of War, had deserted Napoleon in 1815 as he rode to the field of Waterloo; Montbel, a devoted friend of Villèle, became Minister of Instruction; Courvoisier was Minister of Justice, Chabrol of Finance, and de Rigny of Marine. The belief that the Ministry was the offspring of Austrian and British influence made them more unpopular. As a fact, Metternich and Wellington had nothing whatever to do with the matter.

The newspapers, foremost among them the *Journal des Débats*, which had so often defended the monarchy, opened a chorus of attacks. "Once more is the tie of love and confidence between the monarch and the people torn asunder. What France has gained in forty years of labour and misfortune is now taken away from her; what she rejected with all the strength of her will and force of her desire is now thrust upon her." The *Débats* invoked the shade of John Hampden, and ended with the words, "Unhappy France; unhappy King!" An indictment for high treason only made Bertin, the editor, more outspoken. He called Polignac the man of Coblenz and the Counter-Revolution; Bourmont the "deserter of Waterloo"; Labourdonnaye the advocate of proscription. Admiral de Rigny refused to serve with Bourmont and Labourdonnaye; Chateaubriand resigned his embassy in Rome; Lafayette made a triumphal journey in the south as the "hero of two worlds." A Liberal club was founded in Brittany and in other places, in which Carbonari and Doctrinaires found a common meeting-place.

Polignac was a Rip van Winkle; he knew nothing of modern France. He had spent a large portion of his life either as an *émigré* or as a prisoner of Napoleon at Vincennes. He had no desire to abolish the *Charte*, but wished to emphasise Article 14, which gave the King power to issue necessary regulations and ordinances for the carrying out of the laws and the security of the State. Above all, he was determined to make "no more concessions." Labourdonnaye was a very different character. He detested the Clerical party, but wished to fight everything he considered revolutionary to the bitter end. His cry was, "War with the Revolution; no armistice between it and us!" He said to Apponyi, the Austrian Ambassador, "We are playing not only our game but yours also, and that of all monarchies." But, strongly as he held these principles, he was incapable of carrying them out. Polignac found him useless, and wished to get rid of him, and he resigned on November 17th. Polignac, nominated President of the Council in his stead, was commonly believed to

be really the son of Charles X., and there is no doubt that he bore a decided resemblance to him.

Several parties continued in opposition to the Bourbons. First were those who wished to place Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, on the throne. He did not break with the Court, but lived quietly at the Palais Royal, without ceremony, sending his sons to the ordinary public schools. At Neuilly, his country house, he collected writers and artists, such as Villemain, Delavigne, Alexandre Dumas, and Ary Scheffer. The leaders of the Left, Laffitte and Dupin, were also seen there. Favour was extended even to Talleyrand, who had said, "*En* 1814 *le retour des Bourbons a rendu les répos à l'Europe ; en* 1830 *ou* 1831 *leur départ pourra rendre le répos à la France.*"

At the beginning of 1830, Talleyrand, with the assistance of Thiers and Mignet, founded a new journal, *Le National,* which was the mouthpiece of the Orleanist party, and Armand Carrel, who had written about the English Revolution of 1688, joined the staff. It was natural to compare the Bourbons with the Stuarts, and the Duc d'Orléans with the Prince of Orange. A similar paper was the *Globe,* in which Rémusat was the principal writer. There was also a party of Republicans. Among them were Trélat, Raspail, Cavaignac, Blanqui, Guinard, Bastide, Joubert and Thomas, along with a number of students and artisans. Their organ was the *Tribune.* They contemplated an insurrection, with Lafayette at their head, which should depose the King and summon a Constitutional Assembly. They were joined also by Bonapartists, who were without a leader of their own. At any rate, the worship of Napoleon undermined the foundations of Bourbonism.

The Ministry determined to meet the Chambers on March 2nd, and to confine themselves to passing the budget and a few necessary measures. Polignac hoped to secure a majority by dazzling the nation with a brilliant foreign policy, and for this purpose he drew up the famous "Great Plan" for the reconstitution of Europe, which was rendered impossible by the Peace of Adrianople. Disappointed in this, he determined to make an attack upon another quarter of the Ottoman Empire. Algiers had long been a nest of pirates, which rendered the navigation of the Mediterranean dangerous. Polignac had intended to put an end to this state of things, and was encouraged to do so from St. Petersburg. Indeed, since 1827 a state of semi-war had existed between Algiers and France. The French Consul, insulted by the Bey, had left Algiers ; the French settlers had been made slaves, and the fortifications belonging to the French destroyed. France blockaded the Algerian

coast, an operation which, although extremely costly, was of no use. In 1829, attempts were made to bring about an arrangement, but the Bey fired upon the French ships.

This was the state of things when Polignac became Minister. His first idea was to ask for the assistance of Mehmed Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, who was to receive money and four ships of war and to punish the Bey, and also to suppress the piratical haunts of Tunis and Tripoli. Polignac's colleagues would not agree to this arrangement, and Mehmed Ali rejected the application, which was opposed by the Porte and Great Britain. The French Government was compelled to act by itself, and preparations for an expedition were made in the French arsenal. In a circular note of February 4th Polignac assured the Powers that his only object was to put an end to slavery, piracy, and the paying of tribute. Spain and Sardinia promised their assistance, but it was believed that Great Britain was opposed to any action which might increase the power of France in the Mediterranean.

The Chambers met on March 8th, 1830. The speech from the throne mentioned the contemplated expedition to Algiers, but it produced no effect. It concluded thus, "The *Charte* has placed public liberties under the protection of the rights of my Crown. These rights are secured, and my duty to my people consists in handing them down untouched to my successors. Peers of France, Deputies of the Departments! I do not doubt of your co-operation to carry out the good which I have set before myself. You will reject with contempt the mischievous intrigues which seek to spread discontent. If criminal machinations prepare for my Government hindrances which I cannot and will not foresee, I shall find strength to overcome them in my determination to maintain inviolate the public peace, in the true confidence of Frenchmen and the love which they have shown to their kings." The Peers returned a meaningless answer, but the Commons took up the challenge. They chose Royer Collard as President, and under his guidance formulated their Address. They expressed love and reverence for the Royal power, which was now secured against all storms. But they also said that permanent harmony between the Government and the wishes of the people was essential for the proper conduct of public affairs, and added, "Sire, our loyalty and devotion compel us to tell you that this harmony does not exist at present." They begged the King to employ his wisdom and prerogative in restoring constitutional harmony in the powers of the State. After a good deal of discussion the Address was carried by 221 to 181.

The Address was delivered to the King on March 18th. He answered from the throne that he was sorry he could not count upon the co-operation of the Chamber, but his determination was unalterable. The next day, March 19th, the Chambers were prorogued to September 1st. It was obvious that this was the prelude to a dissolution. The Doctrinaires bestirred themselves. Guizot gave new life to the society, *Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera.* The Deputies who had voted for the address were entertained at public banquets. Polignac placed his confidence in Article 14 of the *Charte.*

In the meantime the preparations for the Algiers expedition went on briskly. The fleet consisted of above a hundred ships of war and four hundred transports, together with a military force of 37,000 men. The command of the fleet was given to Admiral Duperré. Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, was to have commanded the troops, but he had to give way to Bourmont, the Minister of War.

An ordinance, published on May 16th, dissolved the Chamber, ordered new elections, and fixed the beginning of the new session for August 3rd. Other ordinances announced the changes in the Ministry, the retirement of Courvoisier and Chabrol, and the appointment of Peyronnet, Chantelauze, and Capelle. Polignac strained every nerve to obtain a majority at the elections. Pastoral letters from the bishops vied with ministerial messages. Even the King himself descended into the lists with a party proclamation. "Perform your duty," he declared, "and I will perform mine." Louis XIV. said, "I am the State"; Charles X. said, "I am the Ministry." Polignac placed his confidence in the success of the Algerian expedition. Wellington, somewhat unwisely, opposed the possible aggrandisement of France, but his own days as Minister were nearly numbered. The British Cabinet persuaded the Sultan to send the Kapudan Pasha, Takir, to the Bey of Algiers, either to induce him to submit or to depose him, but the French blockading squadron would not allow Takir to land.

The expedition under Duperré reached Sidi Ferrusch, a few miles west of Algiers, on June 13th, and the troops landed on the following day. On June 19th the army of the Bey was completely defeated and his camp captured. On July 4th the castle was taken after a bombardment, and on July 5th the Bey surrendered, provided his life were spared. The French captured a treasure of 50,000,000 francs, besides immeasurable arms and spoil, the produce of centuries of piracy. The Bey sailed with his private treasure and harem to Naples. Polignac had obtained a

brilliant success and conferred an inestimable benefit on Europe. But it produced no effect upon the elections, in which the Opposition gained a complete victory: out of 195 Deputies in the Arrondissements no fewer than 140 belonged to the Opposition. The Departments exhibited similar results. There remained the twenty Departments in which the elections had been deferred. Just before they took place the semaphore announced the capture of Algiers. The Archbishop of Paris held a solemn "Te Deum" in Notre Dame, which was attended by the King. A few days later the elections were completed. The majority of 221 in the former Chamber was now raised to 274, and of the 181 who voted against the Address only 99 were returned. When the result of the elections was known Polignac tendered his resignation, but the King refused to receive it. Polignac said, "*Vous voulez donc ma tête, Sire,*" and the King replied, "*Et pourquoi pas?*" His colleagues remained with him in what they called the pass of danger. There now ensued a *coup d'état.*

The fourteenth section of the *Charte* gave the King power to issue ordinances and regulations if the security of the State were in danger, and Polignac affected to believe that this crisis had arrived. He declared that in accordance with the *Charte* he was defending the principles of monarchy against those of democracy. The foundations of the political arrangements should not be shaken, but rather strengthened. The foreign Ministers warned him in vain. One of them compared Polignac's Ministry to a "paradise of fools." Pozzo di Borgo spoke in terms hardly less severe, while Metternich opined that "the age is not made for *coups d'état.*" The Tsar warned the King not to give the Opposition ground for complaint by the violation of legal liberties, and Nesselrode wrote to Paris in the same terms. The Ministry proceeded, however, to act with great deliberation. The Minister of Justice, Chantelauze, argued on the interpretation of Article 14. But it was another matter to put it into practice. At last the King decided to cross the Rubicon, and the Dauphin, from whom better things might have been expected, offered no opposition.

Chantelauze and Peyronnet drew up two ordinances, one of which re-established the censorship of the Press in all its severity and the other dealt with the Chamber. The number of Deputies was reduced to 258, one-fifth to be renewed every year. The Arrondissements were deprived of direct election. They were to prepare a list of candidates, out of which the Departments were to choose half the Deputies. The franchise was altered, and the power of the prefects over the elections was increased. These

ordinances were accepted by the Cabinet on July 24th, and two more were added, one dissolving the Chambers, which had not yet met, and another fixing the new elections and the meeting of the new Chamber for the month of September.

On Sunday, July 25th, the Ministers met at St. Cloud. The King had attended Mass before the meeting of the Council. One of the most devoted adherents of the Pavillon Marsan, the Baron Vitrolles, who had remarked the troubled mien of the Sovereign, adjured several of the Ministers not to play with fire, but received unsatisfactory answers. In the Council the King hesitated a moment before he signed the first two ordinances, concerning the Press and the elections, then he said, "The more I reflect upon it the more I am convinced that it is impossible to act otherwise." He then signed them, and all the Ministers likewise. Asked whether the ordinances would not provoke disturbances, Polignac said they would not, but that, if they did, he was ready to suppress them. The chief military command was given to Marmont, but nothing was said to him upon the subject. Even the Prefect of Police of Paris knew nothing about the matter till the evening. At 11 p.m. Sauvo, the editor of the *Moniteur*, received the fatal documents from Chantelauze, in the presence of Montbel, for the purpose of printing them. He said, "I have seen all the days of the Revolution, and I shrink with deep horror from new convulsions." The Revolution which destroyed the throne of Charles X. was to shake the foundations of every State in Europe.

CHAPTER XXI

THE REVOLUTION OF JULY

ON July 26th, 1830, the *Moniteur* published the fatal ordinances and on that day Charles X. went to shoot at Rambouillet and was not to return to St. Cloud till the evening. In the Paris streets groups discussed the illegality of the ordinances and talked about refusing taxes. When the Bourse opened the funds fell four francs. Some young men mounted on the chairs of the Palais Royal and asked if France were to be deprived of her liberties. They were dispersed by the gendarmes, but re-formed amid cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" Between 6 and 7 in the evening workmen tramped along the boulevards crying, "*Vive la Charte!*" "*À bas les Ministres!*" Two Ministers, Polignac and Haussez, were insulted and stones thrown at them. This day nothing decisive took place. The theatres were full and the popular balls frequented. Charles and the Dauphin came back from Rambouillet. The Duchesse de Berri congratulated him on being at length King, and he went quietly to bed.

It was not till the morning of July 27th that the King informed Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, of the ordinance which invested him with the supreme command of the army of Paris. Charles and Polignac appeared very calm, but excitement grew in Paris, first among the printers and the students. The morning papers were very outspoken, especially the *National*, the *Globe*, and the *Temps*. The *Journal des Débats* and the *Constitutionnel* were more moderate. The police attempted to seize the *National*, edited by Thiers, Mignet and Carrel. The doors were closed, and the seizure had to be carried out by force. A similar scene took place at the office of the *Temps*.

Marmont, as soon as he reached his office, heard that crowds were collecting in the Rue St. Honoré, and that stones were being thrown at the gendarmes. He ordered the troops to leave their barracks and to march, with some cannon, to the Boulevard des Capucins, the Carrousel, the Place Louis XV., the Pont Neuf, the Place Vendôme, the Place de la Bastille, and other quarters. The troops did not meet with serious resistance. Some barricades had been erected in the Rue St. Honoré, firing had taken place,

and an old man had been killed. The movement spread and, in the evening, the insurgents occupied the Royal printing press. Several barriers were burned and many lamps broken, leaving the city in darkness. About 9 p.m. the crowds dispersed and the soldiers returned to their barracks, thinking that everything was over. Ministers determined to declare Paris in a state of siege, but Charles X. passed the evening in playing whist, according to his custom.

During the night several streets were torn up and barricades erected, and the shops of gunsmiths plundered. In a few hours the insurgents were masters of the arsenal, the powder magazines, the prison of the Abbaye, and the depot of arms of St. Thomas d'Aquin. The Hôtel de Ville was seized by revolutionaries, who hoisted the tricolour flag with cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" "*À bas les Ministres!*" "*À bas les Bourbons!*" De Broglie, Rémusat and Cousin met at Guizot's house, and Carrel came to tell them that all was lost, so little hope had they of success. Marmont placed his troops where they had been stationed before and wrote to the King that it was not an *émeute*, but a revolution, and that the King should adopt measures of pacification. Charles X. was, however, badly advised, and the revolt grew apace. The students of the Polytechnic School broke out and joined the mob. The tocsin sounded from the Hôtel de Ville, a huge tricolour floated from the towers of Notre Dame, and the bells announced civil war. Ministers collected at the Tuileries, where Marmont was awaiting impatiently an answer from St. Cloud. At midday he put his troops into motion, but they were fired at from the windows and attacked by women and children. In some cases the soldiers were compelled to surrender. At 3 p.m. Marmont ordered the arrest of some Deputies, amongst them Lafayette and Laffitte.

At this time the Chamber was discussing what should be done, and a committee of five was appointed to beg Marmont to suspend hostilities and intervene between Paris and St. Cloud. Even before this Arago had sought out Marmont at the Tuileries, and begged him to go to St. Cloud and tell the King that he would resign his command if the ordinances were not repealed. The Marshal, however, considered this incompatible with his honour as a soldier.

Marmont now wrote to the King that it was imperative he should lose no time in profiting by the overtures in progress. He sent the letter by his first aide-de-camp, who gave the letter to Charles in his study, warning him, "It is not the mob, but the whole population that is rising." The King only replied by thanking the troops for their devotion, and telling Marmont to hold

firm, that he would give him fresh orders on the following day. Some Bonapartists, partisans of the Duke of Reichstadt, now made their appearance, and cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were heard. Laffitte also began to think of the Duc d'Orléans, who was at Neuilly. The Royalists did their best to stir their Sovereign to action, but without effect.

In the meantime the fighting in the streets continued. Almost the whole population favoured the insurgents. Some of the National Guard gave their arms to the people; peasants appeared upon the scene, armed with scythes and pitchforks. But the insurgents were without a leader. In the evening Marmont found it necessary to concentrate his troops, who had lost, in killed, wounded and missing, 2,300 men. He then held the Tuileries and the Louvre, but the Hôtel de Ville and the greater part of Paris were in the hands of the revolutionaries. He could maintain his ground, but could not conquer the city. It was now determined to summon the regiments of the Guard from Beauvais, Orléans, Rouen and Caen, and from the camps of St. Omer and Luneville. The students of the school of St. Cyr were summoned to St. Cloud with their artillery.

In the midst of the disturbance Charles X. preserved his calmness, and said that the Virgin had appeared to Monsieur de Polignac and encouraged him to persevere. Vitrolles entreated the King to stop the firing, but he replied that it would soon be over and the leaders of the revolt would submit; they might have confidence in his lenience. At St. Cloud everything went on as usual; the King played whist, and the Dauphin chess. The fire of artillery shook the windows, but it was not considered good taste for anyone to notice it. As the King was going to bed, the Duc de Montemart arrived and begged the King to recall the ordinances, but he would listen to nothing. "You were born in the Revolution," he said, "and have unconsciously adopted its prejudices and its fatal ideas. My old experience is impervious to the illusions. I know whither the concessions which are asked for will lead me, and I have no wish to ascend the tumbril like my brother."

The 29th of July now dawned, the last day of the Monarchy of the Restoration. From 5 a.m the sound of musketry was heard on all sides. On the left bank of the Seine the Invalides and the École Militaire fell into the hands of the people, while the King's troops still occupied the Louvre, the Carrousel, the palace and gardens of the Tuileries, the Place Louis XV., the Boulevard of the Madeleine, and the Place Vendôme. Marmont said that he could hold out for a month, but he was surrounded by batteries and

could only retreat towards the Champs Élysées. But the populace had no leader until Dubourg, who had seen service under the Empire, presented himself.

Marmont summoned the twelve mayors of Paris to confer with him, but only three appeared. At 7.30, two peers, Sémonville and Agout, came to the Tuileries and asked Marmont to put them into communication with M. de Polignac. They demanded, supported by Marmont, the cessation of hostilities, the recall of the ordinances, and the resignation of the Ministry. The conversation soon degenerated into a quarrel; the other Ministers joined in the discussion, and it became evident that Polignac stood alone in his obstinacy. Then the two peers and the Ministers set off for St. Cloud. As they were going, the Marshal assured them that, if necessary, he could hold out for a fortnight. On arriving at St. Cloud, Sémonville threw himself at the feet of the King, begged him to withdraw the ordinances and to form a new Chamber under the Duc de Montemart, of which Gérard and Casimir Périer should form part, and to give a complete amnesty. The suggestion that the Dauphiness, who was at Vichy, might be exposed to personal danger had more effect upon the King, and he wept. He at last consented to summon his Council.

In the meantime the situation in Paris had grown desperate. Two regiments of the line, who occupied the Place Vendôme, were tampered with and eventually persuaded to retire by a speech of Casimir Périer. This exposed the Tuileries, and Marmont determined to recall a battalion from the Louvre. In the confusion some of the insurgents climbed up into the palace and fired upon the Swiss in the inner court. Others fired upon the troops in the Carrousel. The Swiss offered some resistance, but at length withdrew and deserted the Louvre for the Tuileries. This retreat threw everything into confusion. Seeing the Swiss retire, two battalions of the Guard who were posted in the gardens of the Tuileries marched into the Champs Élysées, towards the Barrière de l'Étoile and the Arc de Triomphe. Marmont was obliged to order a general retreat, and as soon as he left the Tuileries the tricolour flag was hoisted on the clock tower. The palace was saved from pillage, but the residence of the Archbishop did not escape so easily. The last struggle was around some barracks in the Rue de Babylon, in which 200 Swiss had taken refuge. This was besieged for several hours by insurgents, led by pupils of the Polytechnic School, and was eventually set on fire. Almost all the Swiss perished, together with their brave leader, Dufoy. The

struggle was now over, and the authority of the King had ceased to exist in Paris.

It was necessary to form a provisional Government and some Deputies met at the house of Laffitte for that purpose. After much discussion Lafayette arrived. He had been pressed to take command of the National Guard, and now consented. He said, "An old man of eighty-nine may be of some use in the grave condition in which we are placed. We are attacked and must defend ourselves." Hearing of the capture of the Louvre, he promised to take the lead. Guizot said that the safety of Paris depended on his determination. "We must establish, not a provisional Government, but a public authority, which, under a municipal form, shall devote itself to the restoration and maintenance of order." A committee was chosen by ballot, consisting of Laffitte, Casimir Périer, Gérard, the Comte de Lobau and Odier, who, however, refused to act. It was publicly announced by Laffitte that Lafayette undertook the command of the National Guard and General Gérard of the troops of the line. The regiments of the line now began to come in.

In the evening the newspapers which had been previously suppressed made their appearance. The *Débats* said: "For three days Paris has been bombarded and been taken by assault, and blood has flowed in the streets. Who ordered this massacre? The Ministers of the King of France. Why in the name of Heaven? Because they have violated the *Charte* and laboured to establish absolute sovereignty. The compact is now broken, and it is not we who have broken it. Our enemies have thrown themselves outside the circle of the law. Let them remain there." Thus the night passed. In the meantime, Marmont, with his troops, retreated, with some difficulty, to St. Cloud. He told Charles that he had failed to maintain the authority of the King in Paris. The Swiss, who garrisoned the Louvre, had been seized by panic and fled, and he, Marmont, had not been able to rally his troops until he reached the Étoile, when he had marched to St. Cloud. An officer had been slain by his side, and he wished he had been killed himself; death would have been preferable to what he had seen.

Thereupon the Council deliberated, and it was resolved to recall the ordinances and form a new Cabinet. The King said, with emotion, "I am compelled to dismiss Ministers who possess all my confidence and affection, and to take others given to me by my enemies. I am in a similar position to that of my unfortunate brother in the year 1792, but I have the advantage of

having suffered for a shorter period; in three days the Monarchy will be at an end and the Monarch will go with it. If I must, I summon the Duc de Montemart and send him to Paris. I am sorry that he has acquired the confidence of my enemies; if he has been wrong, he is well punished for it."

It was now 3 p.m. Charles went into his study, and Montemart was summoned thither. "You are right," said the King to him, alluding to his conversation in the morning. "The situation is worse than I had imagined, but it is believed that a Ministry of which you are the head can arrange everything, and I nominate you President of the Council, with General Gérard, Casimir Périer, and M. Hausmann as your colleagues." Montemart would not accept office until forced to do so by his Sovereign. He then waited till the Dauphin returned from Paris, which was not till 5 p.m. At 6 o'clock Sémonville, Vitrolles and Agout returned to the capital, bearing the news of the establishment of the new Ministry and the recall of the ordinances. The evening passed at St. Cloud as usual. The King played whist, first with Polignac and then with Montemart, and the Dauphin chess. Montemart was not permitted to go to Paris, although he earnestly desired to do so.

The journey of the three negotiators to Paris was accomplished with difficulty. Their intention was to go to the house of Laffitte, where they expected to find General Gérard. They were surprised to learn that Lafayette was at the Hôtel de Ville, and that a provisional Government had been established, of which nothing was known at St. Cloud. As they proceeded there, interrupted by barricades, they heard cries of "*Vive la Liberté!*" and "*Vive la Charte!*" but very rarely "*Vive le Roi!*" Sémonville embraced Lafayette, told him of his commission, and of the approaching arrival of M. de Montemart, but could not assure him that the tricolour flag would be maintained. Agout then went to the house of Laffitte, where he found, among other persons, Thiers, Mignet, the Duc de Broglie, and the poet Béranger. The courtyard and the street were filled by a crowd of students, workmen, and National Guards, armed and unarmed, who were strongly opposed to any compromise. Laffitte declared his willingness to accept the proposals, but doubted whether they would meet with the consent of the people. It was now between 10 and 11 p.m. and Montemart was hourly expected, but he was playing whist at St. Cloud. Thiers and Mignet were of opinion that the Revolution, once begun, could not be arrested, and opinion began to turn towards the House of Orléans. These discussions were continued

far into the night, when it was agreed to meet at Laffitte's at 8 o'clock in the morning.

At St. Cloud the King had gone to bed without signing the new ordinances. Montemart went to sleep on a sofa, and was roused at 3 a.m. by Vitrolles and Agout, who urged him to hasten to Paris. He was ready to do so, but objected he had no ordinances and no powers. They determined to rouse the King, who consented to see Vitrolles. Five ordinances were signed, one of which established the National Guard; but no mention was made of the tricolour flag or of Lafayette. The signature of the King was obtained with difficulty, and Montemart was at length able to set out for Paris. The Dauphin had forbidden any horse to leave the royal stables, and Montemart had to ride in a private carriage. This caused great delay, and he did not reach Laffitte's house till midday. By this time a placard had been posted in Paris, drawn up by Mignet, designating the Duc d'Orléans for the Crown. This produced considerable effect and cries of "*Vive le Duc d'Orléans!*" were mingled with cries of "*Vive la Liberté!*" It appeared that the large majority of the Deputies were in favour of the Duc d'Orléans. It was also obvious that Montemart had come too late.

There had hitherto been some doubts as to the intentions of the Duc d'Orléans. Fearing arrest, he had left his wife and sister, his *confidante*, known as Madame Adelaide, at his place at Neuilly, and had himself proceeded on horseback to the Park of Raincy. Thiers, who had been sent to Neuilly to sound the Duke, explained his views to the two ladies. The Duchess remained unconvinced, but Madame Adelaide was persuaded that her brother ought to accept, and sent a message to Raincy.

The Deputies, sixty in number, assembled at midday, only one member of the Right, Hyde de Neuville, being present. Laffitte took the chair. Three solutions were possible—to accept the proposals of Charles X.; to permit his abdication, with the Dauphin as King, or the Duc de Bordeaux, under the Regency of the Duc d'Orléans; or the accession of the Duc d'Orléans to the throne. The majority of the Deputies would have preferred to keep the elder branch on the throne. Montemart was anxiously expected, but did not appear; on the other hand, Thiers arrived from Neuilly and announced that they could depend upon the Duc d'Orléans. There was a strong movement in his favour, and a committee was appointed to determine what should be done to conciliate all interests and consciences.

Montemart, at the Luxembourg, issued orders as Prime Minister,

which produced no effect whatever, and were not listened to; but he declined to go either to the Palais Bourbon or to the Hôtel de Ville. When the five commissioners of the Deputies arrived at the Luxembourg they said, in the presence of Montemart, that the only way of putting an end to the anarchy was to appoint the Duc d'Orléans to be Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Montemart agreed with them, but, as a Minister, protested against the propositions. The new ordinances of Charles X. now arrived, but no one would receive them for fear of recognising his authority —neither Laffitte at the Luxembourg, nor Lafayette at the Hôtel de Ville. When they were eventually read there were cries of "Who dares to bring here the orders of Charles X.?" "There is no King in France!" "Down with the Bourbons!"

The Chamber of Deputies was greatly perplexed. Some wished for an arrangement with the monarchy, some for a republic, but eventually a motion to summon the Duc d'Orléans to Paris as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom was carried unanimously. The sitting broke up at 6 p.m., and a message was sent to the Duc d'Orléans urging him to come at once. He reached the Palais Royal on foot at 11.30 p.m., accompanied by two aides-de-camp. At 4 a.m. the Duc d'Orléans sent for Montemart. The Prime Minister found the Duke lying on a sofa, overcome by fatigue. It is not exactly known what passed between them, but it is certain that Orléans wrote a letter to the King, excusing his action on the ground that he desired to preserve the public peace.

At St. Cloud Charles X. awaited with anxiety the effect of Montemart's mission, while the Duc d'Angoulême regretted openly the weakness of his father in surrendering his position. Marmont counselled the King to retire to Blois or Tours, while there was yet time. Polignac advised him to refuse. No news of what was passing at Paris reached St. Cloud, and at the usual hour the King went to bed. But, being aroused by a false alarm of an attack upon the château, he was awakened and left for the Trianon at Versailles with the Duchesse de Berri at 3 a.m., at the very time that the Duc d'Orléans was holding his interview with Montemart. The Dauphin was left at St. Cloud and the King reached the Trianon with difficulty.

On July 31st, just before midday, the Dauphin left St. Cloud with about ten cannon and some 12,000 men. A combat took place at the Bridge of Sèvres in which the Dauphin was not successful, and he was obliged to make for the Trianon with all speed. At the Trianon a council was held, in which serious measures were adopted. After this the Court proceeded to Rambouillet, which

was reached at 10 p.m., the King on horseback, the Duchesse de Berri in a carriage. Here the Ministers left their Sovereign and sought their own safety in different directions. The Dauphin came to Rambouillet with his little army and encamped round the château, but there was no money to feed or to pay the men.

At the Palais Royal the Duc d'Orléans conferred at an early hour with his usual advisers, Dupin, General Sebastiani, Laffitte, Casimir Périer, Broglie and Guizot. Invited by the committee of Deputies to accept the post of Lieutenant-General, he demanded time for reflection. Thereupon he was informed there was real danger of the proclamation of a Republic, and he yielded. He drew up a proclamation stating that he accepted the post, and 10,000 copies were printed and exhibited on the walls of Paris. The municipality declared that Charles X. had ceased to reign, and the Deputies at the Palais Bourbon agreed to a proclamation setting forth that the Duc d'Orléans had been invited to become Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and promised the restoration of the National Guard, with the election of officers, self-government in departments and communes, juries for offences of the peace, responsibilities of Ministers, and the re-election of Deputies appointed to public posts. The whole body rose and voted this without discussion.

The Deputies then walked to the Palais Royal in order to accompany the Duc d'Orléans to the Hôtel de Ville, Laffitte being carried in a sedan-chair. Laffitte read the manifesto passed by the Deputies, and the Duke replied, "Messieurs, the principles you proclaim are mine; I will labour like you and with you for the happiness of France. Deputies will understand me when I declare that I grieve deeply over the deplorable circumstances which compel me to accept the mission which they entrust to me and of which I hope to show myself worthy." The Duke then embraced Laffitte amidst general applause.

The Duke next rode on horseback to the Hôtel de Ville, accompanied by the Deputies. The procession was not a dignified one, but it arrived without accident, the Duke having occasionally to climb over the barricades. The crowd was very large, and the tricolour was everywhere visible, but as they reached their destination cries of "*Plus de Bourbons!*" were heard. At the staircase they were met by Lafayette, and the Duke said, "It is an old National Guard coming to pay a visit to his former general." The manifesto of the Deputies was read, but without much enthusiasm. Dubourg once more tried to make himself conspicuous.

He broke through the crowd and said to the Duke, "I am glad to believe that you will not break your oath, but if you do we shall know how to keep you to it." The Duke replied, "Sir, to address me in this way shows you do not know me. I am an honest man, and no one has ever needed to remind me of my promises." Dubourg retired crestfallen, and disappeared till the next revolution. Lafayette gave the Duke the tricolour flag, and led him on to the balcony. They embraced in public, and the crowd applauded. The Duke returned in triumph to the Palais Royal.

The Republicans of the National Guard were reconciled. Thiers succeeded in obtaining for them an interview with the Duke, in which a curious conversation took place. One of them said, "To-morrow, sire, you will be king. Perhaps this is the last occasion on which you will hear the truth. Allow me to tell it to you."

In the conversation which ensued, the Duke alluded to the excesses of the Convention. "Monseigneur forgets," said M. Cavaignac, "that my father was a member of the Convention."

"So was mine," said the Duke, "and I may be allowed to save my country from the excitement of which he was the victim."

When the Republicans withdrew Thiers asked them what they thought of the Duke. "He is a good fellow," Bastide replied, but Cavaignac objected that he was not honest.

A species of Cabinet was now formed, with Dupont de l'Eure at the Ministry of Justice, Gérard at the War Office, Rigny in charge of the Navy, Bignon of Foreign Affairs, Guizot of Education, Broglie of the Home Office and Public Works, Baron Louis of the Finances. A National Guard of twenty regiments was voted. The Duke signed ordinances establishing the tricolour and summoning the Chambers for August 3rd.

The Dauphiness, who had been at Vichy, reached Rambouillet on August 1st. Charles X. ran up to her, seized her in his arms, and said, "Can you ever pardon me?" She replied, "Let bygones be bygones." Everything was lost, and the King submitted to destiny. He sent to Orléans the following declaration: "The King, wishing to put an end to the troubles in the capital and in parts of France, counting also on the sincere attachment of his cousin the Duc d'Orléans, nominates him Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. The King, having thought it advisable to withdraw the ordinances of July 25th, approves of the Chambers meeting on August 3rd, and hopes that they will restore tranquillity to France. The King will await at Rambouillet the return of the person who is charged with the message to Paris; if any attempt be made against the life or liberty of the King or his

family he will defend himself to the death." At the same time, the Dauphin addressed to the troops an order of the day, in which he told them that the King had made an arrangement with the Government established at Paris, which he had every reason to believe would be satisfactory. He pointed out that the duty of the soldiers was to remain calm and united and to watch over the personal safety of the King.

The King's letter was received by the Duc d'Orléans at 1 in the morning of August 2nd. The Duke was elaborating, with M. Dupin, the speech which he was to make at the opening of the Chambers. He answered that he was made Lieutenant-General by the choice of the Deputies and could not accept any other nomination. This letter was delivered to Charles X. at 7 a.m., and he returned no answer to it. On that day, August 2nd, three regiments of heavy cavalry passed over to the insurrection. Desertions from the regiments of the Guard at Rambouillet became frequent, and there only remained round the King three regiments of light cavalry and a regiment of the Guard, and for them it was difficult to provide. Charles had contemplated abdication in favour of the Duc de Bordeaux, and Marmont supported the project, but the Dauphin was violently opposed to it. At last the Dauphin gave way, and the act of abdication was drawn up and signed and sent to the Duc d'Orléans. The King called upon the Duke to recognise and proclaim his grandson as Henry V. The act of abdication reached the Duke at 11 p.m. He replied that it would be communicated to the Chambers and deposited in the archives of the State.

The continued sojourn of Charles X. at Rambouillet became dangerous both to himself and the Government. It was agreed, therefore, that a Commission should be sent to him, consisting of Marshal Mortier to represent the army, Schérer and Jacqueminot to represent the Chambers, and Odilon Barrot to represent the National Guard. Barrot left the Palais Royal at 4.30 p.m., with the Commission, Maison, however, replacing Mortier, who had declined to serve. They arrived at Rambouillet at 10 p.m., and were told that the King could not be disturbed. At length the Duc de Coigny, who alone wore the white cockade, was admitted. "The Lieutenant-General," explained Charles, "should have received the generous deed which I signed this morning with the view of stopping the march of 800,000 foreign soldiers who are ready to swoop down upon France. It is for the Lieutenant-General to give this act full effect. For myself I have only one thing to reproach myself with—that I began an

enterprise which was to strengthen my throne with 8,000 men instead of 60,000." The Commission immediately returned and reached Paris at 4 a.m. The Duc d'Orléans was aroused, and with some reluctance gave orders to Lafayette to despatch 6,000 of the National Guard to Rambouillet.

When this was known, there was general excitement in the capital. Cries were raised of "To Rambouillet! To Rambouillet!" The populace assembled, armed with sabres, pistols, pitchforks, spades, and even spits, and dressed as occasion served. Their march recalled that of the market women to Versailles on October 5th, 1789. A deputation approached Charles X. He said, "Well, what do you wish me to do?" Barrot answered that an armed column of the population of Paris was at hand, and that he wished to avoid a conflict which would be useless, since he and the Dauphin had abdicated. Charles replied, "It is true that I have abdicated, but in favour of my grandson, and I am determined to defend his rights to the last drop of my blood."

After further conversation, Charles asked Marshal Maison how many of the insurgents there were, and he replied, sixty or eighty thousand. "It is enough," cried the King; "in a quarter of an hour I will let you know what I have decided to do." After consulting with Marmont the King determined to retire to Maintenon, the château of the Duc de Noailles, and there he arrived at 4 a.m. As soon as he had left, the tricolour was hoisted at Rambouillet. It has been stated that Maison exaggerated the number of the insurgents, and the Duc de Luxembourg, captain of the Guards, complained he had committed an act of great folly in not firing on the mob and thus ridding the Duc d'Orléans of "*toute cette canaille.*" But it is doubtful whether, if Charles had resisted, the soldiers of his Guard would have remained faithful.

At Maintenon Charles resolved to abandon all thought of resistance and leave the country. His army was disbanded, with the exception of about 1,000 bodyguard and two cannon, which served as an escort. Travelling by slow stages, he reached Cherbourg on August 14th, experiencing neither favour nor insult among the people through whom he passed, except that a hostile demonstration was made in Cherbourg itself. The exiled King maintained his dignity, but occasionally shed tears. On August 14th the King and his family embarked on the American ship *Great Britain*, which had been hired and furnished by the French Government, and in three days reached the coast of England. To the Englishmen who visited him he said, "This is my reward for endeavouring to make France happy."

CHAPTER XXII

THE CREATION OF BELGIUM

THE Northern and Southern Netherlands, better known now under the names of Holland and Belgium, had, after a separation of two hundred years, been united under the sceptre of Napoleon. Belgium was made an integral part of France, while Holland enjoyed the semblance of political independence. The Prince of Orange, who had fled to England on the occupation of Holland by the French, took part in the war against Napoleon, fought with distinction at Waterloo, and was restored to his country. Barely a month after the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig, risings against the French took place at Amsterdam and The Hague; the French officials were driven out; a declaration of independence was published, and a provisional Government was set up in the name of the Prince of Orange. The Prince himself landed at Scheveningen on November 30th, 1813, and was received with joy by the whole population.

A Constitution was established, under the name of a Fundamental Law, drawn up by Van Hoogendorp, and finally passed on March 30th, 1814. It decreed an almost absolute monarchy. The Sovereign, besides executive, had considerable legislative power, authority of peace and war, the control of finance, the fleet, and the army. The princes were deprived of the power which they had possessed in the palmy days of the Republic, which made the United Netherlands one of the loosest confederations known in history. There was a species of parliament, bearing the name of States General, consisting of fifty-five members, nominated for three years by the Provincial States. They had the power of initiating legislation and of imposing a veto on it, and they had authority over extraordinary legislation, but there was no responsible Ministry and no liberty of the Press.

To this new monarchy the Congress of Vienna was good enough to add the provinces of Belgium. Without being consulted, the Belgians were placed under the sceptre of the King of Holland, no regard being had to national history or ideals, but merely with a view to setting up a barrier against the power of France. This

scheme was mainly due to the efforts of British statesmen, working in conjunction with the Prince of Orange, who was settled in England. Great Britain received as her reward the Cape of Good Hope, Guiana, and other colonies which had been captured by her from France, on the pretence that they were being held in pawn for a liberated Holland. It was a disgraceful instance of political traffic, as dishonest as anything which has been laid to the charge of Napoleon.

Belgium was treated as a conquered country, which might be disposed of by the great Powers as they pleased; the Austrians, to whom the Provinces had previously belonged, were always anxious to get rid of them. The document determining these arrangements is known as the Eight Articles of London, which was signed on June 14th, 1814. The return of Napoleon from Elba consolidated the union of the two States. On March 16th, 1815, the new King issued a proclamation, assuming the title of King of the Netherlands and Duke of Luxemburg. Holland and Belgium accepted their fate without a murmur, the foreign Powers were delighted to give their assent, and the Kingdom was officially recognised on May 23rd. Dutch and Belgian troops fought side by side in the Waterloo campaign, under the command of the Prince of Orange, so that the union was cemented by bloodshed in the common cause.

At this time the population of Holland was barely two millions, whereas that of Belgium was nearly three millions and a half. Belgium was divided into two parts, each speaking a different language, Flemish or Walloon, while the usual language of society was French. Belgium was Catholic, Holland Calvinistic; the Dutch were a seafaring nation, the Belgians farmers and manufacturers. When the Constitution of the kingdom came to be discussed, the Belgians demanded a representation based on population, the Dutch insisted upon equality. The Constitution, including the Eight Articles of London, which had hitherto been kept secret, was passed unanimously by the Dutch, but in Belgium there was a majority of 269 against it. This was got over by the King declaring that the Notables who had been summoned to the meeting, but had not attended, were to be regarded as voting for the Constitution; absence gave assent. In this way a negative majority of 269 was turned into an affirmative one of 263.

It was not likely that these two yoke-fellows would pull well together. From the very first differences of opinion arose, which gradually became more violent and eventually caused the separation of the two countries some fifteen years after they had been

united. The Belgians complained of the unequal division of the national representation, of the unfair apportionment of the national debt, of the fact that the taxes were imposed more in the interest of Holland than in that of Belgium, the Belgians being heavily hit by the taxes on grinding corn and slaughtering animals, now imposed for the first time. It was urged, on the other side, that the national debt was raised to protect the colonies, which were the common property of Belgium and Holland, and to restore barrier fortresses, which existed to defend Belgium against the attacks of France; that the apportionment of the taxes followed the provisions of the Constitution, as did the prerogative of the Crown to nominate members of the Upper Chamber for life.

It was pointed out in reply that flaws in the Constitution, the predominant power of the Crown, the lack of mutual responsibility, the fixing of the budget for ten years, which withdrew from the Chambers the power of controlling finance, the defects of the courts of justice, the harshness of the Press laws, could be remedied by constitutional means as time went on. At the outset both French and Dutch had been recognised as official languages, but in 1819 the knowledge of Dutch was made obligatory for admission to all public offices and employments, and in 1822 Dutch was recognised as the official and made the national language. It is true that French was only the language of the wealthy classes and the large towns, and that Flemish, which closely resembles Dutch, had at that time no literature. The development of Flemish literature in the last hundred years is, in fact, largely due to the influence of Belgian antagonism to Dutch supremacy. But the establishment of the Dutch language was resented by the Walloons, whose language resembled French, and who formed no inconsiderable part of the population of Belgium.

The next grievance lay in the difference of religion. Belgium was deeply religious, and the Catholic clergy had great influence. It was a constant complaint that the Royal house of Holland was Calvinistic, which meant that Catholic Belgians were governed by Protestant Dutch. The leader of the Catholic opposition was Prince Maurice de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent, a man of fervent religious zeal, but fiery and obstinate temper. In 1815 he sent a pastoral letter, in which he forbade the Notables of his diocese to vote for a fundamental law which was opposed to the rights of the Catholic Church, and when the King declared the Constitution accepted the bishop declared the taking of the oath to it to be an act of treason to the best interests of religion. This action was supported by the Pope, and when the Bishop of Ghent

was summoned before the Court of Assizes at Brussels he refused to admit the competency of the court, took refuge in France, and in October, 1817, was condemned for contumacy. He, however, continued to rule the province through the Vicar-General, and his pastoral letters, dated from Paris, were received with submission by his flock. The Vicar-General was summoned before the court in 1821, but was acquitted.

It is true that, as time went on, a more pacific feeling developed. North and South began gradually to coalesce. The disaffected modified their views and felt that Dutch Government was, on the whole, favourable to education and enlightenment. The Belgian nobles and clergy, however, continued their opposition to a Government which they regarded as foreign, and the country people were superstitious and ignorant. But the townsfolk, who had no sympathy, on the one hand, with feudal principles and privileges, and, on the other, with democratic exaggeration, began to appreciate the advantages of a constitutional monarchy. The populations began to mix. Belgian manufacturers settled in the Dutch cities, and Dutch men of business became active in Flanders and Brabant. A Central Party was formed, averse to the emphasising of national and religious differences, and favourable to moderation and compromise. They looked upon the House of Orange as their best support. Even the King—although he was distasteful to the nobles because of the simplicity of his habits and his dislike of ceremony, and to the democracy because of his hatred of Romanism and French authors—was popular with and respected by the Belgian shopkeepers. They were little affected by his avaricious disposition, his lack of generosity, his coldness and lack of sympathy; they preferred his dull, prosaic character to the dangerous romanticism of the age. Unfortunately, his personal qualities were not calculated to favour the assimilation of the two parties. His obstinate disposition brooked no opposition, and he disdained the co-operation of broad-minded ministers like Hoogendorp and Falck. Servile natures like Van Maanen were more to his taste. He was not suited for the part of a constitutional King. He preferred personal rule, in which he should be the centre of everything, the soul of the political body.

Disputes about education fanned the smouldering embers into a flame. The Dutch Government desired to place all education in the hands of the State, to restrict the influence of the religious Orders, especially of the Jesuits, in the teaching of the young, and to prevent the young Belgian nobility from being educated

in foreign convents. The Clericals declared themselves friends of religious freedom and demanded complete toleration in all matters of education. The Liberals were ready to meet the Clericals half-way, and the middle classes were offended at the corn and slaughtering taxes, which had been lately introduced.

De Gerlache led the movement of opposition, while the Liberals found a leader in Louis de Potter, a man of independent fortune, who had been much occupied in literary pursuits, especially in ecclesiastical history. An attempt of the King to bring about a concordat made matters worse. In December, 1828, De Potter was condemned to imprisonment and fine for an article he had written, and the Government was assailed by a storm of petitions. A work by Lammenais in favour of religious democracy increased the agitation. De Potter issued from his cell a book demanding freedom of the Press, and he also advocated the separation of Church and State. The Union, as it is now called, between Catholics and Liberals was supported by writers who afterwards became famous, such as Ducpetiaux, Nothomb, Van de Weyer, Gendebien, Lebeau, and Rogier. The Government attempted to meet this onslaught of the Press by the establishment of a paper called the *National*, of which Libri Bagno was made editor. He was a man of bad personal character, and had even been condemned in France to hard labour for forgery. He declared that the Belgians ought to be muzzled like dogs, an opinion which was supposed to be held also by Van Maanen, Minister of Justice. Both men became objects of execration, which was intensified when it was found that Bagno was receiving a large subsidy from the Government.

The King was distressed at these revolutionary movements, and ascribed them to intriguers who, with no other end in view than their own interest, stirred up the people and brought about this unnatural union of parties. His warm reception by the middle class in the Belgian cities strengthened him in the belief that the discontent was the work only of a few. At Liége he stigmatised the conduct of the reformers as infamous. The appellation was seized upon as the term " beggars " had been in the revolt of the Netherlands three centuries before. A league was formed and a medal struck with the legend, " Faithful even to Infamy." The higher clergy began to be alarmed at the union of Catholics and Liberals, and this nervous feeling spread to Rome. Compromise was difficult owing to the aristocratic temper of the King, who rejected any submission, and the situation was aggravated at the opening of the States-General on December 11th, 1829,

when the King laid the whole blame for the discontent upon the Press. It was clear that the King was determined to maintain his attitude of defiance and suffer no changes in the Ministry. Next day a circular was issued by Van Maanen, calling upon all officials to give their adherence to the principles laid down in the Royal message by which the Chambers were opened.

This circular produced a similar effect in Belgium to that which the ordinances of July produced in Paris. One newspaper spoke of refusing taxes, and the budget was passed with the greatest difficulty. De Potter published a *Letter of Demophilus to the King*, in which he said, "No, Sire, you are not the master of the Belgians, as people would have you believe; you are only the first among them; you are not the master of the State, you are only its head, the most elevated of its functionaries." In February, 1830, De Potter, with two of his friends, Tillemans and Bartels, the editor of a Catholic newspaper, were brought before the law and condemned—De Potter to eight, the other two to seven years' banishment. The King thought he had conquered, and it is true that the Revolution of July exercised no apparent influence at Brussels. Louis Philippe, the new King of France, remained on good terms with the Dutch Government, and the fifty-eighth birthday of the King was celebrated with rejoicings on August 24th.

This, however, was the calm before the storm. De Potter and his fellow exiles hastened to Paris as soon as they heard of the Revolution, and were joined there by Alexandre Gendebien, an intimate friend and supporter of De Potter. Some of the Belgian Liberals were in favour of a separation from Holland and a union with France. De Potter was, however, in favour of neither; he wished the union with Holland to remain, but the Constitution to be reformed. The Radicals, however, gained the upper hand, and the walls of Brussels were covered with an inscription, "Monday, Fireworks; Tuesday, Illumination; Wednesday, Revolution."

On the evening of August 25th the *Muette de Portici*, otherwise called *Masaniello*, an opera written by Scribe and composed by Auber, was given at the Théâtre de la Monnaie for the first time. The people, fired by the example of the Neapolitan fisherman, rushed to the offices of the *National* and the house of its editor, Libri Bagno; others sacked the abodes of Van Maanen and of Knyff, the Director of the Police. On the following day several warehouses were destroyed, but no attempts were made to preserve order. The old Brabant flag was raised and the Royal arms

were torn down in many places. As the regular troops did nothing, a Civic Guard was organised, with Baron d'Hoogvorst at its head. It was divided into seven bodies to patrol different sections of the city, and order was restored, but not without bloodshed. On August 28th an assembly of Notables was held at the Hôtel de Ville, and a deputation, of which Alexandre Gendebien and Felix, Count de Merode, were members, was sent to ask the King respectfully to summon the States-General. The King refused to take any steps until the Netherlands flag had been restored and order re-established. In these matters Van Maanen played the part of Polignac in France. On August 31st the King replied to the deputation that he would neither dismiss Van Maanen nor consent to a law instituting the responsibility of Ministers until order was restored. However, the Prince of Orange and his brother, Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, set out for Antwerp. Prince Frederick took command of the soldiers, and the Prince of Orange proceeded alone to Brussels, where he was met with cries of "Down with Van Maanen! Down with the Dutch!" The Prince was able to effect nothing, because he had no power, and was obliged to refer everything to his father. At last Van Maanen was dismissed on September 3rd, and the States-General were summoned to meet on September 13th.

A Committee of Public Safety was formed, of which Gendebien, Van de Weyer, and Merode were members; but they were powerless to control the extreme party. By the influence of De Potter a People's Club had been founded consisting of young Radicals and Republicans, and it was joined by revolutionary members from France, Liége, and Flanders, whose leaders were Rogier, Bayet, van Halen, and a Spanish conspirator of Belgian origin, called Pletinkx. They had been the leaders of the original revolution on August 25th, but had been disarmed by the National Guard. The object of the Club was to rouse the bare-armed, blouse-clad workman to destroy the power of the Moderates in the Hôtel de Ville. This was not difficult, considering the action of the King at The Hague and the presence of the Dutch troops at Vilvoorden. Masses of the mob streamed through the streets, demanding arms. Chance placed five cases of muskets in their hands, and others were wrested from the National Guard. Thus armed, they secured the Hôtel de Ville and so alarmed the Committee of Public Safety that it left the capital.

The middle classes, in dismay, turned to Prince Frederick, and begged him to occupy the city, promising indemnity to the victors. But before he could issue a proclamation intimating

that he was there at the invitation of the inhabitants, and that everyone would be pardoned excepting the leaders of the outbreak, the rioters were masters of the city. Owing to the patriotic devotion of Pletinkx, the excesses which the citizens feared and the Dutch desired were prevented. On September 22nd, Hoogvorst resigned his command of the National Guard, and the leaders of the Club, Ducpetiaux, Everard, Baron Felner, Ernest Gregoire and Roussel, formed a provisional Government. The Dutch troops, who numbered 10,000, with a corresponding force of artillery, expected a speedy victory. Two members of the Club who had been sent to Prince Frederick to discuss terms of compromise were arrested by him and sent to Antwerp. But when the troops attacked the rioters they met with unlooked-for resistance. Gates, palaces and barricades were occupied by an armed crowd, actuated by passion and despair. The middle classes, on the other hand, in whose name the Prince was fighting, showed no appetite for the conflict.

For three days the struggle continued, and the troops made no advance. Palaces were burned and the park was turned into a desert. When Pletinkx was wounded and made prisoner there was no one to restrain the fury of the rioters. The troops were worn out, their ammunition was exhausted, and thousands of Dutch soldiers had been killed. In the night of September 26th Prince Frederick received the order to retreat, and on the following day the people celebrated their triumph. In the evening of September 27th De Potter returned to Brussels in triumph. The days of September at Brussels constituted a parallel to the days of July at Paris. During the conflict a provisional Government had been formed at the Hôtel de Ville, consisting of Gendebien, Rogier, Van de Weyer, Emmanuel Hoogvorst and Felix de Merode, and to this was added De Potter on his arrival. They issued a proclamation releasing the Belgian soldiers from allegiance to the Dutch Government and establishing national independence. In a short time the tricolour of revolt was seen in all the provinces, and the only fortresses left in the hands of the Dutch were Antwerp, Maestricht, Venlo and Luxemburg.

The independence of Belgium had not yet been officially announced, and it was still possible to preserve the union between the two countries. The King yielded so far as to send the Prince of Orange to the southern provinces with full powers, and Prince Koslowski, a Russian, was authorised to negotiate with the Revolutionary Government; but the attempt to come to terms failed, and the Prince of Orange issued a proclamation in which he

proposed a separate government for Belgium, absolute freedom of education, and a complete amnesty for political offences. But the Liberals had prevailed, and their aspirations would not be satisfied by a dynastic union, either under the King or the Prince of Orange. All suggestions of amnesty were rejected. The Dutch troops must leave the territory and a National Congress must be called to decide the political future of Belgium.

A second proclamation of the Prince of Orange, issued on October 16th, in which he recognised the independence of Belgium and suggested that he should preside over an unfettered congress, proved fruitless. It was met by a declaration of the provisional Government that the independence of the Belgian people had been won by arms and required no recognition. A few days later the Prince went to London, where the representatives of the great Powers had met to decide the future of Belgium, but with an eye to the interests of the House of Orange.

The provisional Government in Brussels determined to organise a national army with the object of seizing the fortress of Antwerp. The Dutch army, under Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, might have held its own in Flanders had the government of The Hague not ordered it to withdraw into Antwerp, which was commanded by Colonel Chassé, a man of sixty-five. Antwerp had been hitherto under the control of the middle classes, but when the Belgian army approached the revolutionary element got the upper hand, soon became masters of the town, and began to attack the citadel. Chassé gave orders to fire, and Antwerp was bombarded. In the space of seven hours three hundred shots were fired and many houses burned, besides warehouses full of property, which caused a loss of many millions of francs. However, a large portion of the garrison left the town by water, in virtue of a convention with Rogier, the representative of the provisional Government. The struggle at Antwerp only seemed to consolidate the Revolution.

On November 10th, the National Congress, composed of two hundred members, elected by all Belgian citizens over twenty-five years of age, met at Brussels and, eight days later, declared the independence of Belgium and the exclusion of the House of Nassau-Orange from the throne. De Potter was in favour of a republic, of which he probably hoped to be president. However, the convention decided in favour of a constitutional monarchy. The King of Holland was not popular with the great Powers, and the re-establishment of the House of Orange found few supporters. On January 20th, 1831, the London Conference decided that the frontier of Belgium should be that of 1790, that her neutrality

should be guaranteed, that the navigation of her rivers should be free, and that the public debt should be divided with Holland. Luxemburg was given to the King of Holland as part of the Germanic Confederation. These provisions, however, did not meet with the approval of the Brussels Congress, which protested against them. The Belgians had set their hearts upon the inclusion of Luxemburg, Maestricht and Dutch Flanders within their territory, and they did not at all like the condition that the choice of the new Sovereign was to have the approval of the great Powers.

There were three candidates for the crown before the consideration of the Congress—(1) the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Eugène Beauharnais, the stepson of Napoleon; (2) Louis de Nemours, son of Louis Philippe, and (3) Archduke Charles of Austria. On February 3rd, Nemours obtained 97 votes, Leuchtenberg 74, and Archduke Charles 21. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had married the Princess Charlotte, and since her death had resided in England, now began to be put forward seriously as a candidate. It was known that the London Conference would not accept as sovereign any candidate belonging to the great Powers, and Lord Palmerston said that he should regard the election of Nemours as equivalent to the union of Belgium with France and a cause of war. Upon this Louis Philippe naturally declined to accept the crown for his son. Lebeau, the Foreign Minister, and Van de Weyer, who was afterwards, till his death, the representative of his country in England, found that Leopold would be favourably received by Great Britain and would not be rejected by France. He was accordingly elected King of the Belgians on June 4th, 1831, by 152 votes to 43. Important concessions were made to the new country by the Powers, chiefly with regard to the frontiers and the apportionment of the debt.

Leopold entered Brussels as King on July 21st, 1831, but he did not gain possession of Antwerp till December 23rd, 1832, and then only by the active intervention of France and Great Britain. The creation of the Kingdom of Belgium has been justified by success. Inhabited by two races, Flemish and Walloon, speaking different languages, differing in religious views, Belgium has presented the spectacle of a free, intelligent and progressive society. The development of its mines, manufactures, industries and commerce has been remarkable. Europe has learnt much from her in the matter of education and, in the midst of difficulties, the Constitution has never been violated. It is refreshing to turn from the failure of the Congress of Vienna to enforce the principle

of legitimacy upon a reluctant Europe, to the success of a government founded on national aspirations and popular consent.

Holland, refusing to accept the settlement, declared war, and the Belgian army was soundly beaten. The French intervened with an army under General Gérard and a British fleet threatened the Dutch coast. The Powers proposed a new arrangement, which they declared they were prepared to enforce by arms. King William continued obstinate, and refused to evacuate the citadel of Antwerp. Dutch ships were captured in English and French harbours, the coasts of Holland were subjected to a blockade, and Gérard was obliged to resort to a second campaign to compel Chassé to surrender before the Government of Holland would give in. Even then the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek, which impeded the navigation of the Scheldt, remained in Dutch hands. It was not till March 14th, 1838, that the Dutch finally accepted the conditions imposed by the great Powers. Since that time Belgium has continued to advance, and at the present day is rapidly becoming a rival to her protector, France.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE REFORM ERA IN GREAT BRITAIN

THE ten years of the history of the United Kingdom from 1820 to 1830 are occupied by the reign of George IV. He was one of the most contemptible of British Sovereigns. He led a life of selfishness, and thought more of the gratification of his personal desires than of the prosperity of the nation. He was called " the first gentleman in Europe," but, save courtly manners and taste in dress, he had none of the qualities of a gentleman. His accession marks no epoch in British history, because he had acted as Regent since 1812.

In 1795 he had married Caroline, Princess of Brunswick, the daughter of the Duke who played so prominent a part in the history of the French Revolution. From the very first he treated her with dislike, and, as soon as peace rendered it possible, she withdrew from England and travelled on the Continent. Her behaviour during the six years of her residence abroad was very eccentric, and gave rise to scandal, but nothing wrong was ever proved against her. The King was anxious for a divorce, but the Ministry effected a compromise, by which her name was omitted from the Liturgy on condition that no penal proceedings of any kind were taken against her. The King, however, was dissatisfied with this arrangement, and the Queen determined to proceed to England to claim her rights.

She landed at Dover on Monday, June 5th, 1820. An immense crowd cheered her, and she was received with a royal salute. The inhabitants of Dover presented her with an address, congratulating her on her accession to the throne, and she replied that she hoped she should be permitted to help in promoting the welfare of her husband's subjects. At Canterbury the horses were removed from her carriage and the Queen was drawn to the door of her hotel. Her journey to London was one long, triumphal procession. At every village through which she passed business was suspended and the church bells rang out a peal of welcome. As she approached the capital the carriage was thrown open, and she completed her journey amid the acclamation of a countless multitude. As she drove past Carlton House, the residence of the

King, the sentries presented arms. Her progress at last ended at the residence of Alderman Wood, in South Audley Street.

Continued attempts at compromise were made by the advisers of the contending parties, but all failed upon the point whether her name should or should not be included in the Liturgy. The King refused to admit it, and the Queen declined to sanction its omission. The Ministers, at the bidding of the King, introduced a Bill of Pains and Penalties, to deprive the Queen of her rank and to dissolve the marriage between them. The Queen was defended by Lord Brougham, and the Bill passed its readings in the House of Lords with decreasing majorities, and was abandoned by the Government amidst popular rejoicings, the streets of London being illuminated for three nights. The result of the trial was to alienate the middle class from the Crown and the Tories, and to enhance the prospects of parliamentary reform.

Parliament met on January 29th, 1821; but a month before this its most powerful orator had retired from the Ministry. Canning had been a constant guest at the Queen's table before her departure from England, and he felt that he could not remain in a Government which was persecuting her with such relentless energy. An Act was now passed which granted the Queen a suitable residence and an annuity of £50,000, although her name was still excluded from the Liturgy; but her acceptance of this income went far to diminish her popularity with the mob.

But the last scene of the tragi-comedy was enacted at the Coronation of George IV., which took place on July 19th, 1821. The Queen made numerous efforts to be included in the ceremony, but was baffled at every turn. She, however, determined to be present, and left South Audley Street at 5 o'clock in the morning in a coach drawn by six bay horses. The soldiers presented arms as she passed, and the people cheered. She went to the door leading into Westminster Abbey at Poet's Corner, and might have been admitted alone had she not hesitated and turned back. This altered the sentiment of the crowd, who greeted her now with derisive shouts and cheers. She made one more effort to be crowned before the decorations were removed from the Abbey, but met with another repulse. Worn out with fever and vexation, she was taken suddenly ill at Drury Lane Theatre, and died shortly afterwards. Her body was conveyed to her native city of Brunswick for burial.

In 1822 changes took place in the Ministry which profoundly modified the policy of Great Britain in internal as well as external affairs. Peel became Home Secretary, in the place of the notorious

Lord Sidmouth, who, as Addington, had excited the ridicule of the Tories and, as a peer, had incurred the detestation of the Liberals. On August 12th, Lord Castlereagh, now become Lord Londonderry, died by his own hand and was succeeded by Canning as Foreign Secretary. Castlereagh had been the friend of Metternich, and had supported the reactionary policy which led to such disastrous consequences in Europe. Canning, on the other hand, although a Tory in domestic, was a Liberal in foreign, affairs, and his name is even now remembered by continental Liberals as that of the man who first opened to the oppressed nations of Europe the hope of better government. The Liberalising of Lord Liverpool's Cabinet was continued in 1823 by the appointment of Robinson as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Huskisson as President of the Board of Trade. Huskisson, like Canning, was sneered at for being an adventurer. In other words, he did not belong to those privileged families who were considered, at that time, to keep the government of England in their own hands. He had carefully studied the principles of political economy and was thoroughly versed in the laws under which wealth is produced and distributed. He used his position to pass a number of measures which rapidly developed the resources of the realm.

A law had been enacted during the time of the Commonwealth, ratified by Charles II., which forbade, with some exceptions, foreign produce to be brought to England save in English ships. The effect had been to give to Great Britain the carrying trade of the world and to enrich British merchants with all the profits of carrying foreign goods. Other nations objected, and America, in particular, imposed so high a duty on goods imported in British vessels that it practically prevented the continuance of the trade with the United States. British ships used to go empty to fetch American goods, and American ships, after carrying goods from British ports, returned to England empty, so that the price of freight was doubled on both sides. To remedy this evil, Huskisson determined to modify the Navigation Acts, as they were called, and in 1823 carried a Reciprocity of Duties Act, by which duties were made equal on all goods, whether brought in British or foreign vessels. The shipping trade of Great Britain, which had been depressed, was by these means very largely increased.

Heavy duties were at that time levied on the import of foreign silk. This did an injury to English weavers, partly by depriving them of raw material, partly by removing the stimulus of healthy competition. French silks were everywhere preferred to English; indeed, such was the rage for them that it was profitable for an

English manufacturer to have his own goods smuggled into England under the name of French. The prohibition of foreign wool was equally injurious, because British wool was benefited by being mingled with foreign. These proposed changes were, at first, resisted by manufacturers and operatives alike; but Huskisson, confident in the truth of his principles, carried measures which reduced the duties on both articles. Other steps were taken in a similar direction. The Acts which fixed the wages of the Spitalfields weavers were repealed, and all Acts were abolished which restrained the free travelling-about of workmen and controlled combination between either masters or workmen—a liberty, however, which was restricted in the following year.

The question of the abolition of slavery next came into prominence. Like many other reforms, it had been brought forward by Wilberforce and Pitt, but had been laid aside in the confusion of the European struggles. The West Indian Colonies, belonging to Great Britain, were full of slaves, and scenes were enacted as terrible as any afterwards heard of in the United States. Yet slavery could not be abolished without a heavy loss of money. It was feared that if the change were effected indiscreetly the blacks might rise and cause a general massacre. An Act was passed to mitigate the sufferings of the slaves, and all slave-holders knew that by this wide measure a deathblow had been dealt at slavery.

Under these favourable influences the prosperity of Great Britain advanced rapidly. Wealth began to flow into new channels, and all classes experienced in their daily lives that peace was far preferable to war. Unfortunately, the change was too sudden, and the country ran into wild speculation. Companies were formed for the promotion of unattainable objects, and banks were opened by men who had no capital to support them. A crash came in 1825. On December 5th in that year the great banking house of Sir Peter Pole and Co., in Bartholomew Lane, closed its doors. It was known that it kept accounts with forty-five country banks, and the funds fell. Lombard Street was filled with persons hastening to withdraw their deposits. Even old men, who recollected the crisis of 1790, were appalled at the extent and character of the present disasters. The worst pressure came at Christmas time, and so sad a Christmas had rarely been celebrated in London. Riots broke out in the midland counties, and machines were destroyed as the supposed cause of the people's misery. The Government, however, came to the rescue: money was lent to merchants with which to retrieve their fortunes, foreign corn was allowed to enter, and the panic passed away.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

Two great questions began to clamour for adjustment—the Corn Laws and Catholic Emancipation. The Catholic population of Ireland was four times as great as the Protestant, but the Catholics had, for more than a century and a half, been treated as a conquered and downtrodden race. In some respects their position had gradually improved, but in 1828 no Catholic could sit in either House of Parliament, no Catholic could be guardian to a Protestant, nor keep any arms or warlike stores. Catholics were excluded from almost every office of trust or distinction, and were made, in a variety of ways, to feel that they stood on a different social footing from Protestants. In 1800, when Ireland was united with England and Scotland, Pitt had promised to remedy their grievances, but the King pleaded his coronation oath and said that if he consented the crown would pass to the House of Savoy. When the matter was pressed upon him his mind gave way, and it was felt that nothing could be done as long as George III. lived.

Canning had been in favour of Catholic emancipation from his earliest years, but the matter still remained an open question with the Ministry, and it is probable it would have continued unsettled for a much longer period but for the efforts of the Catholic Association, founded in 1823, under Daniel O'Connell. A Bill for the relief of the Catholics passed the House of Commons in 1825, but was defeated in the House of Lords by the efforts of the Duke of York, the heir to the throne, who declared his unflinching hostility to any measure of the kind so long as he lived or whatever might be his situation in life. The Duke of York died in January, 1827, and Lord Liverpool was struck down by paralysis in the following month.

Canning was reluctantly summoned by the Sovereign to form a Ministry, but he, too, had received his death-blow by attending, on a cold winter night, the Duke of York's funeral in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The Duke of Wellington, Robert Peel and Eldon declined to serve under Canning, but Lord Lyndhurst became his Lord Chancellor, and Palmerston, Huskisson, Goderich and Harrowby joined him. Though opposed to parliamentary reform, Canning was in favour of Catholic emancipation and the Corn Laws. A Corn Bill, intended to redeem part of this pledge, was rejected in the House of Lords, but Canning had no time to fulfil the cherished purpose of his life by emancipating the Catholics. Worn out by the cares of office, disheartened by the desertion of friends, harassed by the constant persecution of an unprincipled Opposition like that which had embittered Pitt's last years, he

sank under the accumulated burden and died in August, 1827, at the age of fifty-seven, leaving a name high up in the glory roll of British statesmen. His policy was not bounded by the limits of his country, and his heart was ever moved with indignation against oppression. He vindicated the position of Great Britain as the champion of liberty and freedom throughout the civilised world.

The King hoped to retain the same Ministry in office and carry on public business with as little change as possible. Lord Goderich, who was considered a moderate man, became Prime Minister, while Herries and the Duke of Wellington, both Tories, were received into the Cabinet. A quarrel arose between Herries and Huskisson, however, and Goderich, not wishing to get rid of either, preferred to resign himself. His place was filled by the Duke of Wellington, who became Prime Minister in January, 1828. The Duke was now fifty-nine years of age, was indisputably the first subject of the Crown, and was regarded in all parts of Europe as the embodiment of British power and British spirit. Yet he was destined to impair in office the reputation he had gained in war. His industry, courage and integrity were beyond question, but he had little sympathy with the people, and was apt to base his conduct too exclusively on obedience to the authority of the Sovereign. Huskisson endeavoured to convince himself that the spirit of Canning would still guide the conduct of the Ministry, and therefore remained in office. But the Cabinet, composed as it was of discordant elements, could scarcely hope to hold together. At last, upon the question whether the seat gained by the disfranchisement of East Retford should be given to a large town or to a country Hundred, Huskisson and Peel found themselves voting in different lobbies. Huskisson accordingly sent in his resignation to the Duke of Wellington, never dreaming it would be accepted. The Duke, however, seized the opportunity of removing a troublesome colleague, and four other members of the Cabinet—Palmerston, Dudley, Grant, and Lamb (afterwards Lord Melbourne)—shared Huskisson's retreat.

Before this change of Ministry took place, the Test and Corporation Acts had been repealed. They were passed in the reign of Charles II., and provided that no one should hold any important office, civil or military, without giving evidence that he belonged to the Church of England by receiving the Holy Sacrament. The first of these Acts, passed in 1661, had been directed against the Presbyterians; and the second, passed in 1673, against James II. and the Catholics. Their chief burden now fell on the Dissenters,

who were, however, able to some extent to evade them by an Act of Indemnity, first passed in the reign of George II. and renewed every year. It was the custom for persons to wait in taverns and houses near the Church and not go in till the service was over. The ceremony used to be styled "qualifying for office," and an appointed person called out "those who want to be qualified will please to step this way." Persons then received the Communion for the purpose of obtaining office, and with no other intent whatever.

In 1828 Lord John Russell proposed and carried a motion that a committee should be appointed to consider the abolition of these galling and useless restrictions. Peel and Huskisson opposed the measure, as Canning had always done, on the ground, not of principle, but of expediency. But they were defeated by the majority of 237 to 193. Peel proposed a compromise. A declaration containing a promise that the maker of it would never exert any power or influence to injure or subvert the Protestant Established Church was to be made by the members of every corporation and, at the pleasure of the Crown, by the holder of every office. This was passed by the Commons, but the Peers insisted on adding the words "in the true faith of a Christian," in order to keep out the Jews.

The movement which finally resulted in the emancipation of the Catholics began in Ireland. By the efforts of the Catholic Association Daniel O'Connell was elected member of Parliament for Clare. His return was declared valid, although he could not speak or vote in the House until he had taken the prescribed oaths. The Catholic Association received more and more adherents. Supported by the priests, and well furnished with money, it soon spread over the whole of Ireland. Its object was to secure that no member should be elected to any Irish constituency who did not pledge himself to obtain emancipation for the Catholics and parliamentary reform. The Ministry gradually became convinced that the wisest course was to conciliate a power which they could not suppress.

Peel, a noble-minded statesman who always preferred the interests of his country to the interests of party, was the first of the Tory ministers to come to this conclusion, as, at a later period, he was with regard to the Corn Laws, and used his influence with the Duke of Wellington. Stubborn resistance, however, was made by the King, supported by the heads of the Peers and the Church, and the prospect of agreement seemed at one time to be hopeless. But the King was eventually induced to modify his attitude, and it was arranged that the Royal Speech at the opening of Parlia-

ment in 1829 should contain the surprising announcements that the Catholic Association would be suppressed and that a measure for the relief of Catholics would be presented for the consideration of Parliament. The secret was well kept, and nothing was known of these designs until copies of the speech were sent to the leaders of the Opposition on February 4th. Peel thought it his duty to resign his membership for the University of Oxford, and to offer himself for re-election, but he was defeated by 755 votes to 609. He was eventually returned as member for the little borough of Westbury.

The Bill for suppressing the Catholic Association was passed, and that for the relief of the Catholics was to be introduced on March 5th. At the last moment the King declared that he could not assent to it, and only yielded when he found that it was impossible to form an administration which would oppose the Bill. Ultimately the measure passed both Houses and received the Royal Assent. It abolished all political distinctions between Catholics and Protestants in the fullest and most generous manner. The association which had been mainly instrumental in obtaining this victory passed quietly out of existence, and a great step had been taken in redressing the wrongs of Ireland. O'Connell now turned his attention to agitating for the repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, thus beginning a controversy which was vastly to affect the course of British politics. In this year also Robert Peel established the police force, which was to replace the old watchmen, and the members of which still bear the name of " Peelers " or " Bobbies."

It was obvious that the next leading question would be that of the reform of Parliament, but that it could not be dealt with whilst the Duke of Wellington remained in office. Indeed, he declared himself opposed to all measures for reform. He said he had never heard of any measure which could in any degree satisfy his mind that the existing state of representation could be improved. He went still further, and declared that if the duty were imposed upon him to frame a Legislature for any country, and especially for a country like Great Britain, in possession of great properties of various descriptions, he did not mean to assert that he could frame such a Legislature as they possessed now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once, but his great endeavour would be to frame some description of Legislature which would produce similar results.

When he sat down, a colleague said to him, " You have announced the fall of your Government." The effect on the

country was disastrous: the funds fell 4 per cent., and there was grave doubt whether the usual banquet would be held in the City on Lord Mayor's Day. Indeed, the banquet had to be postponed. The Duke resigned, and Lord Grey was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry. This was the act of William IV., George IV. having died on June 26th, 1830. Grey had been connected with every movement for parliamentary reform during the last forty years. He was a most respected statesman, a finished orator, dignified and cultured. Lord Althorp became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Melbourne Home Secretary, Lord Palmerston Foreign Secretary, and Lord Brougham Lord Chancellor. Lord John Russell was a member of the Ministry, but was not in the Cabinet. The history of the fifteen years which succeeded the fall of Napoleon was thus, to a great extent, made up, on the one hand, of the struggle to establish government on democratic principles, and, on the other, of the more or less successful efforts to stifle such a movement.

All government consists in the union of two principles, which the Romans called *imperium* and *libertas*—one the enforcement of authority from above, the other the security of freedom of thought and action from below. The French Revolution was the exaggerated assertion of the democratic principle, caused by the unreasonable exercise of the principle of authority, coupled with monstrous abuse of class privilege. As it proceeded, it so extended the domain of liberty that authority lost all power. The Government of the Directory was the weakest that France, and perhaps Europe, had ever seen; a weaker government would have been anarchy, or no government at all. Napoleon attempted to reconcile the two principles by founding a democratic Empire—a Government strong in authority, but instinct with the spirit of liberty. He failed, because he could not reign in peace, but had to meet the continual demands of wars forced upon him by those who opposed his actions, just as they had been forced upon the Republic which preceded him.

After his fall liberty almost disappeared, just as authority had disappeared before his arrival on the scene. The Powers of Europe, led by Metternich, occupied themselves in suppressing what they believed to be revolution, but what was really liberty. Liberty, the just demand of the people for self-government, could only be put down by force, and the efforts to regain it caused the abortive attempts of 1820 and the more successful struggles of 1830. But in these movements Great Britain had stood by herself. As she had not known to the full the abuses of authority,

so she refrained from demanding the exaggeration of liberty. What other countries had sought by revolution she laboured to secure by reform. But the realisation of reform could not be won without a struggle—bloodless, indeed, but scarcely less violent than those which had ended in revolution in other countries.

Great Britain fixed her mind on the reform of Parliament as the key to the position; if that were accomplished, everything else would follow. The chief evils to be remedied were these: first, the existence of rotten boroughs, places with few electors and sometimes no inhabitants, which returned two members to Parliament at the bidding of a neighbouring magnate; next, the fact that large and wealthy towns, which had grown into importance during the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century, had no representative in Parliament; and, thirdly, that only a small part of the population had the right of voting at elections. To remedy these evils a Reform Bill was to be introduced, and its preparation was entrusted to a committee of four, consisting of Lord Durham, Sir James Graham, Lord Duncannon, and Lord John Russell. The most influential of these was Lord Durham, who was mainly responsible for the details of the scheme, and who included vote by ballot in the plan, against the opinion of Lord John Russell. The part he played in the movement has only become recognised of late years, the lion's share having been too readily and too exclusively awarded to Lord John Russell, who introduced the measure into the House of Commons.

The committee proposed the disenfranchisement of all boroughs with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants; the partial disenfranchisement of all boroughs with fewer than 4,000 inhabitants; the extension of the franchise to £20 householders in boroughs and £10 copyholders in counties; the assignment of members to populous towns, and of additional members to the more populous. It further proposed the enforcement of residence as a qualification for voting, the registration of voters, the adoption of the ballot, an increase in the number of polling stations, and the limit of the duration of Parliament to five years. In the Cabinet vote by ballot was disallowed and the borough franchise lowered to £10. Lord John Russell introduced the Bill in the House of Commons on March 1st, 1831. The excitement was indescribable; petitions in favour of the Bill were heaped upon the table; the House was crowded; dense masses of people assembled outside, waiting for the news of the fate of the measure, and on their fringe were horsemen, ready to carry the earliest tidings of the details to every part of England.

Lord John Russell's speech proposed that sixty of the smaller boroughs should be disfranchised altogether, and that forty-seven should return one member instead of two. London received eight additional representatives, and thirty-four seats were distributed amongst towns hitherto unrepresented. The English counties received fifty-five new members, the Scottish five, the Irish three, the Welsh one. The result of these changes would be to reduce the House of Commons from 658 members to 596. Corporations in towns lost their exclusive right of election, and the franchise was given to all householders who paid £10 a year rent. This would give votes to half a million citizens who had not as yet possessed them.

The speech was received with derisive cheers and laughter, but Sir Robert Peel sat immovable in his place, and the Duke of Wellington told his friends that it was no joke, that there was nothing to laugh at. The debate lasted seven nights, and elicited the conflicting objections of Tories and Radicals. The Tories thought that such a reform, coupled with a free Press, was incompatible with the independence of the House of Lords. The Radicals recognised the boldness of the measure, but regretted that the plan did not include vote by ballot, short parliaments, and universal suffrage. At last, after a short reply from the opener of the debate, leave was given to bring in the Bill and it was read a first time.

Opinion in the country was divided. The Court, the House of Lords, the Clergy, the Army and Navy, the Universities, and the Inns of Court were mainly against the Bill; it was supported by the manufacturers and the body of the people, and the Press was generally in its favour. The second reading of the Bill was fixed for March 21st. After a vigorous debate the second reading was carried in a full House by a majority of one vote, the numbers being 302 and 301—another of the great measures, including the Irish Union, which have been determined by one vote. The excitement was beyond description, but the success of the Bill seemed very doubtful.

After the Easter recess Ministers proposed some changes in the details. Five boroughs were deprived of one member instead of two, and seven boroughs which were to lose one member were left untouched. Eight counties and seven large towns received additional members, and additional members were assigned to Ireland and to one large town. These concessions did not conciliate the Opposition, and the fateful division was taken at 4 o'clock in the morning of April 21st, when Ministers were defeated

by a majority of twenty-two; and at once, as they had already secretly agreed to do should events demand it, determined to dissolve. The King, after some hesitation, acceded to their resolution. When, on the day of dissolution, a difficulty was made about the carriage to convey him to Parliament, he said, "Never mind the carriage; send for a hackney coach." The Lords were engaged in debate when the cannon announced His Majesty's arrival. But Lord Mansfield went on speaking while the Royal procession was entering the House. The King was firm, cheerful and dignified. He announced as his reason for dissolving that he wished to ascertain the sense of the people, constitutionally expressed, on the expediency of making changes in the representation. The question of reform was thus left to the judgment of the people and the country.

The dissolution of Parliament brought general rejoicing. London was illuminated, and those who did not light up had their windows broken. From one end of the land to the other the cry rang out, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill!" In the new election candidates in favour of the Bill were chosen throughout the country, and nearly all the county members were pledged to support it.

Parliament was formally opened on June 21st, and three days later Lord John Russell introduced the second Reform Bill. He was now a member of the Cabinet, and therefore spoke with the authority which belongs to Cabinet rank. But he had no concessions to offer; the Bill was introduced without material amendment, and leave to introduce it was granted with only one dissentient voice. The debate on the second reading—which was carried by a majority of 136, the numbers being 367 and 231—lasted three nights. The figures showed that the Ministry had gained 135 votes by the dissolution. But the Opposition was united and determined, and met the motion to go into Committee by repeated amendments. In Committee the case of each borough was separately discussed. It was urged that the Bill disfranchised the south of England for the benefit of the north, though it was in the north that wealth and population had mainly increased. Every art of obstruction was practised, and the House continued to sit during the tropical heat of July and past the "Festival of St. Grouse" on August 12th, the work of the Committee being concluded only just before the King's Coronation in September. The Bill finally passed the House of Commons by a majority of 106.

The Bill was carried up to the House of Lords by nearly two hundred Liberals, who broke into cheering when Lord John

Russell handed it to the Lord Chancellor. The second reading was proposed by Lord Grey on October 3rd. In his speech he defended the consistency of his career, and showed that he had supported Pitt's proposals for reform as long ago as 1786. Brougham, the Lord Chancellor, went down on his knees, theatrically begging the Peers to pass the Bill. It was opposed by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst, who complained that it opened the floodgates of democracy. The Lord Chief Justice and the Archbishop of Canterbury also demanded its rejection. Earl Grey replied on the morning of October 8th, after an all-night sitting, and the Bill was thrown out by a majority of 41.

Indignation throughout the country was profound, and a spark might have produced a revolution. Two papers, the *Chronicle* and the *Sun*, appeared in mourning, and *The Times* declared that it turned from the appalling sight of a wounded nation to the means already in action for its recovery. A muffled peal was rung at Birmingham, riots broke out at Derby, the jail at Nottingham was burned down, and the abolition of the House of Lords was mooted. Unpopular peers were attacked in the streets, and a procession of 60,000 persons presented a petition to the King in favour of the Bill. Brougham and Russell did their best to calm the minds of the people, assuring them that there was no intention to shelve or desert the Bill, but that repose was absolutely necessary. Parliament was prorogued for a month.

Even after this it was found necessary to prohibit political associations by proclamation. At Bristol a riot was directed against the Recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell, who had been one of the fiercest opponents of the Bill. The constables were routed, and soldiers were called in to quell the tumult. The prisons were broken open and the prisoners liberated, and the Mansion House and Bishop's Palace were burned to the ground. The riots were at last suppressed with great bloodshed and loss of life. It was realised that the vote of the twenty-one bishops who had voted against the Bill would have just turned the scale. A cry was raised that the bishops had thrown out the Bill, and they were burned in effigy throughout the country, while the Church was involved in the hatred arising from the action of its chiefs.

The third Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell on December 12th, 1831. It had been prepared on a slightly different principle from its predecessors. The census of 1831 had become known, and its results could not be ignored in framing the measure. Moreover, the number of the House of Commons was left unaltered. The second reading was carried by a majority

of 112, and in spite of attempted delay it finally passed the Commons in March. It was, however, still violently opposed in the Upper House by the Duke of Wellington and his friends; but a party called the "Waverers," or the "Trimmers," represented by Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby, were disposed to agree to the second reading in order to amend the Bill in Committee, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 9. In Committee, on May 7th, Lord Lyndhurst proposed that the disenfranchisement clauses should be postponed till the others had been passed, and the amendment was adopted by a majority of 35.

Lord Grey at once deferred the consideration of the measure. Ministers had the alternatives of advising the King to create sufficient peers—which would be not fewer than fifty—to ensure the passing of the Bill or of resigning office. The King was reluctant to swamp the Upper House with so many new creations, so the Ministry elected to resign. The Lords determining to proceed with the discussion of the Bill, the Commons prayed, in an Address to the Throne, that the measure passed by them might not be surrendered. The excitement throughout the country was more violent than ever. A union was founded at Birmingham, one of whose objects was to refuse payment of taxes. Arms were prepared, and there seemed to be a danger of civil war. In the meantime, an attempt to form an anti-Reform Ministry failed, Lord Lyndhurst and Sir Robert Peel declining the task. The Duke of Wellington, with characteristic courage, undertook it; but, finding it impossible, advised the King to recall Lord Grey, and His Majesty had no alternative but to adopt this course.

Lord Grey was recalled in May, 1832. The restored Cabinet decided that their continuance in office must depend upon their receiving full and indisputable security for the passing of the Bill, and the King reluctantly gave permission to the Prime Minister and Lord Brougham to create as many peers as might be necessary to pass the Bill, first calling up peers' eldest sons or the collateral heirs of childless noblemen. In consequence of this, the opposition of the Lords ceased and the Bill passed through Committee at the end of May and was read a third time on June 4th, 1832. Slight amendments introduced by the Lords were accepted by the Commons, and the Bill became law. Consent was given by Commission on June 7th, in the silence of deep emotion. Parliament was shortly afterwards dissolved, in order that the House of Commons might be elected under the conditions imposed by the new Act.

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND, 1832-1841

AFTER the great war which was concluded at Waterloo the population of the United Kingdom largely increased. In 1816 it amounted to 19,000,000, in 1831 it had reached 24,000,000, and, with the population, the wealth of the country increased also. In 1815 the income on which income tax was levied was estimated at £150,000,000; in 1832 it cannot have been less than £225,000,000; so that the wealth of the nation must have grown by £75,000,000 since the termination of the war. Population had grown by 25 per cent., wealth by 50 per cent., so that the accumulation of wealth had been twice as rapid as the multiplication of the people.

Moreover, a great revolution had taken place in industries. The use of machinery had lessened the cost of production, and the cost of distribution had undergone similar diminution. Brindley and his followers had intersected the country with canals; Telford and Macadam had furnished it with roads. Facilities for travelling had increased, and the railway was at hand. The railway consists of two essential parts—a carriage propelled by steam and rails on which it may run. The second had been invented and used before the first, and the earlier steam-coaches were made to run on roads; the union of the two was effected by George Stephenson. The Stockton and Darlington Railway, the work of Stephenson and Pease, was opened on September 27th, 1825, a momentous date in British history. In 1830 a more important railway was constructed between Liverpool and Manchester. The opening day was marked by the death of Huskisson, who was knocked down by the "Rocket" steam engine as he was moving forward to shake hands with the Duke of Wellington, with whom he had quarrelled two years before. The engine which conveyed the injured statesman after this accident achieved a speed of thirty-six miles an hour.

About the same time domestic comfort was enlarged by the invention of lucifer matches, which took the place of the old tinder-

box. It is difficult to imagine the fundamental differences which existed between the England of 1815 and the England of 1832. Up to 1810 legislation had generally been directed to provide special advantages for a class; in 1832 it began to aim at securing the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The sinecures which existed for the benefit of the upper classes had been abolished; learning and capacity became the avenue to the bishop's mitre and the judge's ermine; public officials were compelled to discharge their duties themselves, instead of leaving them to deputies; religious disabilities had been swept away; Roman Catholics were admitted to Parliament; all offices were free to Dissenters; the political power of the State was no longer monopolised by a handful of privileged individuals. The franchise had been extended to shopkeepers in the boroughs and to occupiers in the counties, and rotten boroughs had disappeared. Members of Parliament had lost some of their oppressive rights. Landowners could not now defraud their creditors or exercise exclusively the privilege of killing game. The principles of Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham had soaked into the hearts of the rising generation.

But the condition both of the labouring and manufacturing poor remained very unsatisfactory. Pauperism was terrible. In the middle of the eighteenth century the poor rate and the county rate had not amounted together to more than £750,000; in 1832 the relief of the poor cost £7,000,000 in England and Wales alone. The maintenance of the poor threw an annual charge of ten shillings on every man, woman, and child of the population. One person in seven in England and Wales was a pauper. Emigration began to be used as a remedy for these evils, but it did not attain anything like its present proportions. In 1815 only 2,081 emigrants left the country; in 1832 the number amounted to 102,313. The condition of the labouring poor in Ireland was far worse than it was in England, and in 1830 Daniel O'Connell began to agitate for the repeal of the Union.

The General Election of 1832 passed in comparative quiet. By a new law the poll was closed in two days, instead of being kept open for a fortnight, a custom which had occasioned much disorder. The composition of the House of Commons did not differ very much from that of previous Parliaments. Parties were slightly changed: Tories became Conservatives and Whigs Liberals, and the Radicals began to assume the character of a responsible political combination. Ireland occupied the first attention of the reformed House. The state of that country was

deplorable, assassination and robbery were the order of the day. In Queen's County, in a single year, there were 60 murders and 115 malicious injuries to property, 626 burglaries, and 209 serious assaults on individuals. Peaceable people were afraid to give evidence or serve on juries to try the offenders. By the introduction of an Irish Church Bill something was done to remedy the grievances which caused these evils. The members of the Irish Church mustered only 800,000 out of a population of 8,000,000, but the maintenance of the Church cost more than £1 a head a year for each of its members. It possessed 1,400 benefices and twenty-two bishops. Lord Althorp imposed a tax on all benefices of over £200 a year, varying as their value. The £60,000 which this would yield was to be expended in the repair of churches and the building of parsonages, so that the Church Tax might be abolished. The number of bishops was reduced from twenty-two to twelve. But, unfortunately, a Coercion Act was still thought necessary. The provisions were extremely severe. The Lord Lieutenant had power to suppress all meetings; he might declare any county to be in a state of disturbance, and in districts so disordered it was perilous to be out between sunset and sunrise. Offenders in disturbed districts were to be tried by court-martial. The Bill was introduced in the House of Lords on February 15th, 1833, and passed through its stages in five days. In the Commons it met with violent opposition, but, owing to the fiery eloquence of Stanley, the Chief Secretary, it became law on April 1st, with certain modifications. The Church Bill passed the Commons, but was nearly defeated in the House of Lords. It did not become law till July 30th.

After this the Government was reconstructed. Lord Durham, the principal author of the Reform Bill, left the Ministry and received an Earldom. Lord Goderich, now made Earl of Ripon, was given the Privy Seal, and Lord Stanley was entrusted with the Colonies. Here he was confronted with a difficult and laborious task, the abolition of slavery in British dominions. Slavery was marked by two evils—the existence of slavery itself and the horrors of the slave trade, by which slaves were brought from Africa to labour in other countries. Long regarded with indifference, men such as Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and Wilberforce had succeeded, after years of philanthropic efforts, in rousing the conscience of Englishmen upon the subject. In 1806, in the middle of the Napoleonic war, Grenville and Fox, the leaders of the Ministry which received the name of "All the Talents," carried resolutions in favour of the abolition of the slave trade, and an

Act for its abolition was passed on March 25th, 1807. But slavery remained and Wilberforce was anxious to complete his work.

It was, however, far more difficult to convert 750,000 slaves into free labourers than to cut off the supply. Besides, to do this interfered with the rights of property and might ruin the Colonies, where cultivators depended on slave labour. The work was made easier by the fact that trade between Great Britain and the West Indies had seriously diminished since the Peace. In 1814 the West Indian trade formed one-sixth of British commerce; in 1833 it was only one-fifteenth. The abolition of slavery was a natural result of the advent of democratic government due to the Reform Bill of 1832. But, to the surprise of the abolitionists, no mention of the abolition of slavery was made in the Speech from the Throne in 1833. Thomas Fowell Buxton, who had taken charge of the subject in succession to Wilberforce, asked the Government whether they intended to do anything, and they were obliged to answer in the affirmative. Nothing, however, would have been done had not Stanley been Secretary for the Colonies. He devoted himself to the study of a subject of which he was before entirely ignorant, and rose to make his momentous speech on May 14th. The line he took was bold and statesmanlike. He was opposed to gradual abolition, as he held that slave and free labour could not exist side by side. The proposal was that, for a period, slaves should become apprentices, that they should give three-quarters of their time to their masters and have the rest for themselves. The period of apprenticeship, first fixed by Stanley at twelve years, was afterwards reduced to seven, and £20,000,000 was voted as a compensation for the slave-owners. The apprenticeship system proved to be a failure, as the apprentices were treated by their masters really as badly as the slaves had been. In 1838 it was abolished by Act of Parliament.

But there was slavery at home, and to this attention was now directed. The effect of the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century was to create labour in factories, and it was found that child labour was cheaper than adult labour. This led to a kind of slave-trade. Wagon loads of children were sent from London into Lancashire to act as apprentices in factories. But as time went on the manufacturing towns supplied their own children, most of whom did not begin work till they were nine years of age, though it was not uncommon to begin at six, and there were instances of beginning at five. The work was extremely hard. The child was dragged out of bed, winter and summer, at five

o'clock in the morning, to begin work in the factory at six. There were no holidays. The work continued, with two intervals of half an hour (often spent in cleaning machinery), for thirteen hours a day. The atmosphere breathed by the operatives was physically unwholesome and morally degrading. The question had been taken up in Parliament, and in 1831 Thomas Sadler had introduced a Bill to limit the labour of factory children to ten hours. He was, however, not elected to the Reformed Parliament, and the work passed into other hands.

In 1833 the question was taken up by Lord Ashley, to a later generation known as the great philanthropist, Lord Shaftesbury. The Factory Bill introduced by him forbade the employment of children under nine years of age, and restricted the work of persons under eighteen to ten hours a day. Inspectors were to be appointed to see that the law was enforced and to provide for the education of the children. Eventually a modified measure was passed, which did not go as far as Lord Ashley wished, but greatly alleviated the sufferings of the factory children.

Thus the Reformed Parliament, in its first session, had remodelled the Irish Church, had abolished slavery, and had regulated factory labour. It had renewed the Charter of the Bank of England and terminated the monopoly of the East India Company. It also took up the question of elementary education, and a sum of £20,000 was voted for its improvement. The Ministry employed this money, through the agency of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, to give grants for school-houses, supplemented by large local subscriptions. The Catholics, however, were entirely omitted. But the feeble ray of enlightenment, which seemed at first merely to irradiate the gloom, brightened in after years into a glorious day, so that elementary education has become the most important and the most successful part of the teaching of the British Isles.

A Commission—of which Blomfield, Bishop of London, was chairman, and other members were Sumner, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Sturges Bourne, and Nassau Senior—had been appointed to inquire into the working of the Poor Law. Great pains were taken to ascertain the existing condition of the question. It was found that the whole nation was pauperised by the system of outdoor relief established in 1796. In most parishes doles were given to the inhabitants in addition to any other means they might possess. This had the effect of inducing farmers to employ at a reduced wage labourers so subsidised, and to force everyone to become a pauper. Men received a dole for

their wives and an extra sum for every child. This led to an enormous increase of pauper families. Relief in kind tempted the masters of poor-houses to make a profit by securing for themselves the orders for food and clothes. It was held by some that even able-bodied men were entitled to sixpence a day. Children did not support their parents, because they were supported by the parish. The poor man was bribed to marry, and as every girl who had gone wrong received two shillings a week, either from the father or from the parish, a woman with a family of bastards brought her husband a considerable dowry. The amount of the poor rate became intolerable. Hundreds of farms were without tenants because no reduction of rent could induce tenants to bear the weight of the poor rate.

The Commission recommended that after a certain date no out-door relief, except medical aid in sickness, should be given to any able-bodied man; it proposed that women should be compelled to support their illegitimate children, and that the law of settlement should be abolished, except settlement by birth or marriage. A Central Board was to be established to carry out the law, with powers to make parishes or unions, to effect uniformity in assessment, to dismiss incompetent officers, and to revise the whole system. On April 17th, 1832, Lord Althorp introduced a Bill for carrying out these recommendations, and, in spite of violent opposition, it became law by July 3rd. The measure was a decided success. Poor law relief, which cost the country £7,000,000 in 1832, cost only a little over £4,000,000 in 1837.

But the Ministry which had done such great things was now approaching its end. The blow came from Ireland. O'Connell proposed to inquire into the means by which the Union had been brought about, thus raising the question of Repeal. After a debate which lasted six nights the motion was rejected by 529 votes to 38, but it left a sting behind. Another dispute arose about the tithes in Ireland, which the Roman Catholics naturally objected to pay. In 1833 the tithes in arrears amounted to £1,200,000, and Littleton, the Secretary for Ireland, carried a proposal for spending a million of money on the security of these tithes, which the Irish Government was to collect. This made matters worse. There was no justification for the tithe, and it ought not to have been collected. The whole question of the existence of the Irish Church was raised in the Cabinet, and there were grave differences of opinion on the subject. After a number of discussions, which it is needless to recount, Althorp resigned, and Grey determined to resign with him (1834). And so the

Reform Ministry, which had done so much for the United Kingdom, came to an end.

Grey was succeeded by Melbourne, but he only held office for a short time. William Lamb, Viscount Melbourne, had been a follower of Canning, and had held office with the Wellington Ministry, but retired with the other Canningites in 1828. As Home Secretary in the Ministry of Lord Grey he helped to pass the Reform Bill, although he had little sympathy with its provisions. He was a man of great ability, but singularly indolent. His chief claim to distinction, however, is that he was Prime Minister when Queen Victoria came to the throne, and that he gave her a sound training in constitutional government. One of the disputes which had broken up the Grey Ministry was a Coercion Bill for Ireland. Melbourne determined to proceed with it, and it was passed in a modified form. Disputes about the tithes still continued. The power of O'Connell in the House increased, and the Ministry found it necessary to treat him with respect.

Althorp, the leader of the Commons, enjoyed an authority based partly on his abilities and partly on his character. He was, after Grey's departure, the strongest bulwark of the Whigs, but on the death of his father he became Lord Spencer and a member of the House of Lords. His likeliest successor was Lord John Russell, but the King refused to accept him, and determined to dismiss Melbourne and send for Wellington. This was the last instance in British history in which a Ministry was dismissed by the action of the Sovereign. Wellington accepted office, but thought that the Prime Minister should be in the House of Commons, and that the post should be given to Peel. But Peel was in Italy, and it would take some time to communicate with him. Wellington, therefore, became sole Minister. The King made him First Lord of the Treasury, and gave him also the seals of the Home Office, the Colonies, and the Foreign Office.

James Hudson, the Queen's Secretary, afterwards celebrated as the champion of renovated Italy, was sent to look for Peel. He found him at a ball at Prince Torlonia's, on the evening of November 25th, 1834. Peel set off immediately and reached London on December 9th, becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer on the following day. Stanley refused to take office, Lyndhurst was made Lord Chancellor, and Wellington Foreign Secretary. Peel, however, was the real master of the Government. Born in the same year as Byron, who had died ten years before, he had been Chief Secretary for Ireland under Lord Liverpool at the age of

twenty-five, had succeeded Lord Sidmouth as Home Secretary in 1822, but had declined to serve under Canning. Although only a short period of his life had been spent in office, and he was generally in Opposition, his large-minded patriotism and preference of national to party considerations earned for him a worthy place in the first rank of British statesmen. He now issued a manifesto, addressed to the electors of Tavistock, in which he expressed his political principles. He said that he regarded the Reform Bill as a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question, and that he would never oppose the correction of proved abuses or the redress of real grievances. His chief objects were peace abroad and the reform of Church and State at home. By the enunciation of these principles he became the founder of the party known as Conservative, in distinction to the former Tories.

Peel thought it necessary to dissolve Parliament, which was probably a mistake. The election proved adverse to him. The nation was obviously incensed at the King's arbitrary dismissal of Melbourne. London and the boroughs elected Liberals, the counties Conservatives. Before the new members assembled, the old Houses of Parliament were burned down on October 17th; but, happily, Westminster Hall was saved. The new Parliament met on February 19th, 1835, and Peel was defeated on the election of Speaker and the Address to the Throne. He was afterwards beaten on the question of the Irish Church. He did not resign, however, until April 7th, having held power for four months. Strangely enough, his failures increased his reputation. Guizot said of him that he was the most Liberal of Conservatives, the most Conservative of Liberals, and the most capable man of all in both parties. Bulwer, who voted against him, declared that never a statesman entered office more triumphantly than Peel left it. The King had no alternative but to recall Melbourne, when Spring Rice became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord John Russell Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons, while Lord Palmerston received the seals of the Foreign Office.

Parliament had now leisure to turn its attention to the reform of municipal government. Most of the new boroughs, constituted under the Reform Act, had no municipal government at all, and the municipalities under which the old boroughs were governed were generally corrupt. Many towns were ruled by small, irresponsible, and dishonest oligarchies. A Commission was appointed to inquire into the state of municipal corporations in England, Wales and Ireland. The inquiry began in the autumn of 1833

and was not concluded till the spring of 1835. The report then issued was very long and elaborate. The Commission had speedily ascertained that an unreformed House of Commons and unreformed corporations went together: that both were founded on monopoly and supported by corruption. The reform of Parliament naturally carried with it the reform of the corporations, and the Ministers who had introduced the Bill for reforming the one were charged with a second task in the reformation of the other.

Lord John Russell proposed that the Bill which he introduced should apply to 183 boroughs, not including the metropolis. The general provisions were that the parliamentary boundary was to be the boundary of the municipality; that the borough was to be governed by a mayor and council; that the councillors were to be elected by residents who had been ratepayers for three consecutive years. The twenty largest boroughs were to be divided into wards, with a certain number of councillors attached to each. The Tories naturally opposed the measure, but it passed the Commons, owing to the statesmanlike moderation of Peel, who supported the principles of the Bill. In the Upper House, however, Lord Lyndhurst made amendments which entirely altered its character, transforming it into a Conservative measure, and, so changed, the Bill passed the Lords in August, 1838. The Commons accepted some of the amendments, but rejected those which essentially altered the character of the measure. Wellington advised the Lords to submit, and even Lyndhurst was convinced that further resistance was useless. The Bill—in all essential particulars the same measure as that which Lord John Russell had introduced—thus became law. The Lords by their action lost greatly in the opinion of the country.

Ireland still continued in a state of disturbance. During the preceding fifty years a number of political societies, called "Orange Lodges," in memory of the Protestant liberator, William of Orange, had sprung up in Ulster. Their object was to support the cause of Protestantism against the members of Catholic associations, who were called "Ribbon men." The attempt to diminish the revenues of the Irish Church favoured the extension of these lodges, which spread throughout England, Ireland, and the Colonies. The number of their members amounted to 300,000, and the Duke of Cumberland, the King's brother, was placed at their head, with almost despotic power. It was felt that the existence of these lodges was a serious political menace, and Parliament declared against them, while the King asserted his firm intention of discouraging all such societies in his dominions. The

result was that the lodges were broken up, and the organisation which threatened the peace of the Empire ceased to exist.

Other social reforms followed. A uniform registration of births, deaths, and marriages was ordered throughout the kingdom. The revenues of bishops and canons of the Established Church were remodelled, while the tax on newspapers was reduced to one penny, in spite of the Tories, who preferred cheap soap to a cheap Press. The debates of the Commons also began to be published, for the first time, by the House itself. But the passage of these reforms exhausted the force of the Ministry, and, distracted by internal dissensions, they failed to carry further measures of improvement. Discredited by repeated defeats, they would have resigned but for the illness and death of the King, who expired on June 20th. William IV. was honest and conscientious. His reign witnessed the passage of the Reform Bill and the other beneficent measures which accompanied and followed it, and a strong impulse was given to commerce by the extension of railways and the use of steamships. Whether, as a Sovereign, he had much to do with the advance or not, there can be no doubt but that in the reign of William IV. the progress of the nation was unusually rapid.

On Tuesday morning, June 20th, 1837, shortly after two o'clock, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chamberlain left Windsor for Kensington Palace, where the Princess Victoria was residing with her mother, to inform the girl, who was now Queen, of the King's death. They reached the Palace about five, and rang and stamped for a considerable time before they roused the porter to open the gate. They were again kept waiting in the courtyard, and were then shown into one of the lower rooms, where they seemed to be forgotten by everybody. They rang the bell and desired that the attendant of the Princess Victoria might be sent to inform Her Royal Highness that they requested an audience on business of importance. When the attendant came she said that the Princess was in bed and sound asleep, and that she could not venture to disturb her. They replied, "We have come to the Queen on business of State, and even her sleep must give place to that." To prove that she did not wish to keep them waiting, the girl-Queen came into the room in a loose white dressing-gown and shawl, her night-cap thrown off, her hair falling over her shoulders, her feet in slippers, tears in her eyes, but perfectly collected and dignified.

Queen Victoria has left an account of this event in her own words, so simple and graphic that it should not be omitted in any mention of this momentous occasion. "I was awoke at six o'clock

by Marie, who told me that the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Conyngham were here, and wished to see me. I got out of bed and went into my sitting-room (only in my dressing-gown) and saw them, and Lord Conyngham then acquainted me that my poor uncle, the King, was no more and had expired at twelve minutes past two in the morning, and consequently that I am Queen. Lord Conyngham then knelt down and kissed my hand." After she had received an account of the King's last moments she went to her room and dressed. She then notes, " Since it has pleased Providence to place me in this station, I shall do my utmost to fulfil my duty towards my country. I am very young, and perhaps in many, though not in all, things, inexperienced; but I am sure that few have more real goodwill and real desire to do what is fit and right than I have."

The Queen's diary continues: " At nine came Lord Melbourne, whom I saw in my room and, of course, quite alone, as I shall always do with all my Ministers. He kissed my hand, and I then acquainted him that it had long been my intention to retain him and the rest of the present Ministry at the head of affairs, that it could not be in better hands than his. He then again kissed my hand. He then sent to me the declaration which I was to send to the Council, which he wrote himself, and which is a very fine one. I then talked with him some little time longer, after which he left me. He was in full dress. I like him very much, and feel confidence in him. He is a very straightforward, honest, clever, and good man. At about eleven Lord Melbourne came again to me and spoke to me about various subjects. At about half-past eleven I went downstairs and held a Council in the red saloon. I went in, of course, quite alone and remained seated the whole time. My two uncles, the Dukes of Cumberland and Sussex, and Lord Melbourne conducted me. I was not at all nervous, and had the satisfaction of hearing that the people were satisfied with what I had done and how I had done it."

The first disturbance to the quiet of Victoria's reign came from Canada. The condition of that country was perilous. Lower or Eastern Canada was inhabited, for the most part, by men of French descent, whereas Upper Canada was almost exclusively British. The French of Lower Canada were disinclined to forge ahead, whereas the inhabitants of the Upper Province were supporters of energetic progress. The most important statesman in Lower Canada was Papineau. He had been Speaker of the House, and had planned a Convention to discuss the grievances of the Colony, the chief of which was the need of self-government,

although it was said that he desired to make Canada into an independent State. A rebellion broke out in the lower province; it was not very important at first, but was clumsily dealt with and much blood was shed. The disturbance spread to Upper Canada, but here it took slight hold. The Earl of Durham was selected by Lord John Russell to settle these disturbances. He was an extremely able man, full of energy and passion, who has never received that meed of praise to which his public services entitled him.

Durham arrived at Quebec at the end of May, 1838, taking with him, as secretary, Charles Buller, the most brilliant of the younger generation of public men. He soon found himself considerably hampered by the action of Parliament, which passed a Bill abridging his powers. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies, and there can be little doubt but that, if Durham had been left to himself, he would have carried to a triumphant issue the accommodation which he was charged to effect. He secured a generous amnesty, but excluded from its operation Papineau and others, whom he exiled to Bermuda, threatening them with death if they returned. As they had not been tried, the action of the Governor was illegal. He also dismissed his regular Council and appointed another. Nothing could be more heroic than his performance of duty while wasting with an incurable disease and threatened by factious opposition. His chief antagonist in England was Brougham, with whom he had a personal quarrel. As the Home Ministry disallowed the ordinances, Durham had no alternative but to resign. Before he left Canada he issued a proclamation in self-defence, which, to say the least of it, was extremely indiscreet, and its terms were condemned by Ministers. He set out for England shortly after the issue of the proclamation, but before he could reach home he was recalled. He came back a disgraced man and was accorded a triumphant reception. He spent his leisure in drawing up, with the assistance of Charles Buller, a report which marked a new era in the government of colonies. His principles of administration, which in two or three years were in full operation in Canada, were afterwards extended to all colonies of European race which have any claim to the character of important communities.

On May 8th, 1838, the so-called People's Charter, the manifesto of the Chartists, was published to the world. Chartism sprang from the conviction that the Liberals in Parliament did not intend to push Reform any farther. Regarded in the light of modern ideas, the Charter is not very formidable. It consisted

of six points. Universal suffrage came first, which really meant manhood suffrage, as the promoters had no idea of extending the suffrage to women. This was followed by vote by ballot and annual parliaments. Then came the abolition of the property qualification for members, the payment of members, and the division of the country into equal electoral districts.

The Ministry, in the meantime, became gradually weaker, and were only allowed to exist on sufferance. They had no power to carry measures or to support those who served them. In May, 1839, they were defeated on the Jamaica Bill, which proposed to suspend the Constitution of Jamaica for five years, in consequence of the difficulties made by the Assembly in connection with the emancipation of the slaves. The Bill was opposed by the Radicals, led by Joseph Hume and by Sir Robert Peel, and only carried by five votes. The Ministry resigned, but Sir Robert Peel would not take office unless permitted to make changes in the Queen's personal household. He felt he could not retain his authority if the Queen were surrounded by ladies deeply devoted to the opposite party. The Queen vehemently objected to any change being made, an attitude which she afterwards admitted to have been mistaken, and Lord Melbourne returned to office.

The same year witnessed the introduction of the penny post, though the reform did not come into full operation until January 10th, 1840. The plan of conveying letters for a uniform low charge was invented by Rowland Hill, but the adhesive stamp was of another origin. At this time the postage of no letter was less than twopence. Letters from the country to London cost from sixpence to a shilling; letters from Scotland or Ireland from a shilling to eighteenpence. Rowland Hill showed that the cost of carrying each letter was extremely small, and that, if a stimulus were given to correspondence by lower rates, the profits would increase enormously. Experience has amply confirmed the truth of his reasoning, and cheap postage has been adopted by all civilised countries. Of course, the introduction of postage stamps greatly facilitated the new arrangements. In consequence of this change the privilege of franking letters was abolished.

Chartist riots continued during the whole of the year. The worst of them took place at Newport, in Monmouthshire, on November 4th. The rioters, after sacking the villages through which they passed, and compelling the whole adult population to join them, reached Newport at four o'clock in the morning, 50,000 strong, and were joined there by another division. The soldiers

received the order to load, but the mob fired first. Then, under the fire of the soldiers, the mob dispersed.

The question of the Queen's marriage now began to assume prominence. The Coronation had taken place on June 28th, 1838. The Queen has given an interesting sketch of it in her "Journal": "I was awoke at four o'clock in the morning by the guns in the Park, and could not get much sleep afterwards, on account of the noise of the people and the bands. Got up at seven, feeling strong and well. At half-past nine I went into the next room and dressed exactly in my House of Lords costume. At ten I got into the State coach, with the Duke of Sutherland and Lord Albemarle, and began our progress. It was a fine day, and the crowds of people exceeded what I have ever seen. Many as there were the day I went to the City, it was nothing to the multitudes, the millions, of my loyal subjects who were assembled in every spot to witness the procession. Their good humour and excessive loyalty were beyond everything, and I cannot say how proud I feel to be Queen of such a nation. I was alarmed at times, for fear that the people would be crushed and squeezed on account of the tremendous rush and pressure.

"I reached the Abbey, amid deafening cheers, at a little after half-past eleven. I first went into the robing-room, quite close to the entrance, where I found my eight train-bearers. After putting on my mantle, and the young ladies having properly got hold of it, and Lord Conyngham holding the end of it, I left the robing-room and the procession began. The sight was splendid; the rank of Peeresses, quite beautiful, all in their robes, and the Peers on the other side. My young train-bearers were always near me, and helped me when I wanted anything. The Bishop of Durham stood on the side near me, but he was very maladroit, and never could tell me what was to take place.

"At the beginning of the anthem I retired to St. Edward's Chapel, a dark, small place, immediately behind the altar; took off my crimson robe and kirtle, and put on the supertunica of cloth of gold, took off also my circlet of diamonds, and then proceeded bareheaded into the Abbey. I was then seated upon St. Edward's Chair. Then followed all the various things, and last the crown being placed on my head, which was, I must own, a most beautiful, impressive moment. All the Peers and Peeresses put on their coronets at the same instant. My excellent Lord Melbourne, who stood very close to me during the whole ceremony, was completely overcome at this moment and very much affected. He gave me such a kind and, I may say, such a fatherly look. The

Enthronisation and the Homage of, first, all the Bishops, then my uncles, and lastly of all the Peers, in their respective order, was very fine. Poor old Lord Rolle, who is eighty-two, and dreadfully infirm, in attempting to ascend the steps, fell and rolled quite down, but was not the least hurt. When he attempted to re-ascend them I got up and advanced to the end of the steps to prevent another fall.

"I then again descended from the Throne, and repaired, with all the Peers bearing the Regalia, to St. Edward's Chapel, as it is called; but, as Lord Melbourne says, was more unlike a chapel than anything he had ever seen, for what was called an altar was covered with sandwiches, bottles of wine, etc. There we waited some minutes. The Archbishop came in, and ought to have delivered the orb to me; but I had already got it, and he was so confused and puzzled and knew nothing and went away. The procession being formed, I replaced my crown, which I had taken off for a few minutes, took the orb in my left hand, and the sceptre in my right, and, thus loaded, proceeded through the Abbey, which resounded with cheers, to the first robing-room, and here we waited for at least an hour, with all my ladies and trainbearers.

"The Archbishop had, most awkwardly, put the ring on the wrong finger, and the consequence was that I had the greatest difficulty to take it off again, which I at last did with much pain. At half-past four I re-entered my carriage, the crown on my head and the sceptre and orb in my hands, and we proceeded the same way as we came, the crowds, if possible, having increased. The enthusiasm, affection, and loyalty were really touching, and I shall ever remember the day as the proudest of my life. I came home a little after six, really not feeling tired."

The choice of the King of the Belgians, in selecting a husband for the Queen, had fallen on a member of his own house, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, brother of the reigning Duke, and he took great pains with the Prince's education to fit him for his responsibilities. The Queen wrote to her uncle Leopold, on October 12th, 1839, that the cousins had arrived at half-past seven on Thursday, both looking very well and much improved. "Ernest is grown quite handsome, and Albert's beauty is most striking, and he is amiable and unaffected—in short, very fascinating. He is exceedingly admired here." Two days afterwards she told Prince Albert that she wished to marry him. "The warm affection he showed me on learning this gave me great pleasure. He seems perfection, and I think I have the prospect of great

happiness before me. I love him more than I can say, and I shall do everything in my power to render the sacrifice he has made (for a sacrifice, in my opinion, it is) as small as I can. These last few days have passed like a dream to me, and I am so much bewildered by it all that I know hardly how to write; but I do feel very, very happy."

The marriage took place on February 10th, 1840, at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, and the married couple went to Windsor in the afternoon. The marriage, although arranged by statesmen, was a marriage of love. The Prince's personal virtues contributed largely to the prosperity of the reign, and his many-sided culture and intellectual activity left their mark on the community. He contributed to making German thought, in its various branches, current coin in his adopted country, and in this regard achieved a result which the union with Hanover failed to accomplish.

The year 1840 was marked by British intervention in Syria. In 1832 Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, had made war upon his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey, had captured Acre, occupied Damascus, and, in 1833, secured for himself the whole of Syria and the Province of Adana. In 1839, the Sultan, feeling himself stronger, had renewed the war, but Mehemet Ali had gained a decided victory over the Turks, and the Turkish fleet deserted to his cause. A Quadruple Alliance was formed between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia to force the Turks and Egyptians to make peace. From this alliance France held aloof; having great influence in Egypt, she naturally supported the Egyptians against the Turks. In fact, the Egyptians governed Syria better than the Turks did. For a short time it seemed possible that war might break out between France and Great Britain, but France eventually became convinced that she could not stand against the rest of Europe. Beirut was attacked and Acre captured by Admiral Sir Charles Napier, and Mehemet Ali was turned out of Syria. In compensation he was recognised as Pasha of Egypt, with virtual independence.

Melbourne's administration had now lost credit, and a vote of no confidence, taken in April, was rejected by only twenty-one. In August, however, the Government was able to pass a Municipal Act for Ireland, the measure abolishing fifty-eight municipalities and reconstituting ten. But Ministers failed to carry other measures of importance, and a Sugar Duty Bill was rejected by a majority of thirty-six. After this Sir Robert Peel brought forward a motion of want of confidence, which was carried by a single vote.

DEFEAT OF MELBOURNE

Lord Melbourne had the alternative of resigning or dissolving Parliament, and chose the latter; but the country decided against him. In the new Parliament, which met in August, 1841, the Conservatives numbered 367 and the Liberals 286. The Ministers were defeated on the Address by a large majority and, to the distress of the Queen, Lord Melbourne resigned.

CHAPTER II

THE CITIZEN KING

LOUIS PHILIPPE ascended the throne of the Bourbons as King, not of France, but of the French. He was supported by the heads of the Liberal Opposition and the leaders of the Napoleonic party who had returned from exile. The new monarchy was distinctly middle-class, finding favour with the manufacturers and shopkeepers, who dreaded a republic on the one hand and an aristocratic autocracy on the other. The supporters of the monarchy of July did not form a homogeneous body. They were composed of a party of movement and a party of reaction. The first, represented by Laffitte, Lafayette and Odilon Barrot, sympathised with the popular risings in different parts of Europe, and wished France to take the side of peoples against their Sovereigns. The second agreed with Louis Philippe in thinking that the Revolution of July had been closed on August 9th. The leaders of this party were Guizot, Casimir Périer and the Duc de Broglie. The King, however, was obliged to form his first Ministry from both sections, and we find that it included a number of incongruous names. It comprised Laffitte, Dupont de l'Eure, Bignon, Gérard, Molé, Casimir Périer, Dupin, Guizot, Broglie. Lafayette commanded the National Guard, as he had done in the days of the Revolution, and Odilon Barrot was Prefect of the Seine.

This divergence of opinion became clearly shown in the attitude of the Government towards the Belgian Revolution of 1830. Some believed that they were bound to support a revolt which had directly sprung from their own. They called upon the King to declare himself a supporter of the democracy, to punish the Ministers of Charles X. who had signed the ordinances, and to prepare the way for a declaration of war against the Sovereigns and Ministers of the Holy Alliance. Polignac, Peyronnet, and two others were confined in the Château of Vincennes. The Chamber, at the end of September, had voted their accusation, and many were in favour of their death. The Chamber, however, presented an address to the King, recommending that capital punishment should be done away with, and Louis Philippe expressed his satisfaction. The agitation, however, continued.

On October 17th rioters proceeded to the Palais Royal, crying "Death to the Ministers!" and on the following day a mob of ruffians marched to Vincennes to execute the prisoners. They were resisted by Dumesnil, who declared that, if the gates were forced, he would blow the château into the air. In this crisis, which threatened the safety of the King, the Conservatives Broglie and Guizot determined to resign. Louis Philippe adopted a moderate course with tact and courage. He reconstituted the Ministry with Laffitte and Dupont de l'Eure at its head; but appointed as Minister of the Interior Montalivet, a man devoted to himself. Montalivet proposed a reform of the electorate, which, by reducing the property qualification for the franchise, doubled the number of voters, while his colleague Mérilhou laid before the Chamber of Peers a scheme of public education which he thought would be popular in the country. At the same time the King resolutely opposed all violence. However, the trial of the Ministers took place on December 21st, before the Chamber of the Peers. They were condemned to imprisonment for life, but the extremists desired their death, and a revolt took place, which it required all the efforts of the army and the National Guard to keep in check.

On February 14th, 1831, the anniversary of the death of the Duc de Berri, the Legitimists held a special service in the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, when a collection was made for the soldiers of the Royal Guard who had been wounded in the days of the Revolution. The angry mob attacked the church and the presbytery, and on the following day the palace of the Archbishop was attacked, and Notre Dame itself was in danger of being sacked. A strong feeling against the clergy broke out, both in the capital and in the provinces, and the King was forced to abstain from attending mass. The result was to render the Liberals unpopular with the middle classes who governed the country. When the King refused to support the inhabitants of the Italian duchies of the Emilia against an Austrian intervention, Laffitte resigned.

He was succeeded by Casimir Périer, the head of the Conservative party, a man of large fortune and commanding temper, clear head and energetic spirit, but possessed, above all, with the sense of authority and a passion for power. His manners were imperious, his tone of voice stern and occasionally offensive. He kept the King under strict discipline; every dispatch was submitted to him before it met the eyes of the Sovereign; and no communication was made by the King to the Ministers without the previous approval of the Minister. He was always ready to take

responsibility upon himself, even if it brought hatred with it, and aimed at the establishment of a free but regular government, a government of peace which encouraged no violence, either at home or abroad. He dissolved the Chamber on May 31st, 1831, and asked the electors to decide between the new monarchy and the old. The enlarged electoral body gave a decisive verdict, which disarmed, once and for all, the forces of Legitimism and at the same time repressed the Radicals. Meanwhile, the heads of the Opposition, Arago, Odilon Barrot and Laffitte, were returned to the Chamber.

In fourteen months Casimir Périer had firmly established his authority over the Chamber, and the power of the Chamber over the Sovereign and the country. He carried to a practical result the programme of the Doctrinaires and the more Liberal Conservatives. To the democracy he opposed the army; to the revolutionaries the doctrines of Liberalism. He exercised a dictatorship, but a liberal dictatorship. He called to his side Dupin, Guizot and Thiers. Unfortunately his rule was short. The cholera, the scourge of God, which broke out in Paris on March 26th, 1832, after a masked ball, and slew nearly 20,000 victims in three months, brought about a kind of truce between the violent antagonisms of the two parties. Indeed, most of the Deputies had left Paris to avoid the pestilence. The Prime Minister, with rare devotion, paid a visit to the hospital, the Hôtel Dieu, accompanied by the Duc d'Orléans, the eldest son of the King, but he was attacked by the disease and died on May 16th, after five weeks' illness. He disappeared from the scene just when the new monarchy was about to undergo its most serious trial.

In the night of April 28th, 1832, an Italian steamer, the *Carlo Alberto*, landed in the neighbourhood of Marseilles the Duchesse de Berri, accompanied by some of her faithful supporters, such as Bourmont and Kergolay, with the object of recovering the crown for her son, the Duc de Bordeaux. She failed to rouse the south of France, but collected the chiefs of a new Vendéan insurrection at Nantes, and forced the Government to declare a state of siege in four Departments. With superb audacity, she crossed the south, and entered Bordeaux in an open carriage. Reaching in this way the Château de Plassac, she issued to the people of La Vendée a summons to arms for May 24th. Only a few hundreds answered the call, and two engagements, one at La Chêne, the other at La Pénissière, sufficed to crush the movement. The defeated duchess wandered about in strange disguise from cottage to cottage, but was eventually caught and imprisoned

in the citadel of Blaye. Here she was delivered of a daughter, the fruit of a secret marriage with Count Hector Lucchesi di Palli, Chancellor of the King of the two Sicilies. This somewhat untoward, but not dishonourable, event, lending a touch of the ludicrous to her case, rendered her politically powerless for the future.

A still more serious insurrection broke out in Paris on June 5th, on the occasion of the funeral of General Lamarque. It began with a conflict with the Municipal Guard at the Bridge of Austerlitz, and the quarters of the Temple, St. Martin, St. Dénis, and the Place de la Bastille were soon covered with barricades. But the insurgents had little chance of success. They were not joined by the workmen, and the middle classes were enraged against them, while the National Guard assisted the troops of the line on the following day, when the rioters were dispersed; they were treated with clemency, however, only a few being punished.

The natural successor of Casimir Périer would have been Guizot, the leader of the Doctrinaires. But the King had the strongest objection to appointing him. He had got rid of one dictator and did not wish to subject himself to another. For four months, from June to October, 1832, the King strained every nerve to avoid entrusting the government to Guizot and his friends. He attracted to his side men whom he disliked less, such as Montalivet and Sebastiani, and kept for himself the Presidency of the Council. But events were too strong for him, and, after October 11th, he gave to Marshal Soult the task of forming a Ministry. Broglie became Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thiers took the portfolio of the Interior, and Guizot that of Education. It was a "Ministry of all the talents," a triumph for the Doctrinaires.

In February, 1833, Guizot was able to say, "Insurrection is dead, the societies are dead, revolutionary propagandism is dead, and the revolutionary spirit is dead." This was too optimistic a view, but, in order to destroy the evil of unrest and all prospect of its revival, Guizot passed a law concerning primary education in June, 1833, which invited the Catholics to associate themselves with State officials in the work of establishing internal and social peace. He regarded a system of religious education as the best means of arresting disintegration and the dangers to which society was exposed. Thiers, on his side, urged the adoption of a system of public works at a cost of 100,000,000 francs to be spread over five years.

But, in this very summer, the heads of the Republican party were stimulated to fresh efforts. The Ministry attempted to suppress

activity by indicting twenty-seven of the Republican leaders before the Court of Assizes. They were all acquitted, and this gave new encouragement to the leaders, who thought the time had come to unfurl their standard. An explosion was brought about through an attempt made by the Ministry forcibly to suppress strikes. In Lyons an insurrection lasted from April 9th to April 13th, and when news of the outbreak reached Paris barricades were raised there by the Republicans. Thiers adopted rigorous measures, arresting the most active members of the Society of the Rights of Man, and holding 40,000 soldiers in readiness to march. In a short time all the positions of the insurgents were captured. Attempts of a similar kind made at St. Étienne, Clermont, Marseilles, Belfort, Luneville, and elsewhere were extinguished with equal success.

Opportunity was now taken to crush the Republican faction. Laws of great severity were passed against the carrying of arms and against the democratic journals. The elections which took place in May, 1834, produced a Parliament still more hostile to Republican ideas. It redoubled the severity of previous Ministries. During the last four years, there had been 529 Press trials. Journalists had been condemned to periods of imprisonment which amounted to 106 years, and the fines paid for offences reached the sum of 400,000 francs. The *Tribune*, the principal organ of the Republicans, had been prosecuted 111 times, and its editor had been condemned to imprisonment twenty times. The *National*, the organ of Armand Carrel, had been treated with similar harshness. The Government was determined to bring the whole of the offenders before a special High Court composed of the Chamber of Peers. Two thousand persons had been arrested, and 164 were brought to trial. The trial did not begin till March 5th, 1835, and was not concluded till January 23rd, 1836, by which time 4,000 witnesses had been examined. The offenders were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, but were all amnestied on the occasion of the marriage of the Duc d'Orléans, which took place on May 8th, 1836.

While this trial was proceeding, on July 28th, 1835, as Louis Philippe was riding with the most distinguished members of the Court, the Government, and the army, to attend a review in honour of the Revolution of July, a so-called infernal machine was exploded in the Boulevard du Temple close to the head of the cortège. The machine consisted of a row of musket-barrels filled with bullets, and was placed in a window commanding the procession. Eighteen persons who were close to the King were

killed, amongst them the ancient Marshal Mortier, Duc de Treviso, and many others were wounded. The King was slightly injured, but continued his progress with commendable courage. The author of this conspiracy was Joseph Fieschi, a Corsican adventurer of abandoned character, who had once served under Murat. He seemed to have had only two accomplices, who were guillotined with him on February 16th, and were regarded as martyrs by the Democrats and Socialists.

The result of this conspiracy was the passing of the Laws of September, three in number, dealing respectively with courts of assize, trial by jury, and the Press. The first gave the Ministry power to create as many courts of assize as might be thought necessary for trying offenders against the security of the State; the second allowed condemnations to take place by a bare majority of the jury; and the third established in their most repulsive form the most stringent laws against the Press. The Press law was directed equally against Legitimists and Republicans, both opponents of the Government, but the Legitimists, having a larger command of money, were less affected by it. The laws were strongly opposed by Royer-Collard and Odilon Barrot. Some months afterwards Armand Carrel, the brilliant editor of the *National*, fell (July 24th, 1836) in a duel with Émile de Girardin, in the cause of the liberty of the Press.

Meanwhile a third Party was being organised, consisting partly of men who could not make up their minds, and partly of men whose ambitions had been disappointed. These were favoured by Louis Philippe, who did not like the Doctrinaires. The consequence was that the Broglie Ministry was overthrown, and, in February, 1836, a new Ministry was formed, in which the Presidency of the Council and the portfolio of Foreign Affairs were held by Thiers.

The first Ministry of Thiers lasted from February 22nd to September 6th, 1836. From the first there was dissension between the Sovereign and his Ministers. They both determined to govern and, when this could not be done openly, they resorted to obscure and subtle means of gaining their ends. Thiers once said to the King: "Sire, I am very subtle," and Louis Philippe replied: "I am more subtle than you, because I do not say so." The King's declared policy was to resist the Revolutionary movement at home and, while enforcing respect for existing treaties, to avoid interference in the affairs of other States. Lamartine once said to Thiers with great truth: "You have in you a restless, jealous, insatiable spirit, which nothing can appease, and which brooks

no rival. You have a passion for governing, for governing alone, for governing always, for governing with a majority or with a minority, for governing either with or against all, for reigning alone, for reigning always and at any price."

The difference broke into a flame with reference to the civil war between the Carlists and the Cristinos, which still continued in Spain. Great Britain intervened, according to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance. As early as March 18th, 1836, Thiers protested to Lord Palmerston against the policy of the Quadruple Alliance, and reserved to France liberty of action with regard to Spain. In July he made preparations for the intervention. He increased the foreign legion, which the Government had lent to the Queen of Spain against the Carlists, and offered the services of a general to command the royal army. He said: "We intend to annihilate Don Carlos, the hero of Navarre." By the Revolution of La Granja, which broke out on August 12th, 1836, the Queen-Mother was forced by the party of progress to accept the liberal Constitution of 1812. On August 24th, Louis Philippe, having heard that Thiers had allowed it to be announced that a French army would enter Spain, had an official denial inserted in the *Moniteur*, without communicating with his Minister. Thiers, unable to send the army which he had promised, decided to keep his soldiers in arms at the foot of the Pyrenees, but the King ordered him to disband them. Nothing but resignation was possible. Thiers exclaimed indignantly: "The King does not desire intervention; we desire it, so I resign."

A new Ministry was formed, with Molé as President of the Council and Guizot as Minister of Education. Molé was opposed to the Doctrinaires and devoted to the King; Guizot, the head of the Doctrinaires, was purposely kept in a subordinate position. The Ministry was compelled to deal with the affairs of Algiers, the conquest of which had been among the last acts of the Bourbon dynasty. The subjection of the country had been continued with varying success. General after general had applied himself to this task, without producing any decisive results, and the resistance of the Algerians had been strengthened by the alliance of neighbouring States. In February, 1834, after some victories had been gained in the province of Oran, peace was made with the young Emir, Abd-el-Kader, a man of remarkable powers and rare dignity of character, who had justly obtained a pre-eminence in the councils of his countrymen. It was now determined to constitute Algiers a French colony, to put an end to the restricted occupation, and to make the country into a Gallic India, as a

valuable training-ground for soldiers and generals. This project led to a renewal of hostilities in 1835, at first with results disastrous to the French. Marshal Clauzel was sent as Governor to Algiers, with General Bugeaud and the Duc d'Orléans.

The conquest of the interior of the country was very difficult and was interrupted by many surprises. Clauzel came to Paris to consult upon future operations, and at that very time the change of Ministry took place. Thiers had desired the conquest of the colony, which was also the view of Clauzel, but Molé advocated a middle course, while the British Government viewed the extension of French colonies with suspicion. Eventually, the policy of Molé prevailed. Marshal Valée, the conqueror of Constantine, said: "I desire the French to restore Roman Africa. I will endeavour to found cities and open roads of communication. The army shall no longer scour the provinces. I will go slowly, but will never retreat. Wherever, at my bidding, France sets her foot, I will establish trading stations. The cities which already exist I will develop." This programme became the policy of the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and the country.

The policy of the King and of Molé had rendered France secure against the attempts of Republicans and Legitimists, but a new danger threatened it by the revival of Napoleonism, which might have been thought to have become extinct by the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of the great Napoleon, in 1832. The head of the Napoleon family was now Prince Louis Napoleon, son of the younger brother of Napoleon, who had been King of Holland, and Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine. He had long brooded over his fortunes, and had succeeded in gaining over to his side some members of the garrison of Strasbourg, On October 29th, 1836, Prince Napoleon suddenly appeared at Strasburg, and called upon Vaudrey, colonel of an artillery regiment and an ardent Napoleonist, to assist him. Vaudrey summoned his regiment at 5 a.m. on the following day to the courtyard of the barracks. There Louis Napoleon appeared in the uniform of his uncle, accompanied by a few officers, one of whom carried a tame eagle. The soldiers responded to the appeal and marched through the city, arresting in their bedrooms Voirol, the commandant, and the prefect. They then proceeded to the artillery barracks, where their appeal elicited no response. Prince Louis was arrested without shedding of blood, the revolted artillery regiment marched quietly back to its barracks, and the incident was at an end. After a few days' imprisonment, he was allowed to go to America, and his accomplices were tried and

acquitted. It was safer to make an attempt of this kind ridiculous than to render it formidable by severity.

At the same time Napoleonism tended to increase in strength and, indeed, Louis Philippe was not hostile to its development, as the policy of its supporters served to accentuate the difference between the policy of the Monarchy of July and that of the Restoration. Thiers, the illustrious author of *Consulat et l'Empire*, was not averse to the admiration of the hero whom he had deified, and those who had borne a conspicuous part under the Empire were, therefore, well received at the Tuileries. The palaces of Paris and Versailles were decorated with pictures of Napoleon's battles; the Arc de l'Étoile, inscribed with the names of the victories of the Empire, was brought to completion; the column in the Place Vendôme was surmounted by the statue of "the Little Corporal," in his cocked hat and grey overcoat. Bridges, streets, and squares were named after Napoleon's victories; in the Palace of Versailles, converted into a National Museum, his name was placed by the side of that of the Grand Monarch. Bonapartism, idealised by poetry and legend and associated with the tragic death of its hero on the rock of St. Helena, was the political creed of the large majority of the nation. The memorial of St. Helena was in everyone's hand, Napoleon's name was the burden of the national poetry, but all this enthusiasm had not sufficed to carry Prince Louis into the Tuileries, as it had carried his uncle, after the return from Elba. Balzac, a great admirer of the Emperor, has shown us that the major proportion of the healthiest elements in French society at this time were drawn from the traditions of the Empire, and were, indeed, the best antidote to the commonplace ideas and smug shopkeeping vulgarity which were the prevailing notes of the middle-class Monarchy of July.

The new elections of the autumn of 1837 were on the whole favourable to the Government. The parties in the Chambers were reckoned, as is usual in Continental Chambers, from Left to Right, the Left being the Liberals and the Right the Conservatives. The Left was divided into three sections. The Extreme Left—or what in England would be called the Radicals—still theoretically Republican, numbered Garnier Pagès as its most important member, but it was afterwards strengthened by the adhesion of Henri Martin and Ledru Rollin. The Left, the old Republican party, was led by Dupont de l'Eure, Arago the astronomer, and the banker Laffitte. But Laffitte at this time lost his election. Ledru Rollin was head of a party called the Dynastic Left, which was in favour of a democratic monarchy. Between the Left and the Right was

the Centre, divided into Left Centre and Right Centre, the former being led by Thiers, whose chief characteristic was the support of a spirited foreign policy. The Right Centre, which was as large as all the other parties put together, was composed mainly of prosperous merchants, but also contained the Doctrinaires, led by Guizot. Between the two Centres there was a small independent party of no great importance. The Right consisted of Legitimists of different complexion, but numbered only between twenty and thirty members.

The year 1837 may be considered as the high-water mark of the July Monarchy. In the last days of 1836 an attempt on the life of the King was made by a young man, named Meunier, a contemptible creature, who was not worth executing, and was punished by banishment. Molé and Montalivet were the leaders of the Government, and Thiers had promised the King that, as leader of the Left Centre, he would cause no embarrassment to the Cabinet. Charles X. had expired at Görz and Queen Hortense died at Arenenberg, on the Lake of Constance, while her son Louis Napoleon sought refuge in England. The time was come when an amnesty could be granted to political offenders. This was issued in May, 1837, and tended to appease the opponents of the Monarchy, at least for a season.

The time had arrived for marrying the Duc d'Orléans, the heir to the throne. His hand was sought by the King of Prussia, for a princess of the House of Hohenzollern. But the Court of the Tuileries preferred an Austrian alliance, and the daughter of the Archduke Charles, the hero of Aspern, was selected. But this negotiation failed, from the opposition of the Legitimists. At last a suitable bride was found in the person of Princess Helen of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, a niece of Queen Louise of Prussia, a lady of heroic character, worthy to occupy any throne. Leaving her home in May, the Princess was met at Fulda by the Duc de Broglie, and the marriage took place at Fontainebleau. The festivities added brilliancy to a splendid summer, and the House of Orléans was definitely received into the circle of reigning families.

The opponents of the Government now set themselves to organise their forces—Thiers, Guizot, Broglie, Villemain, Odilon Barrot, and even Berryer the Legitimist. The only common ground of attack was that the monarchy was too pacific. The coalition stirred their countrymen to resume the great part which the Empire, and even the Convention, had once played in Europe. Louis Philippe dazzled them with the conquest of Algeria, and opened the museum of Versailles, a veritable pageant of military glory.

The great struggle took place in the debate on the Address, which began on December 26th, 1838, and lasted till January 19th, 1839. In this the whole Opposition took part, the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left. Thiers spoke thirteen times, and Guizot twelve. Molé fought with great courage, and won the day, but only by thirteen votes. The country, however, decided against him, and the King dissolved the Chambers at the beginning of February. The electoral excitement was at fever height, Thiers, Guizot, Odilon Barrot, Garnier Pagès all thundering against the Monarchy.

In the meantime a large majority declared in favour of the coalition. A few acute observers saw that the attack was not so much on the Ministry as on the Throne. The mutiny of 1839 was a prelude to the disaster of 1848. Molé resigned, but it was difficult to form a new Ministry. The bond of union between the Royalists and the Republicans had been broken. The interregnum lasted from March 8th to May 14th, and Soult, who was appointed Prime Minister, was unable to form a Government. He was, however, assisted by the conspiracy of Barbe, who, with the assistance of Blanqui and Martin Bernard, reorganised a secret society called "The Seasons," and prepared for a democratic insurrection. On May 12th an attempt was made to seize the Prefecture of Police and the Hôtel de Ville. It was easily defeated, and by the evening Barbe was a prisoner and Bernard and Blanqui in flight. Next day Soult succeeded in forming a Ministry, the principal members of which were Duchâtel, Dufaure and Villemain. A new compact was made with the King, and he was accorded almost complete control of the foreign policy of the country. But the passions aroused by the struggle were not so easily allayed.

An Eastern Question now arose, which seriously affected the relations between France and Great Britain. The Treaty of Kutajah made in 1833 had ceded Syria to the Pasha of Egypt. Palmerston, now British Foreign Minister, a strong supporter of the Turkish Government, was afraid of the growing influence of France in Egypt through her support of Mehemet Ali, and was an enemy of Russia, which, he thought, had allowed the favourable terms in the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. He therefore stirred up Sultan Mahmoud at Constantinople to recover his lost province. The Turkish army crossed the Euphrates, but was defeated by the Egyptian troops at Nisib on January 24th, 1839, and the road to Constantinople lay open to the conqueror, Mehemet Ali.

The five Great Powers exerted themselves to preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire. Soult had done his utmost to

maintain peace, and he now prevented the Egyptians from marching into Asia Minor and adding the Pashalik of Adana to their dominions. The news of the defeat of Nisib arrived at Constantinople just as Sultan Mahmoud was lying unconscious on his death-bed. He died on July 1st, 1839, leaving his empire to Abdul Mejid, a lad of sixteen. At the same time it became known that Ahmed Pasha, the Turkish admiral, had treacherously handed over his fleet to Mehemet Ali. The new Sultan made overtures to Mehemet Ali, offering him the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt, and the Government of Syria to his son Ibrahim, on condition that Syria should be restored to the Sultan; but Mehemet Ali met this with a dilatory answer.

It appeared, however, that a peaceable settlement could be made. The Tsar informed Palmerston that he was ready to allow the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi to lapse, and act henceforth in Turkey in concert with the other Powers, and, if the Dardanelles were closed to the ships of all nations, to extend the same system to the Bosphorus, unless he acted as the mandatory of Europe. Palmerston also agreed to allow Mehemet Ali to retain the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt, together with that of Acre, excluding the fortresses and the towns. But French feeling was opposed to this, and Soult shared the erroneous popular estimate of the invincibility of Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim. When the French pressed for further concessions, Palmerston withdrew those already made.

Guizot was now sent as ambassador to London, where he was extremely popular. Before he arrived, Soult had resigned, and Thiers taken his place, with Rémusat and Cousin as his colleagues. The first work of the Cabinet presided over by the historian of the Consulate and the Empire was to perform a great act of national expiation. A quarter of a century before, the Emperor Napoleon, after his defeat at Waterloo, had invoked the hospitality of the British people. This was refused him, and he was sent instead as a prisoner to St. Helena, where he spent six years of enforced idleness, until he died by a painful and lingering disease, which was caused, or aggravated, by the mode of life imposed upon him. His mother had been refused access to him; he had not been allowed to communicate with his friends; the title of Emperor, which had been acknowledged by Great Britain in the Congress of Chatillon, was now refused to him, and his unfortunately-chosen jailer inflicted upon him a number of petty insults, especially galling to a high, proud and sensitive spirit. A copy of Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*, which Napoleon, as a soldier, desired to present

to the officers of a regiment quartered in the island, was retained in the private library of the Governor, because it was stamped with the Imperial Eagle on the fly-leaf. In this small persecution the British Government, with Lord Liverpool at its head, were the chief culprits, and had a willing instrument in the Secretary of the Colonies, Earl Bathurst. At the very time when Napoleon was dying, when he could not enter or leave his bath without assistance, Sir Hudson Lowe was warned to redouble his precautions, because vigorous measures were being made to effect the Emperor's escape.

These things being so, conceive the surprise when, on May 12th, 1840, it was announced in the Press that the British Government had consented to allow the bones of the Emperor to be brought from St. Helena to Paris, that they might repose, according to his wish, on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom he loved so well. The Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philippe, accompanied by Bertrand, Gourgaud, Las Cases and Marchand, the companions of Naploeon's exile, sailed in a French frigate to bring home the ashes of the hero. When the coffin was opened, the faithful servants recognised the features of their master, as they saw him in his favourite dress, his heart, in a silver casket, resting between his knees. The coffin was covered with a velvet pall, decorated with golden bees, and the British Governor walked behind it bareheaded all the way from the grave to the coast. Some months afterwards, on December 15th, the remains were laid to rest under the dome of the Invalides, with every circumstance of military pomp and popular enthusiasm.

One result of this act of reparation was to revive the hopes of Louis Napoleon, on whom it ought to have produced just the contrary effect. Embarked on an English vessel, he landed at Wimereux, near Boulogne, with about sixty followers, and attempted to obtain possession of the town and the garrison, but failed in both objects. In a short time he and his accomplices were arrested and the ship in which he had arrived was secured. On board was found a wardrobe of Napoleonic properties, a tame eagle, similar to that which had accompanied him to Strasburg, typical of the glories of his uncle's empire. Decrees were found in his possession appointing Clauzel Commander-in-Chief and Thiers Prime Minister. Louis Napoleon was tried before the Chamber of Peers, condemned to imprisonment for life, and confined in the Castle of Ham, where he remained for nearly six years. He eventually escaped, with the help of Doctor Conneau, in the disguise of a workman named Badinguet, and again found an asylum in England.

The Eastern difficulty still continued. On July 15th, 1840, a Convention was signed in London between Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the Powers of the Quadruple Alliance, providing that, if Mehemet Ali would desist from his march on Constantinople, he should receive the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt, together with the administration for life of Southern Syria, with the title of Pasha of Acre and the command of the frontiers of that district. If he did not consent to these terms in ten days the offer of Syria and Egypt would be withdrawn, and if he continued to be obdurate for another ten days the whole offer would be null and void.

Meanwhile, the action of the Allies under the Convention had begun. On August 11th Sir Charles Napier had appeared off Beirut and summoned Suleiman Pasha to evacuate the town and Syria. No shot, however, was fired, and the French Government pressed Mehemet Ali to moderate his terms. On September 17th Thiers wrote to Guizot in London that Mehemet Ali would accept the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt and the Pashalik of Syria for his son Ibrahim for life. However, on September 11th Napier had bombarded Beirut and had landed a Turkish force to act against Ibrahim. Four days later the Sultan declared Mehemet Ali deposed, a sentence which he treated with contempt. He did this in reliance on the assistance of France. Guizot informed the British Government that Mehemet Ali would never submit to deposition. Thiers was for heroic measures. He talked of sweeping away the treaties of Vienna and advancing the French frontiers to the Rhine. Military preparations were made, and a war between Great Britain and France seemed inevitable. Louis Philippe set himself to resist this policy, and Thiers resigned. He was succeeded by Marshal Soult, with Guizot as Foreign Secretary.

However, the power of Mehemet Ali suddenly collapsed. When the combined fleets of Great Britain, Austria, and Turkey appeared off Beirut in August, the tribes of the Lebanon rose against Ibrahim, who was obliged to retire to the south, and on November 8th Acre surrendered to the allied fleet. On November 25th Napier sailed to Alexandria and induced Mehemet Ali to submit. Ibrahim received orders to evacuate Syria and, on January 10th, 1841, a joint note was presented to the Sultan, recommending that Mehemet Ali should receive the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt. The Porte endeavoured to procrastinate, but was compelled to give way. The solemn proclamation of the agreement at Alexandria, on June 10th, 1841, marked the close of a perilous phase of the Egyptian Question. By the Treaty of

London, signed by the five Powers on July 13th, 1841, Mehemet Ali was secured in the possession of Egypt. It was also decided that the Porte had a right to close the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to warships of all nations, while the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf were to remain open. France thus entered again into the circle of the European Concert, but her unwise diplomacy had ruined her ally and weakened her own prestige in Europe.

The Ministry of October 19th, as it was called, was entirely of one mind with the King, and gave him valuable assistance both at home and abroad. It was loyally supported by the majority of the Chamber. The landed proprietors, the industrial magnates, and the heads of commerce, who composed the majority of the deputies, had no inclination either for war or for revolution. The Monarchy of July, which had nearly perished in the events of 1840, was destined to live for another eight years, with such apparent stability that it seemed unshakable at the very eve of its downfall.

The history of the eight years after 1840 may be divided into four periods. The first ends with the death of the Duc d'Orléans, the second with the formation of the *Entente Cordiale* with Great Britain, the third with its rupture, and the fourth with the Revolution of February. Guizot was now fifty-three years of age. In the days of the Empire and the Restoration he ranked as a Liberal, but the political ideas which he then held had crystallised into irrefragable dogma. He did not realise that since that time ideas had advanced, that a new conception of liberty had arisen, that the number of persons interested in politics had increased largely, and that new classes had awakened to the realities of political life. His creed was still based on the Charter of 1814, modified by the Revolution of July.

Unfortunately, the Government was corrupt. The authority rested on the party of the Centre, which was chiefly occupied in making money for its own advantage. The great railway scheme of 1842, conceived for patriotic purposes, for linking up Paris with Lille, Strasbourg, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nantes and Cherbourg, while it gave an impetus to social and political reforms, became, by leaving the constitution and the making of the railways in the hands of the great companies, nothing less than a large engine of political bribery.

The elections of 1842 were conducted in an apathetic manner, and produced no radical change in the composition of the Chamber. But, on the very day (July 13th) that the elections took place the Duc d'Orléans was killed by a terrible accident. As he was

driving towards Neuilly, the horses ran away in the Champs Élysées. He jumped out of the carriage, was dashed to the ground, and died four hours afterwards from concussion of the brain. This was a serious blow to the dynasty, as the Comte de Paris, the heir to the throne, was only four years old, and Louis Philippe was seventy. The discussions on the Regency showed the divergency between the parties. They raised the question whether the Orléans Monarchy was to rest on the Revolution or the Charter; were the Chambers supreme, or did the Monarchy subsist independently of them? As this fundamental question could not be determined, a compromise became necessary. Thiers and Guizot insisted on the choice of the Duc de Nemours as Regent, as he seemed more able to resist the encroachments of the Left than th Duchesse d'Orléans, although she was very popular and likely to make liberal concessions. The Act of Regency strictly maintained the Salic and other laws, and therefore seemed to decide in favour of the *Charte*.

Thiers now devoted himself to writing his history of the Consulate and the Empire and to a large extent retired from politics, while Guizot took the opportunity of strengthening his position. In the meantime the House of Orléans received illumination from the military glory of the Duc d'Aumale. In the war against Abd-el-Kader in Algiers, while marching at the head of a flying squadron of cavalry, he suddenly came upon the *smala*, or travelling-camp, of the Emir at a little distance. With energy and dash he attacked, without waiting for his infantry, gained a complete victory, and brought back his prisoners and booty in triumph to Algiers, Abd-el-Kader escaping with difficulty. The brilliancy of this feat of arms has rarely been surpassed.

Guizot now set himself to form a closer connection with Great Britain, and chose, as an occasion for this, the opportunity of forcing a bargain about the Spanish marriages. The marriage of Queen Isabella of Spain was obviously a matter of more than domestic interest. Queen Cristina, her mother, devoted to French interests, was prepared to allow the marriage of her two daughters, Queen Isabella and the Infanta, Maria Louisa Fernanda, to the two sons of Louis Philippe, the Duc d'Aumale and the Duc de Montpensier. Another candidate for the hand of Queen Isabella was Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the cousin of Queen Victoria and her husband. The British Government objected to the French alliances, which were withdrawn simultaneously with the withdrawal of the proposal of Prince Leopold. It was now suggested by Guizot that the choice of Queen Isabella's husband might be postponed

till the Duc de Montpensier should marry the Infanta. This was again rejected by Palmerston.

In September, 1843, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited Louis Philippe at the Château d'Eu, and were enthusiastically received at Tréport. On September 2nd there was a banquet in the château; on the 4th a fête-champêtre on Mont d'Alcans in the forest; on the 5th a review; and on the 7th they returned to England. During their visit it was agreed that all candidates for the hand of the Queen of Spain should be excluded, except such as belonged to the Spanish-Bourbon line, and that there should be no talk of Montpensier marrying her sister until the Queen of Spain was married and had a child. This visit established the *Entente Cordiale*—the cordial understanding between France and Great Britain. The sojourn at Eu and the announcement of the *Entente Cordiale* resounded through France like a flourish of trumpets.

This arrangement, however, did not last long. Thiers had nothing but sarcasm for the *Entente Cordiale*, and circumstances soon arose which strained it to breaking point. In September, 1842, a French admiral, who had been instructed to occupy the Marquesas Islands, had taken upon himself to sign a treaty with Pomare, Queen of Tahiti, which placed Tahiti in the position of a State protected by France. At this moment Pritchard, a missionary and a consul, who advised the Queen on political matters, was absent, but on his return he pressed the Queen to hoist the flag of independence and throw off the French yoke. When the admiral returned, in November, 1843, he found that this had been done, and in March, 1844, ravaged the island and expelled Pritchard. The British made a serious remonstrance. The Opposition in the French Chambers clamoured for the recognition of the admiral's action, the annexation of Tahiti, and the rejection of foreign interference. But Louis Philippe said that a petty quarrel of this kind was not worth a war with Great Britain, while Guizot disavowed the French admiral and his project of annexation, and made a kind of reparation for the injury done to Pritchard. On the other hand, the British refused to replace Pritchard in Tahiti, and he was obliged to content himself with an indemnity in money.

Before this matter was settled, another difficulty arose about Morocco. Abd-el-Kader, after his flight from his own country, had taken refuge with Abdur Rahman, Sultan of Morocco. The Moroccans took up arms against the French, but were completely defeated at the Battle of the River Isly on August 14th, 1844. The

French demanded a payment of money from the Sultan and the surrender of Abd-el-Kader. The latter was compelled to leave Morocco, but the French refrained from exacting a cession of territory or the payment of an indemnity. On the other hand, Great Britain officially recognised the definite establishment of France in Algiers.

The year 1845 witnessed the continuance of the struggle between Guizot and Thiers. The questions of Tahiti and Morocco were made grounds for a charge of subserviency towards Great Britain. This was accentuated by a return visit of Louis Philippe to Windsor, in which Guizot accompanied him. Thiers also demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits, who, although legally subject to expulsion, were tolerated in Paris, and were employed by the richer classes in the education of their children.

The comparatively uneventful session of 1846 was marked by the cruelties of the Austrian Government in Galicia, about which France did not remonstrate, and by the escape of Prince Napoleon from the fortress of Ham, to which we have already referred. The Chamber was dissolved, and the new elections gave a substantial majority to the Ministry.

But, under these outward signs of peace, a surging democratic spirit was exciting movements in every part of Europe. In England Palmerston and the Whigs were triumphantly returned to power in June; in Switzerland the Federal Council was captured by the Radicals; and Germany was excited about the question of Schleswig-Holstein. The election of Pio Nono to the Papacy stirred the forces of liberation in Italy. Suffering nationalities began to make their claims heard in Austria, Denmark and Poland. The whole of Europe was in a state of restlessness and ferment. Guizot chose this moment to make a bid for popularity by attempting to establish a French dynasty in Spain. On October 10th it was announced that Queen Isabella of Spain would marry her cousin, Don Francis of Assisi, and that, on the same day, her sister would marry the Duc de Montpensier.

It was commonly believed that Don Francis was incapable of becoming a father, and that therefore one day the Crown of Spain would fall to the children of Montpensier. Queen Victoria and Lord Palmerston were furious at this breach of faith, and the Queen expressed herself most strongly about it in her correspondence. She wrote to the King of the Belgians: "This unfortunate Spanish affair has gone on heedlessly, and our *entente* was entirely thrown away, and we feel deeply the ingratitude shown; for, without boasting, I must say that they never had truer friends than we

are, and who always stood by them. How can we ever feel at our ease with Louis Philippe again? Guizot's conduct is beyond all belief shameful, and so shabbily dishonest. Molé and Thiers both say he cannot stand." Indeed, Guizot's conduct was condemned by the whole of Europe, and France felt herself without an ally.

Since the death of his eldest son Louis Philippe had lost faith in his dynasty. The Ministerial majority was largely under the suspicion of corruption and commanded little confidence; whereas the Opposition, led by men like Lamartine and Ledru Rollin, who had studied the principles of democracy and were now learning those of Socialism from Louis Blanc, was regarded as the true representation of the people. The comic journals, such as the *Charivari*, and a large section of the daily Press served to undermine the authority of Parliament. The King was further distressed by another attempt at assassination made upon him in the forest of Fontainebleau, on April 16th, 1846, and when he showed himself on the balcony of the Tuileries on July 29th, in the same year—the anniversary of 1830—two shots were fired at him by a half-crazy workman. Louis Philippe had endeavoured to protect his dynasty by surrounding Paris with useless fortifications, and gradually centralising the powers of Government. The money thus spent might have connected the capital with the provinces by a network of railways. The Revolution of February showed how inadequate these precautions were, and how idle is all such apparatus of artificial defence. The only true safeguard for a throne lies in the love and confidence of the people.

Lamartine once said in the Chamber, "*La France s'ennuie*" ("France is bored"). She had ceased to care for a dynasty which gave her neither the glory of the Empire nor the freedom of a Republic. A bad harvest increased the prices of all articles of food and caused misery and distress among the poorer people, while the demoralisation of the governing classes created general disgust. This was placed in the clearest light by Émile de Girardin in the *Presse*. An attempt was made to prosecute him before the House of Peers, but the consent of the Chamber to this course was not obtained. The Opposition was jubilant. The sadness of the King was deepened by the death of Princess Adelaide, his beloved sister, who had been his true and faithful adviser, the *confidante* of his policy.

If "coming events cast their shadows before," everything indicated that a tempest was at hand.

CHAPTER III

THE END OF POLAND

By the fall of Napoleon Poland lost the best opportunity she ever had of recovering her independence. At the date of the Treaty of Vienna Russia had in her hands nearly nine-tenths of the original territory of Poland. Alexander I. was anxious, at this time, to make a new kingdom of Poland under Russian suzerainty, and to incorporate in it a large portion of the Polish territory over which he ruled. But the Congress would not allow this. That Napoleon had desired it was sufficient reason for the statesmen of Europe to oppose it. Therefore parts of Poland were given back to Prussia and Austria, and the Polish kingdom, thus weakened, lost all chance of being able to hold its own against the preponderance of Russia.

In November, 1815, Alexander I. made his State entry into Warsaw, and granted a Constitution, which was mainly the work of Prince Adam Czartoryski, but which had been modified by the advice of Novolsiltzov. By this the Catholic religion was not recognised as the religion of the country. It was placed on an equal footing with other religions, but enjoyed the special protection of the Government. The Polish Crown was made hereditary in the Russian Imperial family, the Tsar having the power of administering the country, of convoking and dismissing the Diet, and of accepting or rejecting its resolutions. He was represented in the country by a Viceroy and a Council of State. The Diet consisted of two Chambers, which met every two years for a session of thirty days. The members of the Senate were appointed for life by the Crown, while the Lower House was chosen for six years by direct election under a restricted franchise. The sittings of the Diet were made public, the voting was open, and a simple majority was decisive. Five Ministers formed an Executive Council presided over by the Viceroy. Foreign policy was entrusted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at St. Petersburg, and personal liberty, freedom of religious belief, and freedom of the Press were guaranteed. The Jews, however, were excluded from all political privileges.

This Constitution was progressive and liberal, and tended to

propitiate the Polish nobility and nationality, as it established the Polish language and restricted public employment to Poles. It worked out, however, somewhat differently from what was expected. During the fifteen years of the existence of the kingdom no budget was ever submitted to the Diet for ratification, and of seven Diets which ought to have met during that time only four were held.

Under Alexander Poland had been, in the main, well governed. He established a national bank, constructed roads, favoured industry and the development of science and literature. The nobles and peasants had become friends, and a middle class had grown up. But the Poles are conspirators by nature, and Poland was honeycombed by secret associations. One of the most important of these was the Patriotic Society, founded in 1821, with the object of regaining the independence of Poland. It was governed by a central committee under Lukasinski, and was divided into seven provinces: Poland, Lithuania, Volhynia, Posen, Galicia, Cracow, and the Polish Army. In 1822 Lukasinski and his friends were arrested. He was imprisoned for thirty-six years and died in the fortress of Schlüsselburg in 1868. On June 14th, 1825, Alexander said good-bye to the kingdom of Poland for the last time, and Nicholas, at his accession, promised that his rule should be a continuance of that of Alexander. He said, "The Constitution which he gave you will remain unchanged. I promise and swear before God that I will maintain the Act of Constitution, and make every effort to ensure its being preserved." Things, however, turned out very differently. The Patriotic Society was attacked, and in the course of the accompanying proceedings a deep antagonism between the nobles and the Emperor was disclosed. However, after the Turkish War and the Peace of Adrianople, Nicholas came to Warsaw on May 17th, 1829, to celebrate his coronation, along with his son, afterwards Alexander II. The Tsar put the crown on his own head, after he had received it from the hands of the Primate. He knelt down and read the oath of the Constitution in French. He opened the sittings of the fourth and last Diet on June 28th.

The Patriotic Society disappeared, and its place was taken by a new secret society, which bore the character of a military conspiracy. The number of conspirators at first grew slowly, but the Revolution of July gave a powerful stimulus to the movement. The outbreak took place at Warsaw on the evening of November 29th, an attack being made on the Belvedere Palace, in which Prince Constantine—the Tsar's brother—lived, and also

on the barracks of the Russian cavalry. Both assaults were unsuccessful. Constantine could easily have stifled the movement, but his presence of mind deserted him, and he failed to take any decided action. He said he desired to be passive, and left the pacification of the capital to the Poles themselves. Consequently the movement spread, first over Warsaw, and afterwards over the whole country. Constantine left Warsaw and then Poland, accompanied by all the Russian officials. In eight days the Revolution was complete: the army, munitions of war, and public treasury were in the hands of the Poles. But dissension, the curse of Poland, as it had been of Greece, soon made itself felt. A party of Conservative aristocrats under Lubecki were entrusted with a reform of the Constitution in the spirit of the Paris Charter, while men of more ardent temperament would not be satisfied with anything short of absolute independence.

On December 5th Chlopicki declared himself Dictator, until the meeting of the Extraordinary Diet. He was an able soldier, but wanting in the qualities necessary for a revolutionary leader. He did not believe in the success of the insurrection, and placed his sole hope in negotiations. If the Poles had determined to fight at once they had a good chance of success, as they could command an army of 80,000 men, while the Russians had not so many. The best course would have been to march into Lithuania with full strength, take up and incorporate the Lithuanian army, occupy Wilna, and engage each corps of the Russians as it advanced. Chlopicki rejected this plan, and resolved to act entirely on the defensive. The Extraordinary Diet met on December 18th. It solemnly announced the deposition of Nicholas and the exclusion of the Romanovs from the throne. This was a foolish step, because it challenged Russia to fight, and made it difficult for other Powers to interfere. The cloud of Imperial vengeance was gradually forming, and whilst the Poles, with characteristic frivolity, were celebrating the recovery of their liberty with songs and dances, Nicholas was slowly collecting an army of 120,000 men and 400 cannon, under the command of Diebich and Toll, for the invasion of the country.

The Diet drew up a manifesto setting forth the grievances of Poland against Russia, and sent two emissaries to the Tsar to present their demands. These were strict adherence to the Constitution, the withdrawal of Russian troops, and the union of the former provinces of Poland to the kingdom. Nicholas replied by commanding unconditional surrender. On January 17th, 1831, Chlopicki laid down his office and was succeeded by

Prince Michael Radziwill, assisted by a Council which numbered Adam Czartoryski and Lelewel among its members. It was now that the Diet pronounced the dethronement of the House of Romanov and its desire for a Constitutional Monarchy.

In February, 1831, Diebich entered Poland with an army of 114,000 men and 336 guns, and marched straight to Warsaw. The Poles bore themselves bravely in the retreat. The first battle, in which Chlopicki and Radziwill commanded, resulted in favour of the Poles. Skrynecki was now appointed Commander-in-Chief, and gained considerable success, cutting to pieces the Russian corps of General Rosen. With a little more energy he might have had the whole army of Diebich at his mercy. This was the culminating point of the Revolution. A decisive blow might have been struck at the Russian army, and this would have brought about the intervention of Europe.

Nicholas now seized the opportunity to lighten the burden of the peasants in the provinces over which he had authority. He thus set the peasantry against the nobles, and broke up the unity of the Polish people. Opportunity was frittered away in fruitless risings. In April Dwernicki was driven across the Austrian frontier, where he capitulated with 6,000 men. An attempt was made to attack the Russian generals, who were acting under the Grand Duke Michael, to cut them to pieces, and, by taking up a position upon the Bug, to intercept the communication of Diebich with his own country and with Prussia. Skrynecki was at the head of the movement, and on May 17th overtook the Russian generals with a superior force. The attack was delayed, the Russians retreated, and Skrynecki's army was weakened by sending 12,000 men into Lithuania.

Diebich now hurried up, and the Battle of Ostrolenka was fought on May 26th, when the Poles suffered a crushing defeat, which was the beginning of the end. For a moment, however, the patriots were supported by a mightier hand than their own. On June 11th Diebich died of cholera, at that time a strange and unknown disease. The Grand Duke Constantine and Clausewitz, the Chief of his Staff, also fell victims to the same scourge. The place of Diebich was taken by Paskevich, who bore the title of Erivanski from his capture of that fortress. The Prussians allowed him to march through their territory, making common cause with the Russians for the preservation of their Polish territory. He advanced against Warsaw with 78,000 men, the Poles having only 37,000 men and 130 guns to defend the city. The Russians took the redoubt of Vola after a stubborn defence and on September

8th Paskevich entered the capital. Before the end of October the whole country was in the hands of Nicholas, and the constitutional kingdom of Poland had ceased to exist. The last defenders of their country were disarmed on Prussian soil. Thousands of Polish patriots, notwithstanding the clemency of the Tsar, wandered as exiles into France, England, Switzerland, and other countries, eating the bread of affliction upon a foreign soil, and pouring the story of their country's woes into the ears of a sympathetic Europe, which had not yet lost its faith in liberty. At the same time the mines and highlands of Siberia were overrun with Polish exiles.

The revolutionary party in Poland had, from the very first, applied to the European Powers, which had guaranteed the independence of the kingdom of Poland at the Congress of Vienna, to assist them either by intervention or mediation. Memoirs were sent to Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and London, but nowhere did they find support. Prussia and Austria were actually hostile, and only after the insurrection did the Governments of London and Paris make representations to St. Petersburg. These, naturally, had no effect. Indeed, the Governments were told to mind their own business. In February, 1832, Paskevich was appointed viceroy with unlimited powers, receiving the title of Prince of Warsaw. The Constitution was replaced by an organic statute, which contained certain provisions for autonomy, but they remained a dead letter and were never carried into effect. The Polish army was incorporated in the Russian, the committees of Warsaw and Wilna were dissolved, all the principal posts in the Government were filled by Russians, and the Russian language was made compulsory for all important purposes. Paskevich ruled the country with an iron hand till his death in 1856. The failure of the Poles to achieve independence was due, not so much to the strength of Russia, as to their own inherent weakness and the jealousies by which they were rent asunder.

CHAPTER IV

TROUBLE IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

WE have seen in a previous chapter that disputes arose in Spain as to whether the law restricting succession to the male line should prevail or not. The King, it will be remembered, published on March 29th, 1830, the Pragmatic Sanction, or law of 1789, which opened the succession to women; and on October 10th a daughter was born, who received the name of Maria Isabella. She was at once proclaimed Princess of Asturias, which implied that she was heiress to the throne. Don Carlos, the brother of the King, was furious at this, and struggles ensued between him and Queen Cristina concerning the maintenance of the law of 1789. Cristina had not many adherents in the Ministry, because Calomarde, the Prime Minister, was a strong Conservative and belonged to the party of the Apostolicals, but she was very popular with the army. In September, 1832, the King became dangerously ill, and, by various influences, was induced to withdraw the Pragmatic Sanction which he had promulgated in 1830. When, however, he unexpectedly recovered, the revocation of the law was annulled and the law of 1789 was published a second time. Calomarde was dismissed from his office and banished the Court, and all the Ministers, with the exception of Ballesteros, shared his fall.

Cristina found herself at the head of a powerful party, which included all friends of constitutional government, enlightenment and intellectual freedom. Spain took her part in that great conflict of principles which was soon to be fought out in every quarter of Europe. The two principles were represented by the antagonistic parties of the Cristinos and Carlists. At the beginning of October, 1832, the Queen was appointed Regent during the illness of the King, and Zea Bermudez, Spanish Ambassador in London, was made Prime Minister in place of Calomarde. He announced, as the basis of his policy, neutrality abroad, moderate reform at home, and the maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction. At the close of the year the King solemnly declared before the notables of the kingdom that his letter of September 19th, which revoked the Pragmatic Sanction, had been extorted from him by the devices of wicked men, and he now pronounced it null and

void. On January 4th, 1833, Ferdinand resumed the reins of government and wrote a letter to the Queen, praising the care and wisdom with which she had conducted affairs and assuring her of his entire confidence.

The resumption of the Government by the King for a time kept the extreme Carlists in check, because they knew that Don Carlos was loyally disposed towards his brother. The consequence was that the Apostolical army refused to take the field, and the King's confessor fled to Portugal. The Prince of Beira, the chief mover of the revolt, was ordered to join his brother, Dom Miguel, in the same country, and Don Carlos and his wife went with him. Spain was thus relieved of the presence of the most inflammatory elements. The Cortes being assembled in the ancient manner in June, an oath was taken recognising Isabella as heir to the throne; against this Don Carlos formally protested. Not long after this, on September 29th, 1833, King Ferdinand died suddenly, without having received the consolations of that religion for which he had suffered so much. Spain never had a worse ruler; he left his people without energy, without prosperity, a prey to civil war, a scorn and mockery to the world. He had returned to his country welcomed by the blessings of his subjects; he sank into his grave amid their curses.

After the death of Ferdinand, we must consider the history of Spain, for the next six years, under two aspects—the struggle of internal parties and the Carlist war. With regard to the former aspect, the Regency of the Queen may be divided into three periods —the Ministries of Martinez and Torreno (1834–35), which were marked by the Constitutional charter called *Estatuto Real*; the second period (1836–37), containing the Radical Ministries of Mendizabal and Calatrava, and ending with the Constitution of 1837; the third period (1838–40), characterised by more moderate principles and ending with the abdication of Queen Cristina. The Carlist war may also be divided into three periods. In the first (1833–36), the two parties were organising their forces and fortifying their territory; in the second (1836–37) the Carlists took the offensive and at one time nearly gained the victory; in the third, which came to an end in 1841, the Carlists were weakened by treason and discouraged by the indifference of their partisans.

Queen Cristina's first idea was to preserve Bermudez in power. Don Carlos, who had assumed the title of Charles V., was declared a usurper and his property was confiscated. But Russia, Prussia and Austria, the three northern Powers, refused to recognise Queen Isabella, and the Carlist insurrection spread in the north

of Spain under Zumalacarregui. Cristina therefore thought it advisable to adopt a more decidedly Liberal policy, and made Martinez de la Rosa Prime Minister. On April 15th a treaty was signed between Great Britain, Portugal and Spain, which secured the aid of the first-named both for Spain and Portugal on the constitutional side. This treaty was acceded to by France, and thus was formed the so-called Quadruple Alliance, which stood opposed to the policy of the three northern Powers. It did not mean much, because Great Britain refused to interfere or to allow France to do so. France, however, lent an Algerian legion, and a British legion was formed, which gave considerable assistance against the Carlists. In June, 1835, Zumalacarregui died. He had been instructed to attack Bilbao, in order to provide a more secure basis for the Carlist Government, and did so against his better judgment. He was wounded in the siege, and died from bad medical treatment. In July the siege was raised. The success of the Cristinos was largely due to General Espartero, who afterwards wielded great influence in the affairs of his country.

In April, 1834, Martinez de la Rosa had proclaimed a Constitution, called the *Estatuto Real*, resembling the French *Charte* of 1814. It established a Parliament consisting of two Chambers or *Estamentos*, the House of Proceres, composed of grandees, bishops, and high officers of state, nominated by the King for life, and the Lower House of Procuradores, chosen out of the propertied classes by double election. This did not satisfy the Liberals, and the Radicals still less, so, on June 7th, 1835, Martinez de la Rosa resigned his position and Torreno took his place. He appointed, as Minister of Finance, Don Juan Alvarez de Mendizabal, a man of remarkable energy, who came to Madrid in 1825 from exile in England. He was now practically Prime Minister, and endeavoured to pacify the Revolution by satisfying some aspirations of the Radical party, by granting pardon to the insurgents, and by reforming the administration. He extinguished a number of religious houses and declared their property for sale. Those who purchased this property naturally became supporters of Isabella, because Don Carlos did not recognise the validity of the sale. He also strengthened the connection between Spain and Great Britain, his exile in England having made him a warm admirer of the country. These measures produced a strong opposition, and Mendizabal fell before the storm. His place was taken by Isturiz, a statesman of more moderate complexion.

The new Minister was violently attacked by the Progressives, and Aragon, Estremadura and Andalusia proclaimed the Con-

stitution of 1812. On August 3rd, an insurrection broke out in Madrid, and Isturiz began to look towards the intervention of France. This was followed by what is known as the Revolution of La Granja, a pleasant country residence, in which the Court were accustomed to pass the summer months. In the night of August 12th, 1836, the garrison marched up to the palace in which Cristina was staying with her favourite Muñoz, calling out: "Long live the Constitution of 1812! Long live the Queen!" Cristina received a deputation of the rioters, and consented to the publication of the Constitution of Cadiz. On the following day she appointed Calatrava Prime Minister, and a few days later made a solemn entry into her faithful city of Madrid, accompanied by the "Heroes of La Granja," and the shouts of a democratic mob.

The Cortes met on October 24th, 1836, to draw up a new Constitution. The code of Cadiz was impossible, but was modified by Calatrava into a more reasonable shape. Two Chambers were formed instead of one, the Crown was given an absolute veto, and the suffrage was raised. It was, however, provided that, if the Sovereign should neglect to summon the Cortes before December 1st, they might meet of themselves. The Upper Chamber also received an elective character. The new Constitution, which was produced under the influence of the British Reform Bill of 1832, did not satisfy either the Moderates or the Radicals. It was, however, for a long time the banner under which the advanced Liberals fought, and had the advantage of asserting the constitutional principle and destroying the exaggerated reverence felt for the Constitution of 1812.

The state of confusion in the country had favoured the cause of the Carlists. A new leader appeared in the person of Ramon Cabrera, a man of remarkable military capacity. Bilbao was besieged a second time and again relieved by Espartero. The British Government sent the Regent half a million for military expenses, and the British legion did good work. On the other hand, the northern Powers sent assistance to Don Carlos. Espartero became Prime Minister on August 18th, 1837, following upon a revolt of the soldiers against the Government of Calatrava. The cause of Don Carlos began to fail, in consequence of negotiations between him and the Regent with reference to a possible marriage which might unite the two parties. The year 1838 passed in comparative quiet, marked only by the rise of Narvaez as a rival to Espartero, and the following year was fatal to the Carlist cause. General Maroto, who commanded the Carlist army, became anxious

for peace, partly from weariness of the war and partly from a growing dislike to the personality of Don Carlos himself. Great Britain and France also exerted themselves to bring about a settlement, and an agreement was at last signed between Espartero and Maroto at Vergara, on August 31st, 1839. Espartero undertook to recommend to the Cortes the confirmation of the *fueros*, or local liberties of Catalonia and the Basque Provinces, while the Carlists who submitted were to be confirmed in their military rank. Don Carlos declined to accept the agreement and retired to France. He attempted no resistance, although for years to come the party which supported him continued to be powerful. The departure of Don Carlos from the scene on June 6th, 1841, terminated the struggle which had stained the Peninsula with blood for seven years.

The close of the Carlist war brought about other changes of a still more important character. Espartero, whose services to his country it was impossible to exaggerate, was created Duke of Vittoria. He was a decided Progressive, whereas Cristina was inclined to favour the Moderates, although she vacillated between the two parties. The question in dispute between them at this time was the preservation of local government in the communes. This was threatened by a law of the *Ayuntamiento*, which had passed the communes and was now awaiting the confirmation of the Sovereign. It was violently opposed by the Aragonese, who were passionately in favour of the local freedom which had appeared in their province at an early date. Espartero entreated the Regent not to sign this law, but she was deaf to his advice. He therefore resigned, and an insurrection broke out in Barcelona on July 18th. Cristina temporarily appointed a Progressive Ministry, but as soon as she found herself safe in Valencia replaced it by one of Moderates. Upon this revolution burst forth in Madrid, and Cristina recalled Espartero as Prime Minister. Weary of these attacks, and unable to control the warring forces which assailed her, she abdicated and retired to France. On September 16th, 1840, Espartero entered Madrid in triumph, the popular hero of the country. Cristina was not without her merits, her chief faults being vacillation and apparent insincerity. Really moderate in her views, she gave way to the pressure of the Progressives, only to return to her former position when she found the opportunity. She was a patron of literature and art, and the intellectual forces of the country flourished under her rule.

Espartero governed Spain from October, 1840, to June, 1843. His defects were that he was a soldier and inclined to the use of

military measures, and that his ambition grew as his power increased. He had to contend against the Moderates, against the machinations of Cristina, and against the members of his own party who were jealous of him. He was consistently supported by the British Government. His consecration as Regent in May, 1841, inflamed the jealousy against him. The appointment of Argüelles as guardian to Queen Isabella gave Cristina another opportunity for mischief. Conspiracies were formed in Pamplona and Madrid, and an attack was made upon the palace with the object of gaining possession of the Queen, who was declared to be the prisoner of the Esparteristos. On July 13th, 1842, a revolt broke out in Barcelona and the captain-general was driven from the town. The city was eventually bombarded by Espartero and 400 houses were burned down. This severity was never forgiven. Espartero tried more and more to rule by force, and steadily lost the confidence of the country. It is useless for a great man to raise a fabric of good government upon a foundation which is not strong enough to support it. Espartero found a powerful rival in Narvaez, while the name of Prim was also heard for the first time as that of a discontented Liberal.

The political cohesion of Spain had always been weak, and discontented politicians were in the habit of raising the standard of rebellion as a means of enforcing their views. Alicante, Cartagena, Murcia, Valladolid and Seville all declared against Espartero, and on June 27th, 1843, Narvaez offered to lead the Valencians against the ruthless punisher of Barcelona. Espartero left Madrid and Narvaez entered it. The former might have resisted with success, but his troops deserted him and Cadiz declared against him. He therefore embarked on an English vessel and sought refuge in the country which had long been his best friend.

The leader of the Moderates from 1843 to 1845 was General Narvaez, a dictator by nature, so harsh and cruel in his methods that he was said never to leave alive any enemy who fell into his hands. Reforms were abrogated. The Constitution of 1837 was set aside, and a new arrangement was promulgated on May 23rd, 1845. In this the Crown acquired the power of nominating the Cortes and the right of spontaneous meeting was taken away from the Chambers. Offences against the Press law were no longer subject to the verdict of a jury. In 1843 Queen Isabella was declared by the Cortes to have attained her majority, although she was only thirteen years of age. She appointed Olozaga, a Professor, as Prime Minister, but his power only lasted for six days, and he was succeeded by Bravo, a revolutionist, who promptly

declared the whole of Spain to be in a state of siege, crushed the Press and imprisoned Progressive Deputies. On May 2nd, 1844, Narvaez assumed the reins of office, and the triumph of the reaction was complete. It is to the credit of Narvaez that he did not sully his reputation by complicity in the Spanish marriages, but resigned rather than have anything to do with so disgraceful a transaction. At the time of the double marriage, which took place on October 10th, 1846, Isturiz, a Conservative, was Prime Minister. Narvaez was again recalled to power in October, 1847.

The history of Portugal during this period has a strange similarity to that of Spain, except that in Portugal Great Britain was the predominating influence and in Spain France. We find the same division of parties, the same incapacity of the Sovereign, and the same palace intrigues. On March 6th, 1826, John VI. was taken suddenly ill, and in four days died, not without suspicion of poison. A decree named the Infanta, Isabel Maria, Regent until the legitimate Sovereign should issue instructions. The Regency then acknowledged Pedro IV. as King, but it was regarded as impossible that such a man should be Emperor of Brazil and King of Portugal, and it was assumed that he would abdicate in favour of his brother. But this was not his view, and he adopted a line of conduct characteristic of his temper and disposition. He drew up a Constitution for Portugal, in the shape of a Charter, and then abdicated the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter Donna Maria da Gloria, a child of seven years old, on the condition that she should take an oath to preserve the Charter. This was done, and Dom Miguel, a man of twenty-five, was recognised as Regent on condition that he married his niece, a girl of seven. The Charter was ill received in Portugal, but General Saldanha, who was a strong Liberal, declared that unless the Charter were accepted he would march to Lisbon with his troops. The Regency yielded, the Charter was published, and the oath was taken to it.

Saldanha now became head of a Liberal Ministry, but in various parts of Portugal Dom Miguel was proclaimed King by the reactionaries, and the British Cabinet, which theoretically wished the Portuguese to choose their own form of government, was forced to send 5,000 men to Portugal, under General Clinton, to restore order. In March, 1827, the Charter, supported by British bayonets, had been accepted throughout Portugal, but it was not popular. Dom Miguel, who was residing at Vienna, under the eye of Metternich, took the oath to the Charter on October 4th, and on October 29th became engaged to his niece. But he did not regard the oath as binding on his conscience. He landed at

Lisbon on February 23rd, 1828, as Regent and upholder of the Charter, but Queen Carlota had no intention that he should retain this position. The Prince, when crowned, was the idol of the populace. He was received at Lisbon with enthusiasm, and entered the capital amid cries of "*Viva Dom Miguel, Rei Absoluto!*" However, on February 26th, he publicly accepted the Regency and took the oath to the Charter, acting, however, as constitutional king. On March 14th the Chambers were dissolved, and were not again summoned, and on April 2nd the British troops were recalled by Wellington. In May Miguel summoned the old Cortes of Three Estates, which met accordingly on June 23rd, and offered him the crown. He assumed the title of King, and, on July 7th, took the oath before the Cortes. There was some opposition in Oporto, but otherwise the new king was received with acclamation. Palmella and Saldanha fled to London, and the army was broken up. Donna Maria also went to London, but Wellington refused to acknowledge her as Sovereign, although he treated her with all due respect as Queen.

There was now a reign of terror in the country, every effort being made to extirpate the Liberals. Great Britain's policy of non-intervention was followed by Austria and France. Dom Pedro was told that his abdication was definite, and that he could not place Donna Maria on the throne of Portugal except by war. On August 29th, 1829, Donna Maria returned to Brazil. The scene now shifts to the Azores, and especially to the island of Terceira. In the spring of 1829 the Azores had declared themselves Miguelists, the garrison of Angra in Terceira alone remaining faithful to the Liberal cause. Here Maria II. was recognised as Queen, and Terceira became the centre of resistance to the Miguelist Government. Palmella and Saldanha determined to take advantage of this, and, at the end of 1828, they set out for Terceira with a strong Portuguese force. They were, however, intercepted by a British squadron and forced to take refuge in France. Troops, however, gradually dribbled in, and Miguel sent an expedition to occupy the island, but it was driven back with disaster. Palmella came from London to Terceira and there established a Government in the name of Maria II.

The Revolution of 1830, however, wrought a great change. Lord Palmerston had become Foreign Minister of England, Queen Carlota died, and the reign of terror in Portugal attained its height. The French sent a squadron to Lisbon to avenge the treatment of two French residents. On April 7th, 1831, Dom Pedro resigned the Empire of Brazil and left his son Pedro II., a boy of six

years old, as Emperor in his stead. Pedro II. was declared of age in 1840, and crowned on July 18th, 1841. He proved to be a very remarkable man, and was well known throughout Europe.

In the meantime, Dom Pedro and his daughter Donna Maria settled in London, where they were joined by Palmella. He was well received by the Liberal Ministry. He then proceeded to France, where Louis Philippe gave him the Château of Meudon for a residence. In February, 1832, he sailed for the Azores and established the government there, in which he was supreme. He had as ministers Palmella, Silveira and Freire, Villa Flor was general-in-chief, and Sartorius admiral. Pedro was so elated with success that he determined to attack Portugal. He got possession of Oporto, but the country remained faithful to Miguel, and Pedro was besieged by a vastly superior force. After holding out with difficulty for a year, he was joined by an Englishman, Captain Charles Napier, who landed on June 7th, 1833. He brought with him five ships, four hundred mercenaries, and a sum of £18,000. Dom Pedro received them coldly, as he had ceased to have confidence in Palmella. Napier, however, determined to attack Lisbon. It was necessary first to destroy the Miguelist fleet, which he found off Cape St. Vincent. The battle began at four in the afternoon, and in two hours the fleet of Dom Miguel was entirely destroyed. After considerable fighting, Dom Pedro entered Lisbon on July 28th, 1833, Miguel being in Oporto. Miguel ultimately agreed to retire from Portugal, and was offered an income of £1,500 a year, which he refused to accept, dying in exile in 1866.

In September, 1834, Dom Pedro died. He was only thirty-six years old, but had crowded many adventures into his short life. His minister, Silveira, had governed the country in accordance with Liberal views. Titles were abolished, hereditary rights and privileges were swept away, monasteries and convents were closed, monopolies were suppressed. Feudal Portugal disappeared, and Maria II. reigned over a liberated country. She first married the Duke of Leuchtenberg, son of Eugène Beauharnais, but he died after a few months. Her second husband was Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, nephew of King Leopold of Belgium. During the reign of Maria II. the country was divided into three parties —the Constitutional party, who supported the Charter; the Septembrists, a democratic party; and the Miguelists. The Queen at the time of her second marriage was only seventeen years of age, and her husband only twenty.

"REVOLT OF THE MARSHALS"

It was difficult to maintain the authority of the Crown in the strife of factions. In the first two years of her rule she had a Constitutional Ministry, led by Palmella, Saldanha and Terceira; but in September, 1836, the Septembrists gained the upper hand. They suppressed the Charter and forced the Queen to take an oath to the Charter of 1822. The year 1837 witnessed an insurrection in favour of the Charter under Saldanha and Terceira, known as the " Revolt of the Marshals." This was put down by the Government and the two marshals went into exile. Sâ-da-Bandeira had been Prime Minister from 1836 to 1839, and was succeeded by Costa Cabral, a supporter of the Charter. He retained power with few checks till April, 1846, by which time the principles of constitutional government had been firmly established. In May, 1846, a revolution compelled Cabral to go into exile, and Saldanha, who became Prime Minister, could only save the dynasty with the assistance of a British fleet. In 1847 foreign intervention was again called for. A force, partly Spanish and partly British, marched upon Oporto, and a British fleet blockaded the Douro. Oporto surrendered, and the civil war came to an end. The momentous year of revolutions found Portugal in a state of tranquillity, but exhausted by the struggles through which she had passed.

CHAPTER V

PIUS IX

TWICE since the settlement of Vienna, in 1820 and 1830, had the efforts of Italian patriots to save their country from political annihilation, and endow it with national freedom and unity, failed before the presence of enemies abroad and at home. Political prisoners were languishing in Austrian and Italian prisons, and in every country of Europe exiles, voluntary and involuntary, were awaiting the hour of deliverance, and longing for a return to their native land. Italy was covered by a network of secret societies of a revolutionary character with which the exiles were in constant communication. The "Young Italy," founded by Mazzini in Marseilles in 1837, took the place of the older Carbonari and drew into its ranks a host of secret brotherhoods. Mazzini especially addressed the young men of his country. "Place youth at the head of the insurgent multitudes," he said. "You know not the secret of the power hidden in these youthful hearts, nor the magic influence exercised upon the masses by the voice of youth. You will find among the young a host of the apostles of the new religion." The influence of the society rapidly spread, and in 1833 it numbered 60,000 members.

Since the French and the Austrians had retired from the States of the Church, Central and Lower Italy became especially the scene of agitation and revolutionary movements. It was in these regions that grievances were most notorious, and the power of repression in the Government was weakened. Sporadic risings were crushed, and brought misery and death to those who took part in them, but this suffering kept the flame alive and set an example which bore fruit in later days. The political unrest, which was apparent in the whole of Europe at this time, showed that events must soon arise and produce a powerful effect upon Italy. When the time came the reformers felt that they must not be found unarmed and unprepared.

Nothing showed this feeling more than the touching episode of the two brothers Attilio and Emilio Bandiera in 1844, whose name now lives in the history of liberated Italy. They were sons of an Austrian colonel, who had taken an important

part in suppressing the revolt in the Romagna. Inspired by the writings of Mazzini, they determined to devote their lives to the liberation of their country. They obtained the assistance of Domenico Moro, who, like themselves, was an officer in the Venetian navy. These three left Venice and went to Corfu to await an opportunity for action. Hearing of an insurrection in Calabria, and exaggerating its importance, and joined by fifteen others, they landed at Cotrone and set out for Cosenza. Betrayed by a companion, they were surrounded by Bourbon troops and captured. Nine of them, including the brothers Bandiera, were condemned to be shot, and died bravely, saying as they fell "Long live Italy!" It was a sign of the unity of sentiment which "Young Italy" had produced that Venetians should sacrifice their lives for the liberation of Calabria, and that their companions should be drawn from all parts of the peninsula.

A remarkable literary movement gave strength and direction to these political aspirations. One of the best-known books in Europe was *Le Mie Prigioni*, by Silvio Pellico, known to many as the first Italian book they were taught to read. He was imprisoned in the Austrian fortress of Spielberg for ten years, but does not declaim against his persecutors. He merely relates his sufferings and misfortunes in moderate language, but every tear shed for his misfortunes was changed into a drop of hatred of his tyrants. Antonio Rosmini, of Roveredo, one of the purest spirits who ever illuminated the Romish community, protested strongly against the worldliness of the Church to which he belonged and the decay of the priestly ideal. He advocated the better education of the clergy, the independence of the Church, and the formation of an Italian federation, of which the Pope should be the head. Another powerful influence in the same direction was *I Promessi Sposi*, by Alessandro Manzoni, published in 1827. He disapproved of conspiracies and violence, but was a strong advocate of a united Italy. As Goethe did much to bring about the union of Germany, so Manzoni, by writing a book which was regarded everywhere as the product of Italy and not of Lombardy, stirred and consolidated the feeling which eventually succeeded in making Italy one.

More effective, but less sane, were the writings of Vincenzo Gioberti, who published in 1843 a book called *Primato Morale e Civile degli Italiani*, and in 1845 *Prolegomeni al Primato*. He argued that the Papacy, the head of Catholicism, the guardian of civilisation, had secured for the Italian people the first rank among nations. The unity of Italy could best be obtained by

a confederation under the Pope. The present condition of Italy was due, not to the badness of the government or the influence of a corrupt clergy, but to the decline of literature and to the laxness of the upper classes. He looked forward to a resurrection of Italy, by its taking the lead in science and art, based upon a foundation of religion. The Pope was to be the head not only of the Universal Church, but the president of the Italian federation. His office made him the arbiter and peacemaker of Europe, the spiritual father of mankind, the protector of the Latin races throughout the world, the inheritor of the *Imperium* of Rome. In the *Prolegomeni* he attacked the Jesuits and advocated the suppression of their order. These views were more powerfully expressed in *Il Gesuita Moderno*, published in 1847, which was translated into all languages. Gioberti was the advocate of a practical system of Italian government and gave substance to the dreams of "Young Italy." He advocated a scheme by which the unity of Italy could be secured without destroying existing political arrangements.

Another writer in the same field was Cesare Balbo, of Turin, who had been forced to leave his country owing to political troubles. Studying in Paris he wrote a history of Italy, a life of Dante, and a book on the philosophy of history. He became a minister and a friend of Charles Albert. His great work was *Le Speranze d'Italia*, which was stimulated by the *Primato* of Gioberti. In this he advocated the formation of an Italian federation under the supremacy of the Church, asserted Catholic civilisation to be the foundation of Italian policy, and pointed out that Austria was the chief hindrance to the restoration of Italian liberty.

Another author, Massimo d'Azeglio, also a Piedmontese, and son-in-law of Manzoni, wrote *Gli ultimi casi di Romagna*, in which he exposed the consequences of Papal misrule. He showed the arrogance and incapacity of the delegates, the arbitrary character of the administration, the abuse of the courts of law, and the weakness of the authority of Rome. Anyone subjected to a special order of the police was not allowed to change his residence, must be at home at certain hours, report himself once a fortnight to the police, go to confession once a month, and spend three days every year in a convent selected by his bishop. The punishment for neglect of these rules was three years' penal servitude. D'Azeglio had no strong sympathy either with the dreams of Gioberti or the republicanism of Mazzini, but advocated the reforms which commend themselves to practical statesmen. To these names might also be added that of Gino Capponi, who had but little faith in the reformation of the Church or the priesthood.

He thought that Italy's salvation was to be sought in submission to the monarchy of Piedmont, the oldest dynasty in the country. Similar views were held by Terenzio Mamiani, of Pesaro.

Pope Gregory XVI. died on June 1st, 1846. It was imagined that there would be a disturbance in the Papal States, and especially in the Romagna, and that Austria would be compelled to intervene. Her intervention would be opposed by France, and a European war might be the result. When Metternich ordered Radetsky to be ready to invade the Legations, France warned Austria that any step of the kind would be followed by the occupation of Civita Vecchia and Ancona. As a matter of fact, no disturbance ensued, and, after a short conclave of forty-eight hours, Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti was elected Pope, at the age of fifty-four, and took the title of Pius IX. As Bishop of Imola he had acquired a hatred of Austrian oppression, was a close friend of Count Pasolini, a distinguished Liberal, and had been introduced by him to the writings of Gioberti, Balbo and d'Azeglio. They all hoped that he would be the leader of Italian Independence and emulate Hildebrand and Innocent III. in securing, for the Papal See, the primacy of Italy. He was a man of the world, accustomed to polite society, and had, before he became a priest, aimed at being a member of the Pope's Noble Guard. He had a magnificent voice, and when, from the balcony of St. Peter's, he gave his blessing to the city and the world, it could be heard throughout the vast area of the huge piazza.

On July 16th, four weeks after his accession, he published an amnesty, which proclaimed the pardon of all political offenders and suspects, and struck the keynote of the resurrection of Italy. The enthusiasm thus aroused was indescribable, and its importance cannot be overrated. It was a rehabilitation of patriotism, and made a virtue of what had before been a crime. Metternich perceived at once that his action must inevitably lead to war with Austria and to the liberation of Italy. But the Pope probably did not understand this. Having thus inaugurated his reign, he proceeded with other reforms. He introduced economies into his household, liberated the Press, took steps to reform legislation and the law courts, favoured the construction of railways, enlarged his Council of State by admitting to it distinguished provincials, gave the city of Rome a free municipality, and projected a Customs union, which might lead to an Italian federation. He strengthened the Civil Guard, as a protection against Austrian interference, and objected to the occupation by that Power of the Citadel of Ferrara. "We are prepared for everything," said Metternich,

"except for a Liberal Pope, and, now we have got one, there is no answering for anything."

In this way Pius IX. placed himself at the head of the National movement, and made the Papacy once more the political centre of Italy. His policy was soon felt beyond the boundaries of the Papal States. Genoa celebrated the centenary of the expulsion of the Austrians in 1746. Milan held a public mourning for the death of Federigo Confalonieri, who had been confined in the Spielberg, and died just as he returned to celebrate the birth of a new Italy. Since 1839 scientific congresses had been held in Italy, and these served to bring together the most distinguished men from the whole peninsula, and bore the same relation to political union that the gymnastic meetings bore in Germany. In 1846 the scientific congress called itself a National Convention, and invited all Italy to take part in the Genoese celebrations and to illuminate the whole range of the Apennines with beacon fires. Similar feelings had been roused in the smaller Italian States—Tuscany, Lucca, Modena and Parma—while Naples and Sicily had been deeply stirred. Charles Albert carried out reforms in his own country of Piedmont, dismissed his Foreign Secretary, Della Margarita, who was favourable to the Austrians, and made Alfieri di Sostegno Minister of Education. In Venice Daniele Manin, Pietro Paleocapo and Valentino Pasini began to show themselves as opponents of Austrian domination.

Meanwhile, in Rome reforms continued to proceed slowly, and the Pope began to be afraid of the significance of his own work. The Liberals wished for a Papal autocracy, but, on April 21st, 1847, the Pope created a Council of State, or advising council. The amnesty had now lasted a year, and preparations were made for celebrating it; but the leader of the populace, the Capapopolo, Brunetti, called Ciceruacchio, stopped it, being afraid of the growing influence of Austria and the Jesuits. Gioberti said that as Cicero had prevented the conspiracy of Catiline, so Ciceruacchio had stopped the conspiracy of the autocracy. The occupation of Ferrara by the Austrians on July 17th, a forcible repression of the reforming tendencies of the Pope, was the beginning of the Italian Revolution.

Metternich now began to act, and looked on the prospect of revolution and war with unshaken gaze. He was supported by Prussia and Austria, but Great Britain was on the side of reform. The British Cabinet had sent Lord Minto to encourage the Pope, but cautioned him to avoid provocation of Austria. In other parts of Italy the irritation against Austria developed. A civic

guard was formed in Tuscany, and Ridolfi became head of a Liberal Government. In Piedmont Charles Albert seemed ready to meet the occupation of Ferrara by declaring war against Austria. In August, 1847, an insurrection took place in both Messina and Reggio, and a more serious rising in the whole of Sicily was announced for January, 1848. The Pope declared that he had no desire for a war with Austria, and that the establishment of the Council of State had set the coping-stone to his reforms. At the same time the new municipality of Rome was decreeing a Constitution. The Revolution actually began by the rising in Palermo on January 12th, and in twenty-four days the whole of Italy was free from foreign occupation, except the fortress of Messina. The King of Naples offered to make terms, but the Sicilians proclaimed the adoption of the Constitution of 1812, a ridiculous and unworkable arrangement, imposed upon them by Lord William Bentinck during the British occupation, and a provisional Government was set up, with Ruggieri Settimo at its head.

The King of Naples, anxious to anticipate the coming storm, granted a Constitution. On March 5th Charles Albert promulgated a *Statuto* for his dominions, which was never recalled, and, a few days earlier, on February 17th, a similar *Statuto* had been published in Tuscany. The Pope refused to grant a Constitution, or to expel the Jesuits, or to make war against Austria, and confined himself to blessing Italy solemnly from the balcony of the Quirinal. But he was obliged to give way, and on March 10th formed a Ministry of which Minghetti and Pasolini were members, and on March 14th he published a Constitution. But all these efforts were thrown into the shade by the Revolution of February in France, which drove Louis Philippe from his throne.

We must now pass to Switzerland, where the Revolution had a religious origin, although the struggles between democracy and its opponents still went on. In January, 1834, certain cantons, with Berne at their head, drew up a document called "The Articles of Baden," the object of which was to defend the State against the encroachments of the Church. They were condemned by the Pope as false, audacious, inclining towards heresy and schismatism, and were not supported by public opinion. They were rejected in St. Gall, and proved a dead letter even in Berne, but had the effect of exasperating the Roman Catholics. On the other hand, great indignation was roused in Zürich by the appointment of David Friedrich Strauss, the author of the *Leben Jesu*, to a professorship, and the Liberal Government was turned out.

Retribution followed, as a matter of course. In Ticino the clerical Ministry was deposed, and in Aargau an attempt of the Catholics, in 1841, to turn out the Liberals was defeated, with the result that a law was passed to suppress the monasteries. This was contrary to the provisions of the Union, and the Catholics determined to protect their rights by force of arms. The dispute continued till 1843, when three nunneries were re-established, which the Federal Diet considered as satisfactory. Against this decision the Catholic cantons protested, and Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg and the Valais eventually formed a separate league, called the Sonderbund, which was finally constituted in June, 1844. The seven cantons demanded the restoration of the Aargau monasteries, and Aargau replied by asking for the expulsion of the Jesuits. This led to a civil war in Lucerne itself, which culminated in the Battle of Malters, April 1st, 1845, in which the Liberals were defeated.

On December 11th, 1845, the seven cantons banded themselves into an armed separate league, with a common council of war, presided over by Siegwart-Müller. As they formed a fifth part of the population, it was clear their secession could not be allowed, since it would have broken up the confederation. In July, 1846, Zürich, which was then the capital of the confederation, protested against the league and asked the Federal Diet to dissolve it. It was not till July, 1847, however, that a vote was passed to this effect. The Sonderbund prepared for war and sought alliances with foreign Powers. Europe, in the main, took the side of the Sonderbund as an outwork against revolution, then generally threatening. Piedmont and France actually assisted the League with arms and money. Great Britain, however, was an exception. George Grote, the historian of Greece, had explained the situation to his countrymen, and Palmerston, like Canning, was a European Liberal at heart. But war grew inevitable, and in October, 1847, General Dufour was placed at the head of 100,000 soldiers and 260 guns. To these the Sonderbund opposed an army of 79,000 men and 74 guns, under the command of Salis-Soglio. The campaign was over in twenty-five days. Freiburg capitulated on November 14th, Zug on November 21st, Lucerne on November 24th, Unterwalden, Schwyz and Uri on the three following days, and Valais on November 29th. The Federals lost 78 killed and 260 wounded, and the disbanded Federal army reached their homes in February, 1848.

The sudden collapse of the Sonderbund made intervention by foreign Powers impossible. Guizot had formed a plan by which

the Powers should unite to impose a new Constitution on the Federation. Great Britain, represented by Palmerston, refused to take part in this enterprise, and confined herself to simple offers of mediation. The French note arrived at Berne the very day after the Sonderbund had ceased to exist. The Diet could reply with dignity that it was contrary to the principles of independence, recognised for Switzerland in 1815, to listen to foreign interference. It became necessary, however, to remodel the Swiss Constitution and change it in some degree from a loose to a close confederacy. Owing to the revolutions which now broke out in various European countries, the Swiss were at liberty to manage their own affairs and work out their democratic principles unchecked.

In federal governments the main point to determine is what powers shall be given to the central authority, and what shall remain with the separate States of which the confederation is composed. The Federal Government was given complete control of the army, which, by wise legislation and administration, developed into one of the best armies in Europe, a model to all nations of what a citizen army should be. Weights, measures, and coinage were made uniform. Common Customs were established, and a common Post Office the administration of which is an object of admiration to all who have to do with it. Equality before the law, liberty of residence, liberty of creed for all Christian denominations, freedom of the Press and of public meeting, were recognised as the fundamental principles of a democratic State.

The Legislature was constituted in two Houses—the Senate, representing the cantons, to which it gave equal representation, each canton, whether small or large, sending two members; and the Lower House, which represented the people and was composed of members elected in proportion to the population of each canton, the large cantons, therefore, receiving a greater number of representatives than the smaller. This arrangement was borrowed from the United States, where it formed the basis of the famous "Connecticut compromise," which made the Constitution of America possible. It has worked in Switzerland with remarkable success. The Federal Executive was a council comprising seven members, elected by the two Chambers acting together, to sit for three years. Out of this council was chosen a President, to hold office for a year. A Federal Court of Judicature was also established, and a means of revising the Constitution, if necessary, was provided. A further revision took place in the year 1867.

The Constitution remains the model of a democratic govern-

ment, the best, the happiest, the most successful known to the present day, worthy of the attentive study of all who visit Switzerland. It is a marvel that Switzerland has a separate existence at all. It is composed of at least three races, speaking at least three languages, professing different religions; its component parts are separated by impassable mountains; its territory is an object of desire to all the Powers which surround it. It owes its existence to the passionate love of liberty which animates its citizens, and to the Constitution, based upon liberty, which binds them together. It is significant that, at the moment when thrones were toppling and European Governments were shaken to their foundations, Switzerland should have succeeded in raising an edifice which has withstood all the shocks of fate. After the convulsions of these two revolutionary years Switzerland took her place among the Powers of Europe as an independent State, more fitted to be a mediator or model to other nations than to be the object of tutelage or patronage.

CHAPTER VI

PRESIDENT LOUIS NAPOLEON

BEFORE the dynasty of July fell it met with several notable misfortunes. The charges of corruption which weakened its authority were confirmed by the trials of General Cubières and the Minister Teste. Émile Girardin, the editor of *La Presse*, which was the powerful opponent of Republicanism, who had killed Armand Carrel in a duel, was found to be in the pay of the Government; and the murder of the Duchesse de Praslin by her husband threw a lurid light on the moral character of the Orléans Monarchy, which did not become less strong when the Duke killed himself in prison. The people were reminded, by these events, of the scandals which had preceded the fall of Louis XVI.

Moreover, the foreign policy of Louis Philippe had become gradually less in harmony with the nation. He appeared more as a supporter of the Holy Alliance and less as a supporter of democratic reform. Guizot's action with regard to Switzerland produced unfavourable impressions. Yet, while the King estranged his own subjects, he did not conciliate the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. Austria was not sympathetic, and the Emperor of Russia treated the Orléans king as a *parvenu*. It was known that France had used her influence to restrain Rossi, the reforming Minister of Pius IX., lest any offence should be given to Austria; that in Italy she represented a counter-influence to the generous policy of Great Britain; that, while the British navy was assisting the efforts of Italian independence, French vessels in Toulon and Port-Vendres were arming to repress it. The whole nation was conscious that the Government was rotten, that it had failed to carry out the objects for which it was originally established. The aged monarch removed himself more and more from the influences of public opinion, and only associated with those who agreed with him. He gave his complete confidence to Guizot, who almost equalled his Sovereign in unchangeable stubbornness, but who, from his eloquence and high character, was possibly the best support that the Orléanist dynasty could find.

Matters would not be improved by the King's death. The

heir to the throne was a child, and the chosen Regent, Nemours, was unpopular. The Chambers were composed largely of placemen and were tainted with suspicions of corruption. It was against them that the attacks of the Liberal Opposition and the friends of reform were in the first instance directed. There are many reasons why France is better governed as a monarchy than as a republic. But a French monarchy, to be effective, must have both prestige and power, and the monarchy of Louis Philippe had neither. The new French King, who appeared on the balcony of his palace whenever a few street ragamuffins shouted "*Vive le Roi!*" under his window, did not impress the Parisian imagination, and the Parisian has no respect for, or understanding of, a monarchical government founded on the dull, drab lines of the British Constitution, their history having led them to associate monarchy with the splendour of Henry IV. and Louis XIV. and the glories of Napoleon.

The remedy of these evils was looked for in electoral reform. As the British Reform Bill of 1832 had made the government national, instead of confining it to a privileged class, so the opponents of the present regime, whether Legitimists, Constitutionals, or Republicans, regarded the extension of the franchise as the only means of doing away with corruption and inefficiency. At the same time, while the first two parties advocated a restricted franchise, the Republicans demanded universal suffrage. A method of stimulating public opinion on this question was sought, not in public meetings or in petitions, but in so-called Reform banquets, held in different parts of France and addressed by prominent statesmen. Among those who spoke at these political dinners were Odilon Barrot, Duvergier de Hauranne, Thiers, and Rémusat. A speech of Lamartine at Mâcon on one of these occasions produced a great sensation. The Radicals revived the Sociétè de Saisons, and Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc advocated social democracy in *La Réforme*. The feeling that Guizot's Government had opposed the popular party in Italy and Switzerland increased the agitation and led to more pronounced demonstrations.

The Chambers met on December 28th, 1847, and the Opposition determined to hold a Reform banquet in Paris, which had hitherto been free from this particular form of movement. The Speech from the Throne denounced the blind perverseness of the Reformers and, in order to stop the banquets, an antiquated law of 1790 was resuscitated. A violent assault was made upon the Government. They were accused of interfering with the rights of public meeting, and charged with political corruption and support

of the Austrians and Jesuits. Lamartine said: "Since you interfered in Spain, France has acted in contradiction to its traditions and its interests; she has been Ghibelline in Rome, Clerical in Berne, Austrian in Piedmont, Russian in Cracow, French nowhere, counter-revolutionary everywhere."

Notwithstanding the prohibition, the leaders of the Left—Odilon Barrot, Garnier Pagès and Arago—had determined to hold a Reform banquet in the Twelfth Arrondissement, in the neighbourhood of the Champs Élysées. There was to be a procession, and the National Guard was invited, without obtaining leave from its officers. The Government objected, and the Opposition gave way, and agreed to submit the question of the legality of public meeting to the Law Courts. But they had reckoned without their host. On February 22nd, the day fixed for the banquet, workmen in blouses, students, pupils of the Polytechnic School, and urchins went about the streets shouting, "Down with Guizot! *Vive la Réforme!*" They thronged the vicinity of the Parliament House and demanded the indictment of Ministers. These disorders lasted for two days; the National Guard was on the side of the people, and the soldiers were averse to energetic measures. The King thought that he could calm the storm by dismissing Guizot and putting Molé in his place, keeping the rest of the Ministry unchanged. This news caused great excitement. The streets were thronged, the houses were illuminated, men embraced each other. But the step was not enough. The workmen in the north of Paris still retained their arms and stood by the barricades. At night a torchlight procession, which the troops were powerless to stop, marched along the boulevards. In an unhappy moment a shot was heard, the soldiers fired a volley into the crowd, and eighty-two bodies of dead and wounded lay upon the ground. The furious mob seized upon a passing wagon, filled it with corpses, and marched, torch in hand, with cries of "Treachery!" "Vengeance!" "To arms!"

The King now saw his error and summoned to his councils Thiers, Odilon Barrot, Duvergier de Hauranne and Marshal Bugeaud. It was too late. Appeals for peace were answered by cries of "The King deceives you! Bugeaud will slaughter you!" Louis Philippe now abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris—whose mother, the Duchesse d'Orléans, was Regent—stole out of the Tuileries by a back door, and set off, first to St. Cloud, and then to Dreux and the coast. The King and Queen eventually reached England with some difficulty, and were lodged at Claremont, which belonged at that time to their son-in-law,

the King of the Belgians. There Louis Philippe remained till his death on August 26th, 1850. The Duchesse d'Orléans, with great courage, went to the Parliament House, accompanied by her two sons, the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres, and asked for the protection of the Chambers. This could not be granted in the face of the surging mob and the tumultuous galleries. The Duchess was, indeed, separated for some time from her children and her brother-in-law, the Duc de Nemours.

Liberal opinion was gradually demanding a republic. A provisional Government was formed, with the aged Dupont de l'Eure at its head, and a Republic was proclaimed from the Hôtel de Ville, even before the sanction of the people for this form of government had been obtained. It was formed of Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Arago, Garnier Pagès and Louis Blanc. The Tuileries was attacked, the furniture was burned, and the throne was carried into the Place de la Bastille and torn to pieces under the Column of July. Life, however, and property were safe in the capital, and works of art were protected by the Polytechnic and other students. Lamartine succeeded in forming a Guard Mobile, and a few days afterwards Caussidière, the Prefect of Police, got together a kind of National Guard. The revolution had taken place with lightning rapidity; a few hours had upset the monarchy and driven the King into exile; the unpopular deputies in the Chamber fled or concealed themselves. The Orléans dynasty had no party and no supporters. Aumale and Joinville, one of whom was commanding an army in Algeria, the other a fleet at sea, quickly resigned their posts and retired to England.

The difficulties of the new Government now began. They had to reconcile government with revolution, order with anarchy; to find work for the unemployed and subsistence for the starving. The excitement was over; the cries of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" had ceased; the reality of political life had come. A National Assembly was to meet in May, but till that time the provisional Government ruled over France. Lamartine secured the substitution of the tricolour for the red flag. He was the soul of the administration, and his manifesto to Europe, published on March 3rd, tended to produce confidence in the new order of things and to allay apprehension. At the same time the Revolution had been the work of the working classes, and it was necessary to listen to the leaders of the Radicals and Socialists. In the first days of the Revolution Louis Blanc and Garnier Pagès had put their names to a petition declaring that it was the duty of the Government to find work for the unemployed. The "right

to work" was advocated, and at last a workman named Albert was added to the provisional Government, while Louis Blanc was allowed to organise labour for the unemployed and poorer classes with the help of a workmen's Parliament. It was difficult to stop the Socialist movement. The State found itself bound to provide for the unemployed and unemployable sections of society, in national workshops, which consumed millions and produced nothing. To produce an appearance of utility, earthworks were begun, in which the earth was taken away one day and brought back the next. Two francs a day were given to all persons without work, and this impoverished the revenue and pauperised the people.

The Anarchists began to raise their heads; the foundation of a Committee of Public Safety, with a revolutionary dictatorship, was part of their programme. Conspiracies and insurrections were put down with the greatest difficulty. The Treasury was exhausted, taxes were not paid, business was at a standstill, the National Debt grew, the project of a national loan came to nothing, and an increase of taxes produced general discontent.

The embarrassment of the Government was increased by the return of the Social Democrats, who clamoured for a popular representation and attempted to form a Committee of Public Safety, after the model of that established in Paris in 1789. While Garnier Pagès mismanaged the Treasury, Ledru Rollin caused confusion in the whole machine of Government, by dismissing all the permanent officials and filling their places with men of decided Republican and revolutionary opinions. A Constitutional Assembly was now summoned. The suffrage was to be direct and universal; all Frenchmen over twenty-one years of age were to have a vote, and all Frenchmen over twenty-five were eligible for election. Voting was to be by ballot and *scrutin de liste*, according to Departments—that is, all the candidates for a Department were to be voted for together.

The result of the elections was a disappointment to the Extreme party. In Paris the Socialist leaders, Barbès, Leroux and Raspail, obtained a relatively small number of votes, and the members of the provisional Government received support in their efforts to restrain violence and impatience. In the provinces Lamartine was elected in ten Departments, but out of 840 deputies, of whom the new Assembly was composed, 130 were Legitimists and at least 100 were supporters of Louis Napoleon. Thus more than a fourth of the Assembly was Royalist. It met on May 4th, declared the government of France to be permanently

Republican, and established in the place of the provisional Government an Executive Committee, consisting of Arago, Garnier Pagès, Lamartine and Ledru Rollin. Preparations were made for abolishing the national workshops, and it was clear that the new Chamber would not recognise the axiom of the "right to work."

Huber, Blanqui and Raspail, the leaders of the Social Democrats, consequently determined to destroy the National Assembly by a new conspiracy, and establish a revolutionary dictatorship. Their pretext was the foreign policy of the Government; they adopted the principles of 1792—that the business of a republic was to make war on kings and organise crusades for the liberation of enslaved nations. On May 15th a deputation was presented to the Chamber, asking that France should demand the restoration of Poland, and, in case of refusal, declare war upon the three Powers which had partitioned her. The Assembly was invaded, and Blanqui, Barbès and Huber proceeded to decree its dissolution, to establish a tax on the rich, and to declare war against the kings of Europe. Happily, the National Guard was able to establish order in the capital; the revolt was put down, and the conspirators were imprisoned at Vincennes. The Assembly met in a large hall built for the purpose, which exposed them to the attacks of the crowded galleries. When the Assembly was complete, Buchez and the bulk of the members retired, whilst the Democratic leaders proceeded to the formation of a new Government. Driven out by the National Guard, they took refuge in the Hôtel de Ville. Sobrier and his myrmidons were overpowered in the Rue de Rivoli, and the Revolutionary Guard of Caussidière was dispersed. The workmen's Parliament, which sat in the Luxembourg under Louis Blanc, came to an end.

Supplementary elections strengthened the Moderate party by returning Thiers, Changarnier and Louis Napoleon as members of the Assembly; and they now attempted to establish a republic on a durable basis. It became necessary, however, to deal with the national workshops, which were a source of pauperism and expense. The younger workmen were sent into the army, and the older drafted to the provinces to make entrenchments. The workmen resented this and prepared for a rising. They were supported by Legitimists and Bonapartists, who supplied them with money. On June 23rd barricades were erected in all the working-class districts, and Lamartine, seeing that a struggle was inevitable, advised his colleagues to give unrestricted authority to General Cavaignac, Minister of War. The Assembly, having

established a dictatorship, requested the Executive Committee to resign.

The struggle which now broke out between the Extremists and the Moderates was longer and more sanguinary than that which brought about the fall of the Monarchy of July. Cavaignac was a more resolute antagonist than Louis Philippe. General Bréa fell, and Affre, the pious Archbishop of Paris, who advanced to the barricades to attempt to establish peace between the warring factions, was mortally wounded.

Cavaignac would accept no terms short of unconditional surrender, and at three in the morning of July 26th ordered an attack which resulted in a complete victory. The insurgents lost 10,000 killed and wounded, and their leaders were tried before the courts, thousands of prisoners being transported to colonies across the seas. Cavaignac received the thanks of the Assembly, and was made president of a new executive authority. Lamoricière became Minister of War, and Changarnier was placed in command of the National Guard.

The first piece of business was the drawing-up of a Constitution. It was the work of a committee, of which Armand Marrast was the reporter, and was afterwards ratified by the Assembly. A preamble declared that, by means of the Republic, the nation would work with greater freedom in the matter of progress and civilisation, would assure a more equal distribution of burdens and advantages, and would enable all citizens to attain a higher standard of moderate prosperity and enlightenment, by the help of laws and institutions. It recognised that there were rights and duties, equal to and superior to actual laws; undertook to respect foreign nationalities and establish free popular education; and announced that the State and the Departments would establish public workshops for the benefit of the unemployed. This programme was certainly not carried into practice.

There was great discussion whether there should be one or two Chambers. Lamartine and Dupin, who were in favour of a single Chamber, obtained a majority of forty over Duvergier de Hauranne and Odilon Barrot, who supported two. The committee proposed to place the executive power in the hands of a president, elected directly by the people, by universal suffrage, and this was eventually passed by a majority of 500. He was to serve for five years, and could not be elected a second time except after a five years' interval. He appointed his Ministers, but they were responsible to the Assembly, and, with the president

himself, were subject to a High Court of Justice, elected out of the members of the Court of Cassation. On November 12th, 1848, a service, held in the Place de la Concorde, gave a solemn religious sanction to the new Republican rule.

The president was to be elected on December 10th. The choice lay between General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon, and the nephew of the Emperor was chosen by a vote of 5,500,000. He had only recently become a Deputy, after the decree of banishment against the Napoleon family had been rescinded. At that time Louis Napoleon was regarded as a man of no great importance. The Duc de Sermoneta, who had known him well in Italy, said that he "was a reed painted to look like iron," and he received the name of Napoleon the Little, in contrast to Napoleon the Great. This was, however, a mistaken view. He was a very able man with decided views and determination to carry them out. Indeed, his career as Emperor, though begun in crime and darkened by extravagance and social corruption, has not received the praise which it deserves, and which, doubtless, some day will be given to it. He owed his return to the devotion of the people to the Napoleonic tradition, to the Clerical influence, for he was known to be a supporter of the Church, and to the landed proprietors' hatred of Radicalism and Socialism. Cavaignac laid down his power, and on December 20th, 1848, the new President took the oath—at the hands of Armand Marrast and in the sight of God and the French people—to remain faithful to the democratic Republic, one and indivisible, and to perform all the duties laid upon him by the Constitution.

After this he made a speech to the Deputies, in which he said: "The voice of the nation and the oath which I have just taken point out the course of my future conduct. My duties are prescribed for me, and I shall perform them as a man of honour. I will regard all those as enemies of their country who try to alter, by illegal means, what France has ordained. Between you and me, citizens and deputies, there can be no difference of opinion. Our will and our wishes are the same. I wish, like you, to secure the State and society firmly on their foundations. I will strengthen democratic institutions, and will do everything to alleviate the sufferings of this magnanimous and single-minded people, which has given me so clear a proof of its confidence." As President Louis Napoleon went to live in the Palace of the Élysées Bourbon, which was assigned to him as a residence.

Throughout these convulsions the French had preserved their qualities of bravery, patriotism and political tact. All parties

strove for the greatness of France. Thiers said, in his first speech in Parliament: "My friends and I have neither made the Republic nor desired it, but we accept it; we accept it honestly and sincerely. The form of government which we strove for is broken, but under the present form, as under forms which have previously existed, we will endeavour to realise the best interests of our country."

CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTION FEVER IN 1848

THE Revolution of February in France produced in the rest of Europe far more startling effects than the Revolution of July had done. In Italy, Germany, Poland and Switzerland it gave rise to violent party quarrels and passionate national feeling. Some enthusiastic natures, knowing little of practical politics, went so far as to dream of the establishment of unrestricted liberty and a Republic which should embrace the whole of Europe, founded upon the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, without any restraints of national or religious differences. The temporary victory of these views confirmed the enthusiasts in their hopes, and a propaganda, which had its centre in Paris, fed the revolutionary fire and spread abroad Republican ideas of a socialistic and communistic character, and stirred the aspirations of the lower classes of the people, the workmen and the proletariat.

Many believed and many hoped that the Revolution would take its course through Europe, following the precedent of its predecessor in 1789; and the circumstances of the time were favourable to revolutionary movements, especially in Germany. In that country a serious commercial crisis was accompanied by distress caused by unfavourable harvests. The discontent was stimulated by the current literature, and excited outbreaks in Berlin, Stuttgart, Munich, and other towns. They were put down by the military and the police, and the misery which provoked them was alleviated by the generosity of the rich and the sympathy of the benevolent. A good harvest also led to a temporary improvement.

But inequality in the distribution of property and in the enjoyment of the advantages of life was becoming more apparent. The population of Germany was growing gradually poorer. The proletariat had nothing before them but an abyss of wretchedness and misery, which might end by swallowing up the middle classes as well. The only remedy lay in far-reaching political and social reforms, for the emigration of thousands every year to the United States did little to stop the evil, and the attempt to curb the Press

only drove the feeling of discontent deeper into the people's heart. The universal unrest could only end in political convulsions.

The Revolution first broke out in Baden. Violent petitions addressed to the Chambers demanded freedom of the Press, trial by jury, the establishment of a National Guard and a German Parliament. The Baden Government met this by abolishing feudal privileges and compensating their possessors out of the public funds. Officials who had incurred the hatred of the people were removed, and unpopular deputies resigned their seats. The example of Baden proved infectious. In Würtemberg, Saxony, and other German States the government was entrusted to the Liberal Opposition, some crying evils were remedied and electoral laws altered. The news of the Revolution in Paris, which reached Baden on February 27th, produced a powerful effect. Fifty-one popular men, mostly leaders of the Liberal Opposition in the several States, met at Heidelberg to consult upon the needs of the hour. They issued to the German people an appeal, which demanded a national representation according to population, besides appointing a committee of seven, which embraced the names of Gagern, Welcker and Itzstein.

A still larger assembly of prominent Liberal politicians was summoned to meet at Frankfort at the end of March, and even the Diet found it necessary to satisfy national aspirations. It issued an appeal to the German nation on March 1st, urging the co-operation of governments and peoples to place Germany in the position which she ought to occupy in Europe; this could only be done by concord, constitutional progress and national development. The Diet allowed its members to deal with the censorship of the Press in any way they liked, and determined to undertake a revision of the Constitution. A commission was appointed for this purpose, and the German tricolour, for which so many patriots had suffered persecution and imprisonment, was adopted as the national flag. But the repentance of the Diet came too late to obliterate the memory of its previous errors.

It was now the turn of Metternich to suffer. For thirty years he had dominated the councils of Europe with undisputed authority, and it was not creditable to the intelligence of those who followed him that a man so shallow, so frivolous, so immoral, should have possessed the influence he wielded. Oxenstiern has bid us remember with how little wisdom the affairs of the world are governed. The study of history shows that light-minded and adaptable natures, floating like corks on the surface of affairs, have often great influence for harm, while deeper and more powerful characters are

unable to subdue to their will the forces of the age. Metternich never understood or affected to understand the forces by which he was surrounded and by which he was eventually overthrown. Examination of his career shows that the harm he did was scarcely illuminated by a single good action. He wormed himself into the confidence of Napoleon, persuaded him to divorce Josephine and to marry Marie Louise. Bound to support the French Empire by every consideration of honour, and indeed of interest, he basely deserted Napoleon in his hour of need; and while he was able to bring about the fall of that mighty man, he also effectually secured the ruin of his own country. It was mainly owing to him that Austria does not hold in Germany the position which Prussia holds to-day. His voluminous memoirs hardly contain a single page exhibiting statesmanlike insight and precision. He meets patriotic enthusiasm with cynical contempt, and his ridicule of progress did not prevent him from arresting it with inhuman cruelty. His deliberate corruption of Marie Louise, his master's daughter, may be the worst of his crimes, but it is typical of many others with which his career was stained. The hatred with which he was regarded by the enlightened minds of Europe has been confirmed by posterity, and it is not likely that this deliberate judgment will ever be reversed.

The Revolution of February sounded the knell of his system. The excitement in Vienna was feverish. The States of Hungary demanded a separate Government, a reform of the Constitution, more moderate taxation, liberation from the necessity of undertaking the Austrian debt, and a provision that Hungarian soldiers should not be compelled to serve out of their own country. From Hungary the agitation spread to Prague, and from Prague to Vienna, where the Austrian Chambers met in March. The secrecy which was preserved with regard to the financial condition of the country caused profound mistrust. Paper money was in some cases refused, commerce and industry came to a standstill, and the number of the unemployed increased. Viennese students put themselves at the head of the movement. They presented petitions to the Chambers, the Ministers and the Emperor, and by tumultuous meetings stirred up the country to rebellion. The students were armed, and the soldiers declined to act with severity against them. As the powers of the State were unable to restore order, Metternich had no alternative but to resign his office, which he did on March 13th, seeking refuge in England.

The flight of the Chancellor was the prelude to anarchy. The people were aroused. A nation which had never been allowed

to know what freedom meant, or how it could be properly used, now came into the possession of unrestricted political power. The freedom of the Press found expression in the wildest extravagance of abuse, the right of public meeting resulted in the coming together of noisy and violent demagogues, and the foundation of democratic clubs, which were a hindrance to order. The Government which succeeded Metternich was out of sympathy with Radical demands, and showed weakness and incompetence. Vienna was in the hands of the students and a hastily-formed Civic Guard.

The proposal of a moderate Constitution caused another outbreak on May 15th. The Government was asked to summon a Constitutional Diet, elected by manhood suffrage from all the States of which the Monarchy was composed, whose business it would be to draw up a new Constitution. The Emperor, broken in health by these occurrences, retired to Innsbruck on May 19th. This produced a reaction in his favour, which was utilised to dissolve the Student Legion and to occupy the University buildings with troops. These steps, however, resulted in a third outbreak on May 26th, worse than the other two. The streets were blockaded with barricades and filled with citizen soldiers, warming themselves at watch-fires. At last it was arranged that the soldiers should be removed from the city and that order should be preserved by a Committee of Public Safety, composed of citizens, National Guards and students. The University buildings, however, remained closed.

On July 22nd the National Assembly was opened under the presidency of Archduke John, acting as representative of the Emperor in his absence. On August 12th Ferdinand returned to the capital, amid the acclamations of the people, under the escort of the National Guard. At the same time force had to be used to quell disorder. On June 2nd Prague was bombarded by Prince Windischgrätz, after his wife had been shot dead at a window of her palace.

Berlin also had her days of March. Frederick William IV. was urged to make concessions, which would prevent the influence of the Revolution of February from spreading to Prussia. But what could he do? His stubborn spirit urged him to do nothing, and nothing he could have done would have been of any use. He depended upon the loyalty and steadfastness of his army. But the disturbances in Vienna made him realise that the danger was nearer than he thought, and the necessity of timely reform became apparent. Even then he was deaf to advice. The disturbances in Berlin must first be put down by force; then, when that was

done, reforms could be conceded by grace, instead of being extorted by fear. This did not suit the populace, or the Poles, who were behind their back. The removal of soldiers was demanded with increasing energy, and on March 17th, 1848, the Government yielded. The censorship of the Press was abolished, and a complete alteration of the Constitution was promised, coupled with a fresh arrangement as to the relations of Prussia to the German Federation.

Next day the rioters were more audacious than ever. Crowds collected before the palace, demanding the dismissal of the soldiers and the establishment of a National Guard. The King refused to receive a deputation of the town authorities. At last a division of infantry marched out of the palace to drive the people back. Two shots were fired, as so frequently happens in such crises, whether by accident or design, by soldiers or casual loiterers, is not known. Cries arose of "Treason!" "We are being murdered!" "To arms!" Barricades were immediately erected: it is said that two hundred were made within two hours. A murderous struggle took place, which lasted fourteen hours. The soldiers captured a certain number of barricades, but, with the attack, the passion of the people rose. On the morning of March 19th the struggle was still undecided. The citizens refused to lay down their arms or evacuate the barricades, and at last the King gave in. He sent away the soldiers, dismissed his Ministry, and placed both the town and the palace under the protection of a National Guard. The soldiers withdrew to the sound of muffled drums. The corpses of those who had fallen at the barricades were carried into the palace court, and the King was compelled to pay them honour with uncovered head, while the Queen, who accompanied him, fainted. The whole assembled throng intoned a solemn chorale as Germans alone know how to execute it, and the striking scene, scarcely surpassed in history, came to an end.

Frederick William IV. was so impressed by what had happened that he granted a complete amnesty to all who had been accused of or condemned for political offences. This amnesty, which was extended to other German States, allowed political exiles to return to their native land, where they renewed their agitations. On March 21st the King issued a proclamation declaring that he placed himself at the head of the Fatherland for the salvation of Germany, and that he desired, as a new Constitutional King, to be regarded as the leader of a free, new-born German nation. This was received with general mistrust, which was not diminished when he executed a solemn progress through the streets of his capital, decorated with

German colours, and accompanied by his Ministers and the princes of his house. The declaration that he desired the freedom and unity of Germany caused dismay in the southern States, and his theatrical performance inspired ridicule rather than confidence. The time was not yet ripe for the declaration of the Prussian hegemony of Germany.

The King's brother, the Prince of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor William I., who was supposed to be the leader of the reactionary party, was sent to England, and on March 22nd a solemn funeral of the martyrs of the insurrection was held at Berlin, attended by nearly all the clergy of the capital, the King baring his head as the coffins passed the palace. In the following month the Prussian Parliament met for the last time, to give its consent to a law referring the elections to the new constitutional National Assembly. But in consequence of these disturbances the capital had undergone a remarkable change. Hundreds of well-to-do families had left Berlin, and the streets were filled with starving beggars, fit material for the operations of agitators, of clubs and workmen's unions, which all had a revolutionary tendency. The Ministry underwent a rapid metamorphosis, which deprived the Government of strength and determination, and it was known that the King had yielded to the popular sentiment much against his will and under the pressure of circumstances.

The National Parliament at Frankfort now came into being. On March 5th, 1848, a committee of seven had been appointed to make arrangements for the meeting of the National Assembly, but previously to this a preliminary assembly was to be held under the name of a *Vorparlament*. On March 8th, an advisory committee of seventeen had been appointed by the old Diet, to suggest means of constituting a new Diet. Of these Dahlmann was the most distinguished, and on April 25th he produced a sketch of a Constitution, which is known in German history as "Dahlmann's Constitution." It established the principle of a hereditary head of the Empire. There were to be two Chambers, the Upper Chamber to consist of the hereditary princes and 160 notables, chosen partly by the Government and partly by the Diet of the several States. There were to be common diplomatic action and common customs, but a large amount of independence was left to the component parts of the Empire. East and West Prussia were to be included in it, and part of Posen, but only the German dominions of the House of Austria. The scheme was supported by the Prince of Prussia and by Usedom, the Prussian plenipotentiary at the Diet, but it was strongly opposed by Frederick

William IV., who preferred a scheme of his own, with the Emperor of Austria as hereditary Roman Emperor and the King of Prussia as German King. Thus the scheme fell through.

The *Vorparlament* met at Frankfort on March 31st. It consisted of 576 members, of whom 141 came from Prussia, 72 from Baden, 84 from Hesse-Darmstadt, but only 2 from Austria. It was not a great success, and has been generally known as "the Wild Parliament." A powerful minority proposed to summon a National Assembly, elected on democratic lines with regard to position, property and creed. A Radical party, led by Hecker and Struve, went even farther. They put forward a socialist programme and recommended revolutionary methods for carrying it out. Not being able to carry this into effect, they quitted the Assembly in disgust. But the result was an armed rising in the neighbourhood of Constance in favour of a German Republic. This rising was suppressed before the end of April, after it had cost the valuable life of Friedrich Gagern, brother of the Minister.

On May 18th the National Assembly was opened, with appropriate solemnity, in St. Paul's Church in Frankfort. It was a very distinguished body. The landowners, the merchants and the manufacturers were inadequately represented in it, but it included a number of men of solid academical learning, indeed, the foremost historical and legal luminaries of the age. Amongst them were Dahlmann, Droysen, Duncker, Waitz, Mohl, Welcker and Mittermaier, together with Jacob Grimm, Arndt and Uhland; there were also several judges and administrative officials, and a fine sprinkling of barristers. It chose as its president, by a large majority, Heinrich von Gagern, a man distinguished by high principles, great moral courage, and a commanding personality. On May 24th two committees were appointed, one of thirty, to draft a scheme for a national Constitution, and one of fifteen, to consider the establishment of a supreme executive authority. Archduke John of Austria, who had democratic sympathies and had married the daughter of a village postmaster, was appointed *Reichsverweser*, a strange title which apparently meant "Imperial Vicar." On July 11th the new head of the Empire made his solemn entry into Frankfort and appointed a Ministry. The discussions with regard to the Constitution began in characteristic German fashion, by establishing the fundamental rights of German citizenship. They were produced by the *Reichsverweser* on December 27th, 1848, and were inaugurated into the Constitution of the Empire on March 28th, 1849, but the larger States, Austria,

Prussia, Bavaria and Hanover, did not proclaim them as law or regard them as having the force of law.

Together with these events occurred disturbances in Schleswig-Holstein, the fruitful cause of trouble in Germany, which led eventually to the war between Prussia and Denmark, then to the war between Prussia and Austria, and finally to the establishment of the German Empire in the hands of Prussia. Without going deeply into the ramifications of this complicated question, it may be mentioned that Holstein was regarded as an integral part of the German Empire, while Schleswig was almost entirely Danish, but that these two Duchies regarded themselves as bound together by an indissoluble tie. The first line of their national hymn was " Schleswig-Holstein sea-surrounded."

Frederick VII. became King of Denmark in January, 1848, and disturbances broke out which forced him to declare the Duchy of Schleswig an integral part of the Danish kingdom. The Duchies clung to their independence. A provisional Government was formed, which occupied Rendsburg, a fortress commanding both Duchies, and organised the insurrection against Danish rule. The Danes collected an army and soon obtained possession of Schleswig, but the Prussians intervened, and the Danes were compelled to retire. On April 12th the provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein was acknowledged by the Federal Diet, but the presence of a German fleet made energetic measures impossible, and the continuance of the struggle led to serious losses in the commerce of the North Sea. Russia, Sweden and Great Britain took the side of the Danes, and at length the Prussians were compelled to allow the incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark.

The troubles of the new Diet were not confined to the north. The Polish inhabitants of the Prussian Province of Posen raised the flag of independence. The Prussians proposed to incorporate the German parts of Posen with the neighbouring German provinces, and to place the Polish moiety under a national Government, but the Poles claimed the whole of the territory and had recourse to arms. They were eventually compelled to yield, but the project of partitioning the country was given up.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST STRUGGLE FOR A NEW ITALY

THE Revolution of February, as has been said, caused a recrudescence of discontent in every country in Europe, even in those which had hitherto been unaffected by such sentiments. In Italy the desire for independence and national unity, which had long characterised its literature, now came to the surface and called the revolutionary spirit into activity. When Charles Albert, without a formal declaration of war, marched into the Milanese territory and drew the sword against Austria, the whole of the peninsula was seized with a longing for war. Not only did the Italian Governments send their troops and promise constitutions to their peoples, but bodies of armed volunteers took the field, so that the whole country was arrayed against Austria.

The revolutionary movement affected two parties—those who followed Mazzini, who aimed at the establishment of Republican institutions, and those who wished to join the Cross of Savoy, and to found the independence of Italy by union with Charles Albert, the constitutional King of Sardinia. The latter were, on the whole, the more powerful, and both Milan and Venice determined to throw in their lot with the House of Savoy. The Dukes of Parma and Modena, who had made alliances with Austria, were driven out of their Duchies, and even the Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose sympathies with the national aspirations were well known, and whose territories were admirably governed, had to surrender his Duchy for a time to democratical republicans. The Pope conceded a Constitution to his people and nominated a progressive Ministry, composed of laymen, but this popular Government had only to do with secular and political affairs; all clerical interests were left in the hands of the Pope and the cardinals, and were withdrawn from public discussion, a division of authority which did not satisfy popular sentiment. When Pius IX., in an allocution, declared himself opposed to a war with Austria, his popularity immediately disappeared. In Naples King Ferdinand II. played fast and loose with Constitutionalism, and Sicily exhausted herself in a vain attempt to secure an independent autonomy.

TROUBLE IN SICILY

A provisional Government had been formed in Sicily, under Ruggiero Settimo, Pietro Lanza and the Prince of Butera. Through the instrumentality of Lord Minto, they undertook negotiations with the King, which, however, led to no result. The utmost the Sicilians would consent to was the personal union of the crowns, and this Ferdinand would not accept. Sicily retained her independence and formed a Liberal Ministry, under the presidency of the historian Troya. The Sicilian National Assembly, divided into two Chambers under the presidency of Ruggiero Settimo, passed, on April 13th, a resolution that the throne of Sicily was vacant, and that Ferdinand Bourbon and his dynasty were for ever dethroned, and proclaimed for the island a constitutional monarchy under an Italian prince.

The breach between the two Sicilies became irrevocable, when Ferdinand attempted to dissolve the Neapolitan Chambers on the very day of their opening, attacked the National Guard with his Swiss mercenaries, and delivered up the respectable population of the city to the wild excesses of his lazzaroni subjects. The King of Naples issued a proclamation announcing the continuance of the Constitution, but it was a mere delusion, as it was never put into force. An insurrection of Liberals in Calabria was suppressed with bloodshed, and when a few deputies met in July they were treated with abuse and contumely by the Minister Bozzeli, and in the autumn the sitting was closed by the King. In the following spring the Chambers were dissolved, and the persecution of Liberals and patriots resumed its former course. Naples submitted, but Sicily, with more persistence, continued its democratic progress. The two Chambers, the Senate and the Lower House, met together, and on July 11th, 1848, chose the second son of Charles Albert, Prince Albert Amadeus of Savoy, Duke of Genoa, as constitutional King of Sicily.

But the troubles of the island were not at an end. The news reached the camp of Charles Albert just as the sun of his success was setting, for he was on the point of resigning his crown to his son, Victor Emmanuel. Ferdinand determined to reconquer the island with the help of the garrison of Messina, which still held out. A terrible civil war was the result. For three days in the early part of September General Filangieri, who had served under Murat, bombarded Messina; the houses of the city were burnt, hundreds of dead bodies lay in the streets, and the population had to seek refuge on board the foreign ships in the harbour. From this action Ferdinand II. received the appropriate name of "King Bomba." By British and French intervention an

arrangement was concluded, by which the eastern part of the island, with Messina as its capital, remained in the hands of Naples, and the western part, including Palermo, Catania and Syracuse, was left with a provisional Government, of which Ruggiero Settimo was president and Torrearsa, Butera and the brothers Amari were members.

The efforts of France and Great Britain to produce a settlement during the winter had no effect, and in April, 1849, the struggle began anew. A Polish legion under Mieroslawski came to assist the Sicilians, but they could do nothing against the better-disciplined Neapolitan army, the head of which was the Royal Swiss Guard, and were defeated in the Battle of Catania on April 6th. The victorious Neapolitan army advanced first to Syracuse, and then to Palermo. The leaders of the Revolution fled to Malta, and the citizens submitted under promise of an amnesty. On May 14th the victorious army made its triumphal entry into the conquered town, and Filangieri, decorated with the title of Duke of Terracina, became Viceroy of Sicily.

We have already seen that Pope Pius IX. lost most of his popularity by his disapproval of the war against Austria. He did not recover his position by the proclamation of a Constitution on March 14th, 1848, and the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Italian States. His allocution, held before the cardinals on April 29th, which declared that in no circumstances would he make war against Austria, was regarded as the beginning of a reaction. In this case, what became of the Roman soldiers and volunteers which a Liberal Ministry had despatched across the Po under General Durando, to assist the Italians who were fighting for their independence? The Pope endeavoured to recover his popularity by recommending Mamiani, a layman, as Minister of State, and Farini as Secretary. But the patriots would be satisfied with nothing but war, although it was unreasonable to demand action from Pius IX., who was certainly not a Julius II.

The feeling against the Papal See was accentuated by the refusal of Austria to mediate, and by the reactionary events in Sicily. The Pope now summoned to his councils Pellegrino Rossi, of Carrara, an Italian political exile, naturalised in France. He had been educated at Geneva, had occupied important posts under Louis Philippe, and had been sent by Guizot as ambassador to the Vatican in the time of Gregory XVI. He did his best to restore order and good government, but his career was short. On the morning of November 15th, 1848, he drove to the Palace of the Cancellieri to assist in the opening of the new Parliament.

As he mounted the steps he was struck by a dagger in the throat. On this a tumult arose. The populace, led by Charles Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, nephew of the great Emperor, surrounded the Quirinal, and forced the Pope to appoint a Liberal Ministry. Mamiani was recalled and supported by Galletti and a well-tried democrat, Sterbini. The disorder increased. The Chamber of Deputies lost its authority and was so diminished by the desertion of its Ministers that it could hardly command a quorum. The Papal Swiss Guard was disarmed and dismissed, and its place taken by a Civil Guard of dubious fidelity. Many cardinals emigrated, and the Pope was a prisoner in his palace. Eventually, on November 24th, with the help of the Bavarian Ambassador, Count Spaun, he fled in disguise to Gaeta, where he formed a new Ministry and protested against the validity of everything that was being done in Rome.

In February, 1849, a Constitutional Assembly met, which deprived the Papacy of its temporal power, established a Roman Republic, and determined to work for the establishment of a united Italy, under the form of a democratic republic. A triumvirate—consisting of Mazzini, Saffi and Ammellini—was placed at the head of affairs, but the whole power was in the hands of Mazzini. Giuseppe Garibaldi, one of the purest and truest spirits that ever took part in political affairs, who gave his assistance, was afterwards to play a leading part in the liberation of his country, and was especially notable for the self-command and wisdom by which, himself a Republican, he saw that the salvation of Italy lay in its adhesion to the House of Savoy. He had begun his career in America, and had afterwards commanded a body of volunteers to assist the Piedmontese and Lombards in their struggle against Austria. The failure of the campaign in Northern Italy sent him to Rome. He regarded the Holy City as the last refuge of liberty and the best centre for future efforts.

In his distress the Pope called upon the Powers of Europe to help him. The Austrians, after hard fighting, gained possession of Bologna and Ancona, the Neapolitans invaded the Papal territory from the south, and a French army under General Oudinot landed at Civita Vecchia and besieged Rome. The French declared that they came as friends to restore order and peace, to prevent the occupation of the States of the Church by Austrians and Neapolitans, and to check the possibility of a counter-revolution. But the Roman patriots rejected these advances and offered a stern resistance to the French army. The first attack of the French failed. Oudinot suffered severe loss and had to

retire to the coast to await reinforcements. A week's armistice was declared, which Garibaldi used to attack the Neapolitan troops at Velletri and to drive them across the frontier.

The intervention of France in the affairs of Rome produced an unfavourable effect in Paris. The demand for a credit for the purpose, made by Odilon Barrot, was opposed by a large minority, and when the news of Oudinot's reverse arrived the Social Democrats made it the occasion of a fresh demonstration. On May 28th, 1849, the new Legislative Assembly had met for the first time with de Tocqueville, the famous publicist, as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Under him the enterprise went on. Negotiations with Oudinot failed, and the siege continued. It was not till July 3rd that, after many a bloody conflict, the French troops became masters of the city. The barricades were thrown down, the provisional Government was deposed, and a military despotism was established in its place.

Garibaldi managed to cross the Apennines and reach Genoa by sea, after which he retired to America. The larger portion of his followers fell into the hands of the Austrians. Some were shot, others were imprisoned in Mantua, and among these was Ciceruacchio, who was afterwards shot with his young son. Mazzini fled first to Switzerland, and then to London, where he carried on his liberating work. Pius IX. remained sulkily in Gaeta and did not return to his ungrateful capital till June, 1850. Order was preserved in Rome by the French garrison, which had its headquarters in the Castle of St. Angelo, but the condition of Italy was insecure, and the country was overrun by brigands.

As already mentioned, Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, attempted to meet the wishes of his subjects by the passing of reforms, the expulsion of the Jesuits, and even by taking part, against his will, in the campaign against Austria. But this did not satisfy the extreme spirits, and a Constitutional Assembly was summoned to meet on February 8th, 1849. The disorder became worse, and the Grand Duke was compelled to leave Tuscany. A Republic was established in Florence, Guerazzi and Montanelli being placed at the head of the provisional Government. The revolutionary spirit was still more active in Leghorn, which was an occasional residence of Mazzini. However, on April 11th, a moderate Government was formed under Gino Capponi and the brothers Ricasoli, and the Grand Duke, who also had taken refuge in Gaeta, was invited to return; but he refused to do so till July 27th, when the Austrians had taken Leghorn. Guerazzi had to spend many years in prison. The worst prince in Italy was

Francis V., Duke of Modena, though Charles, Duke of Parma, was not much better. They were absolutely devoted to Austria, and, when driven from their estates, took refuge with her armies and shared her defeat and her final triumph. When Radetzky recaptured Milan they were able to return.

If such were the fate of the Papacy and the Duchies, still more tragic was the career of Charles Albert, King of Piedmont and Sardinia, who had received from his admirers the title of "the Sword of Italy." Having given a Constitution to his country and appointed Cesare Balbo as Prime Minister, he conceived the idea of liberating the nation of Italy from Austrian domination by a military advance. A provisional Government was established in Milan on March 18th, and after an obstinate struggle in the streets old Marshal Radetzky, eighty-two years of age, was compelled to leave the city. Similarly, Count Zichy, commandant at Venice, had capitulated to the patriots.

Charles Albert now advanced to the Mincio, and on April 8th, 1848, won the Battle of Goito, and threatened Peschiera, a fortress at the south of the Lake of Garda, which, with Verona, Mantua and Legnano, formed the famous Quadrilateral. Combats took place in the hilly country near Pastrengo. Italian volunteers advanced into Italian Tirol, to wrest their country from Austria. The Italian flag of red, white and green, the loveliest tricolour in the world—the emblem of energy, purity and hope—was everywhere seen. Mantua and Verona remained faithful to their German lords; but Modena, Parma, Florence, Rome and Naples obeyed the summons to unity. The King of Piedmont marched at the head of his troops, accompanied by Balbo, La Marmora and Torelli. The struggle took the character of a religious war, the priests, with the Archbishop of Milan at their head, being on the Liberal side and giving the blessing of the Church to the enterprise. The volunteers wore red crosses, as if they were Crusaders.

The scene, however, was soon changed. While the Italians were celebrating this triumph, Radetzky in Verona was preparing his revenge. On May 6th, 1848, his eighty-second birthday, a battle was fought at Santa Lucia, not far from Verona, in which the Austrians held their ground against the superior numbers of their enemies. The tide of fortune began to turn, and the advance of Charles Albert was stayed. He was himself dismayed at the Republican tendencies of the provisional Government in Milan, at the rising democracy of France, already aiming at the acquisition of Savoy and Nice, at the dissensions of his own followers,

and at the intrigues of the Mazzinists. He doubted of the success of his enterprise, and began to wish for peace. An Austrian army came down from Carinthia, and, after a slight hindrance at Vicenza, joined Radetzky at Venice. The Papal troops, who had invaded Venetia, offered little resistance, especially after Durando's authority had been impaired by the Papal allocution. Mantua was at this time besieged by a Tuscan army, but the victory of Curtatone, on May 29th, enabled the aged field-marshal to relieve the fortress. Charles Albert, however, on the following day gained a success for the second time at Goito, which placed the fortress of Peschiera in his hands. But he did not know how to use his victory.

Radetzky began his advance by the capture, on June 11th, of Vicenza, which had long withstood the assaults of Austria, being defended by Durando, with the help of Azeglio and Cialdini. The Papal troops and the volunteers were allowed to depart, and throngs of citizens followed them. In July the insurgents of Venice and Milan succeeded in persuading their adherents to make common cause with Piedmont, and place themselves under a Savoyard king, thus raising the hopes of a free and united Italy. But before the end of the month the brilliant victory gained by Radetzky at Custozza dashed their hopes to the ground. Not content with this triumph, he passed on, and at the beginning of August stood before the gates of Milan. On August 6th he made a solemn entry into the capital of Lombardy. Charles Albert left the town secretly during the night, and on August 9th accepted the amnesty of Vigevano. Radetzky used his victory with moderation. No acts of severity took place, but the town was deserted, and the palaces of the Milanese nobles were filled with Austrian troops. Garibaldi, after making a short stand in the neighbourhood of Como, withdrew into Switzerland, and afterwards, as we have seen, went to Rome.

But the war between Sardinia and Austria was not at an end. The successes of the revolutionary party at Verona filled the Italian patriots with new hopes. But attempts of friendly Powers to bring about an understanding had no success; and a congress, which it was proposed to assemble at Brussels, never met. Charles Albert, driven to despair, determined to try once more the fortune of arms. In March a fresh Sardinian army crossed the frontier, but after a four days' campaign was completely routed at Novara, on March 23rd, 1849, the Austrian victory ending the aspirations of Piedmont. Charles Albert abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel, and, seeking a refuge in Portugal, died at Oporto

on July 28th, full of confidence that the final liberation of Italy was bound up with the fortunes of his House. Victor Emmanuel made peace with Austria, and, still preserving the Constitution, which, once given, was never withdrawn, he was able to effect the triumph of his country by peaceful paths of progressive development.

The defeat at Novara produced a disastrous effect on the fortunes of Venice. The union with the monarchy of Piedmont had to be abandoned, and a republic was established by the influence of Daniele Manin. The Austrians obtained possession of the fortress of Malghera in the Lagoons on May 27th, but the position of the city, amidst its defences, was so strong that they could not get any further, and it held out for months. It was not till August 20th, 1849, that Radetzky was able to enter Venice in triumph. Manin fled to Paris, where he lived as a teacher of languages till 1857. Ten years later his ashes were brought back to his native town and a monument was raised to him by international subscription.

After the fall of Milan and Venice the Double Eagle brooded anew over the Lombard and Venetian kingdoms, and the Italian tricolour was seen in Sardinia alone. But the struggle had done good to the Italian cause. The Italians were no longer the objects of the sarcasm and laughter of the civilised world. They had shown themselves capable of fighting for their liberties and, though they had not obtained them, it was felt that the day was near when they would bear the cause of freedom to a triumphal issue.

CHAPTER IX

HUNGARY: THE EFFORT FOR INDEPENDENCE

THE year 1848 destroyed, in Hungary, the feudal monarchy, controlled by Estates, which had existed for several hundreds of years. The Hungarian Diet decreed the abolition of all the burdens and contributions of the peasants, without compensation to those to whom they were paid. It made all classes subject to taxes, and established freedom of the Press, publicity in the law courts, trial by jury, and a liberal franchise on a democratic basis. The Austrian Government, itself hard pressed, made no efforts to resist these innovations; but, on the contrary, declared its willingness to make sacrifices to secure the contentment of the Hungarian nation. But the Magyar party thought the time had come to restore the Hungarian kingdom in its greatness and independence, and desired that the tie between the two monarchies, which are divided by the river Leitha (hence called the Cisleithan and the Transleithan monarchies) should be that of a personal union.

The Government of Vienna yielded on some points, but remained firm on others. In March, 1848, it recognised a Liberal Government, of which Count Louis Batthyani was the head and Louis Kossuth the most influential member, but desired to keep questions of finance and war in its own hands. It also asked that the Magyars should accept parts of the State Debt, and pay a certain contribution to the common expenses of administration.

The Austrians found themselves unexpectedly assisted by the South Slavonic races—the Croatians, Slavonians and others—which, having a deep-rooted dislike to the Magyars, had also aspirations of forming themselves into a Panslavic community, under the Austrian Empire, but entirely separated from Hungary. The Transylvanian tribes objected to assisting Hungary to attain independence, and this country found itself standing alone, without the aid of the subject races that had formerly supported it. The races which occupied the country from the Carpathians to the Save and the Danube were each desirous of obtaining its own freedom. The Magyars, who had been accustomed to employ the Latin language in public affairs, now insisted upon the use

of their own tongue, one of the most difficult languages in Europe, with few or no analogies to any other. A concession made to the Croatians, that they might use their own language, which is practically Servian written in Latin characters, came too late to remove the deep-seated canker of national hatred. The Foreign Office in Vienna was assailed at the same time by two conflicting deputations—one asking that the three kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, together with the military families, might be formed into an independent State, having nothing to do with the Magyars; and the other urging the integrity of the Hungarian kingdom, with all its subject populations.

The Austrian Government well understood how to play off these contending forces against each other, and did not, therefore, desire to gratify the wishes of either. At this time the Ban of Croatia, as the ruler of that country was called, was Jellachich, a violent enemy of the Hungarians, but much beloved and appreciated by the Austrian Court. The Hungarians endeavoured to soothe his stubborn spirit, but in vain; they tried to remove him from his post, but the Emperor clung firmly to his friend. The territory of Sirmium, in south-east Hungary, is a marshy land, intersected by walls and ditches, which mark the ruins of the Roman capital. It is inhabited by wild peoples, with strange, outlandish names, mostly of Slavonic origin. They now joined with the Croatians to establish a government independent of Hungary. The outbreak of the war was marked by acts of savagery. On Easter Monday a rising took place in the little town of Kikinda, and soon spread to the neighbouring districts. The Servians and the wild occupants of the surrounding frontiers laid waste the plains watered by the Theiss and the Danube. Neusatz, Karlowitz, Pancsova, Weisskirchen were the scenes of revolting cruelties and undisciplined raids. Anarchical uproar, coupled with a remorseless war of races, filled the whole country for months. Matters were made worse by the rising of the Czechs in Prague. The rising was not suppressed till August, when the Austrian army became masters of the lines of St. Thomas and the town of Weisskirchen.

But the deep breach between Slav and Magyar was not filled. The Slavs were at least Aryans, or Indo-Germans; they belonged to that division of the human family from which probably all civilisation has proceeded. But the origin of the Hungarians was obscure: they were part of a Mongolian race, and their language was Turanian, like Turkish or Chinese. The Slavs looked down upon them as an Asiatic horde, and when, in September, 1848, Jellachich

raised the standard of Croatian independence and crossed the Drave, he was supported by the Court of Vienna and the revolutionary party in the capital. He issued a manifesto, in which he declared that his object was to protect the rights of his nation and to support the Austrian monarchy, which was threatened by the selfish obstinacy of the Hungarians. He desired to free Hungary itself from the hands of a faction. Jellachich marched without resistance to Lake Balaton. As the Hungarian army was commanded by Austrian officers, whose sympathies were with Jellachich, it offered only a weak resistance. Approaching the Government of Vienna, the Hungarians found but little encouragement and were gradually driven back to rely on their own resources.

Kossuth put himself at the head of the Hungarian movement. His fiery eloquence stirred the crowds whom he addressed, a national army was created, and a violent national war was begun. The Grand Duke Stephen resigned his office of Palatine of Hungary. Batthyani and Eötvös also gave up their posts, and the direction of affairs came into the hands of Kossuth and his friends. On September 28th, 1848, Count Lamberg, the commander of the Hungarian army, was murdered on the bridge of boats which at that time connected Pest with Buda. A Hungarian magnate, he had been sent to Pest as a superior authority to Jellachich, but Kossuth forbade any part of the Hungarian army to acknowledge his command, and, while driving to Buda in a hackney carriage, he was fallen upon by an excited mob and brutally done to death. This murder really strengthened the authority of Jellachich, and so did the fact that Count Zichy, who acted as Imperial Commissary in the army of Jellachich, was strangled by the orders of Görgei as a traitor to the Hungarian cause; the treasure which he had accumulated was appropriated, so that Jellachich obtained the whole command over the Imperial troops in Hungary and in the neighbouring districts.

Vienna itself now requested assistance, but the part played in the contest by Slav and Magyar respectively is but little known. On October 7th the Emperor left Vienna and retired to the fortress of Olmütz. Two days later the army of Jellachich reached the frontier town of Borek, on the Leitha; he rapidly occupied the hills and the city with his troops, and on October 13th was at Schönbrunn. The rumour that the Magyars intended to rescue the city of St. Stephen from the Slavs had no foundation. It is said that on two occasions the Hungarian troops crossed the Leitha and that once they returned. It was, however, determined that Vienna should be occupied, not by Jellachich, but by

Windischgrätz. He began the bombardment of Vienna on October 28th, and on October 30th the decisive battle took place at Schwechat, in which the Hungarians were completely defeated. On the following day Vienna was entirely in the hands of the Imperial troops, and the black-and-yellow flag again floated from the spire of St. Stephen's. The result was the abdication of the Emperor in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph.

The change, however, was not accepted by the Hungarians. Kossuth brought together a national army of 200,000 men in the valley of the Theiss, and prepared to do battle against the black-and-yellow flag. On December 15th Prince Windischgrätz set out for the reconquest of Hungary. He captured, without difficulty, the towns of Odenburg, Pressburg, and Raab and then advanced in eight divisions against the capital, Budapest. He reached his objective at the beginning of the new year, 1849, and refused offers of accommodation. In the night of January 4th–5th Kossuth went to Debreczin, carrying with him the crown of St. Stephen, the regalia of the Hungarian monarchy, and a press for the printing of bank-notes. He was also accompanied by the Deputies of the Diet and the Committee of National Defence. On January 5th Windischgrätz and Jellachich entered the two towns and sent their keys as an offering to the new Emperor.

In the meantime the struggle was raging against the Slavs at Pancsova and in Transylvania. This country is one of the most interesting in Europe, both from its natural features and from the variety of races which inhabit it. Here is a settlement of pure Germans, there a village of Roumanians, with their handsome features, picturesque dresses, Sunday national dances, and the patriarchal disposition of the land. Of these some desired political independence, with a Parliament at Klausenburg, others wished to preserve an indelible union with the Austrian monarchy. As time went on, the Roumanians, Wallachians and Saxons became more bitter against the Magyars, and felt greater devotion to the Double Eagle.

Civil war broke out. The Szekler hussars and the Hungarian infantry devastated the fields and pastures of the Saxons; the Roumanians were guilty of still worse excesses, and the peace-loving Saxons, unable to protect themselves, summoned an Austrian army under General Puchner to their assistance. Every valley of that beautiful country seethed with the excesses of national hatred, and the Austrians had no need to learn the lesson of ruling by division. The war took a more civilised character in

January, 1849, when General Bem became commander of the Hungarian army in Transylvania. He did his best to unite the Slavs and the Roumanians with the Magyars in a common effort against their common foe, and to mitigate the rage of the Wallachs and the Szeklers. The result was unfortunate for the Saxons, who clung closely to the Austrian monarchy. Of their three principal towns, Kronstadt and Klausenburg fell into the hands of the Magyars, while Hermannstadt was hard pressed. In their embarrassment the Austrians sought assistance from the Russians, who had been hanging for some time on the Wallachian frontier. On the last day of January the Russian general, Engelhardt, entered Transylvania with 6,000 men and twenty cannon, and took possession of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt after a considerable struggle.

The Austrian Government now agreed that, when Budapest was taken and placed under military law, the war was at an end. Jellachich was made Governor of Dalmatia, keeping his position as Ban of Croatia, and steps were taken for separating Servia and Transylvania from the Hungarian monarchy. This, however, was not accepted by the patriots, and a war broke out for the preservation of the integrity of the Hungarian kingdom, a war which was more violent than the struggle that had preceded it.

Arthur von Görgei now became prominent, a man of mysterious and enigmatical character. He came of a German Protestant family and, in 1849, took service with the National Guard in Hungary. He had many enemies, and was especially disliked by Kossuth, who regarded him as a German rather than as a patriot, and a soldier rather than a politician. The Hungarian cause was also assisted by Polish exiles, such as Dembinski and Bem, who hoped to be able to do something for the advantage of their own country. Other distinguished generals were Perczel and Klapka. Kossuth used his printing press to make Hungarian banknotes to the value of 70,000,000 of florins. These generals were, as a rule, very jealous of each other and were always quarrelling. The first great event was the Battle of Kapolna, which lasted two days—February 26th and 27th, 1849. It was reckoned as a defeat for the Hungarians, but it might have been a victory if Görgei, in his jealousy of Dembinski, had not appeared on the field too late to make it one. The result was that the whole of Western Hungary fell into Austrian hands. On the other hand, Bem was successful in Transylvania. The Russians were driven out of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt and had to retire over the frontier; Puchner was followed by Bem into Wallachia.

Windischgrätz was determined to strike a serious blow and to crush the insurgent army in the valley of the Theiss. But his schemes failed; the passages over the Theiss were stoutly and successfully defended. Schlick was driven back by Dembinski, Jellachich was repelled at various points, and the fortress of Komorn was able to preserve its "virgin" character of never having yielded to an enemy. Easter witnessed continual conflicts in the field of Rakos, in the neighbourhood of Budapest, which was the place of election of the Hungarian kings. On April 19th, 1849, Görgei defeated the Austrian general, Wohlgemüth, at Nagy-Sarlo, and relieved Komorn, where the black flag of independence still floated proudly from the battlements.

We now reach the crowning point of Hungarian success. Windischgrätz was recalled by the Court of Olmütz, and Welden appointed in his place. On April 23rd, 1849, the Austrians evacuated Pest; they burned the bridge of boats which connected it with Ofen, in order to secure the garrison, which still occupied that fortress, from attack. The Magyars entered their capital amidst popular rejoicings. Two days later the army which was besieging Komorn was forced to retire, and on May 3rd Görgei appeared on the heights above Buda with a well-seasoned army. The place was bravely defended by General Hentzi, a Swiss, who threw up batteries and entrenchments, and made every preparation for an obstinate resistance. On May 21st Ofen was set on fire by red-hot cannon balls, and a strong wind completed the destruction of the town; but it was defended street by street, house by house, and room by room. Hentzi perished in the conflict, but his companions were made prisoners of war. The Austrian army retreated to Pressburg. The Magyars also gained successes in the south. On April 14th the Parliament at Debreczin had proclaimed the independence of Hungary, and a provisional Government with Kossuth at its head. This step towards a republic excited the anger of Görgei, who refused to obey the orders of Kossuth, and acted henceforth on his own initiative.

In their embarrassment the Austrians again turned to Russia for assistance. The young Kaiser met the Tsar at Warsaw on May 21st, the very day that Görgei stormed Ofen. Unless energetic measures were adopted Austria would be reduced to the rank of a second-rate Power, while the fact that so many Poles were engaged in the struggle on the Hungarian side was a danger to the Russian Empire. Arrangements were completed between the Sovereigns before the end of the month. Paskevich was to cross the Hungarian frontier by Cracow and Dunkla. General

Haynau, a man of ruthless severity, was to advance from the east, and Jellachich was to command an expedition from the south. No alternative was left the Hungarians but to submit or fight to the bitter end.

Kossuth, determined upon the second course, strained every nerve to rouse his people to every kind of sacrifice in the cause of freedom and independence. The invading armies had great difficulties to contend with. The conditions of land and climate fought for the Hungarians, as they fought for the Russians in 1812. There were no military roads, and rain made the ways impossible both for men and animals. Days of oppressive heat alternated with nights of frost, and both were equally dangerous to health. The fever-stricken marshes of the Theiss had a deadly effect on the Austrians and Russians. By the orders of Kossuth the country was turned into a desert and no supplies were forthcoming. The Hungarians had been accustomed to warfare from their childhood, and were more than a match for the rude German levies.

The beginning of the war was favourable to the allied forces. Görgei was defeated by Wohlgemüth and Haynau, and had to take refuge under the walls of Komorn. On July 12th the Austrians again entered Budapest. Paskevich raided the streets with his Cossacks from Gödöllö, and Haynau revelled in those shameless atrocities which afterwards secured an appropriate punishment when he was flogged out of Barclay and Perkins' brewery in London by the indignant draymen. Anyone who had any of Kossuth's notes in his possession was punished with death, which was a special hardship, because up to that time they had been accepted even in public offices.

Jellachich had similar success in the south, and effected the crossing of the Theiss. On July 1 Bem succeeded in taking possession of Arad, and Jellachich was driven to retreat. It is not necessary to follow the vicissitudes of the campaign in detail. The interest of Europe was concentrated round the fortress of Arad, where both Kossuth and Görgei were present. What happened between them is a matter of dispute. Kossuth, after burying the crown of St. Stephen at Orsova, where its place of concealment is still shown, passed into Turkey. Görgei remained master of the situation and capitulated to General Rudiger in Vilâgos on August 13th. Görgei was allowed to spend the rest of his life at Klagenfurt, while his supporters were, for the most part, executed. Kossuth always declared him to be a traitor, but how far this charge is justified will probably never be known.

His own account of his life and activities is not a very trustworthy document.

Komorn, commanded by Klapka, did not surrender till September 27th, 1849, and with it ended the Hungarian War, heroic in its origin and conduct, tragic in its conclusion. Paskevich sent a message to Francis Joseph, "Hungary lies at the feet of your Majesty." The punishment of the authors of the rising was severe. The most guilty of them were either hanged or shot in Pest. The latter fate overtook Count Louis Batthyani and the aged Perenyi, President of the Upper House. Towns, villages and country-seats were laid in ruins. Two years later Kossuth went to England, where he was received with enthusiasm. The Holy Crown of St. Stephen, which he had concealed at Orsova, was exhumed in 1853 and restored to the Emperor. But the relations between Austria and Hungary remained strained, and, indeed, long continued so.

CHAPTER X

THE COUP D'ÉTAT

THE two revolutionary years 1848 and 1849 had left the countries of Europe in a condition of exhaustion. In Italy the efforts to obtain unity, which had been the dream of three hundred years, had entirely failed. In Hungary the struggles of a vigorous and energetic nation to raise itself to a position of independence in the European family had met with disaster, and it was necessary to begin over again. In Germany the strength of the nation had been exhausted in constitutional struggles which produced no result; the Germans had not learnt that the solution of their difficulties lay, not in oratory or in literature, but in blood and iron. Europe was full of political exiles, fortresses were crowded with political prisoners, civilisation suffered, morals were corrupted. Statesmen had lost their clearness of vision, and could see neither the object to be aimed at nor the method of obtaining it.

France was in a particularly unhappy state. She had entirely lost the supremacy in European affairs which once belonged to her. She was not in as bad a condition as that in which she was left by the Revolution of 1789, but there was a similarity in the two results. The foundations of civilisation, of family, of property, and of personal freedom were being attacked by a wild and undisciplined proletariat. The fundamental conditions of all government, security of life and property, could not be preserved without an active struggle. It was evident that the new Prince-President was not satisfied with the existing state of things, and that he intended to take a line of his own. He had obvious sympathies with the Clerical and Conservative parties, and did not choose his Ministers from the groups possessing a majority in the Assembly. Odilon Barrot became Prime Minister, Drouyn de l'Huys Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Falloux, a Legitimist, supported by the Abbé Dupanloup, Minister of Education. The complexion of the Cabinet was mainly Orleanist.

On January 29th, 1849, the Constituent Assembly voted its own dissolution, and agreed to retire as soon as it passed laws for regulating the Council of State, the responsibility of the Executive,

an electoral law, and a budget. The Conservative party began to organise itself in view of the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. A Committee was formed, entitled " Union Electoral," which met in the Rue de Poitiers. It contained men of different ideals, Thiers, a Royalist, Faucher, Barrot and Dufaure, Lucien Murat and Louis Bonaparte, who were Bonapartists, and Falloux. Their common cause was to defend the Church of Rome, and Montalembert placed himself at the head of the association, in order that liberty might unite with the Church for the safety of society. Falloux then promised to get a law passed which gave the control of education to the Church.

Ministers now had to determine what they should do with regard to Rome. Cavaignac had offered assistance to the Pope, but the Pontiff preferred to retire to Gaeta, whence he appealed for assistance to Europe and to the Catholic Powers other than France. This did not suit the French, or the Ministers of the Prince-President. But it was not easy to act. By the terms of the Constitution which they had sworn to uphold they were forbidden to interfere in quarrels between a Sovereign and his people. Besides, Louis Napoleon in 1833 had fought in Rome for the concessions which the Pope now declined to grant. Drouyn de l'Huys proposed that a congress should be held in the dominions of the King of Sardinia, who was a Catholic and a Liberal. But the defeat of Novara, in 1848, prevented this, and drove the French to more energetic measures. Falloux, in the name of the Catholics, prepared for some definite action. At length representatives of France were sent to join those of the other Catholic States in Gaeta, and Drouyn de l'Huys advised his master to dispatch an army corps to Italy.

The execution of this very delicate enterprise was entrusted to General Oudinot. He received instructions to refrain from attacking the rebels; at the same time he was to contribute to the establishment of order. The French troops disembarked at Civita Vecchia on April 25th, 1849. The Romans did not know whether they had come to defend them against the Austrians and Neapolitans, or to restore the power of the Papacy. Oudinot soon had to make a choice of alternatives. Five days after his arrival he risked an attack upon the city and was defeated. The news of this event caused dismay to the Republican party, and joy in the Rue de Poitiers. In the Chambers the action of Oudinot was condemned by a large majority, and Drouyn de l'Huys was compelled to suspend operations against the Roman Republic. But by this defeat French military honour had been insulted

and it had to be avenged. The Prince-President announced that this was his duty.

The elections of May, 1849, gave success to the Rue de Poitiers. The moderate Republicans received little support, but the Social Democrats were strongly represented. Ledru Rollin was elected in four departments by 2,000,000 votes. On May 27th the Constituent Assembly was formally dissolved. The French Government, anxious to find a middle term in their difficulties, had sent Ferdinand de Lesseps, the creator of the Suez Canal, a practised and conciliatory diplomat, to Rome, to arrange matters, if possible, between the Roman people and the Pope. But with the claim of military honour, on the one hand, to avenge defeat, and the determination of Mazzini and Garibaldi, on the other, to defend the city against attack, his task was by no means easy. However, just when Lesseps had signed an agreement with the Roman Republic, to the effect that the French army should be allowed to enter Rome on condition that it respected the rights of the nation, he was summarily recalled by Drouyn de l'Huys, and Oudinot received orders to take the city by assault. Oudinot began the siege on June 3rd, 1849, and finished it on June 30th. A solemn Te Deum was sung at St. Peter's to celebrate the victory of France over the Roman Republic and the unconditional restoration of pontifical authority.

The Catholic party was now strong enough to suppress or impede public demonstrations, and the strength of the agitation was transferred to the Press. Foremost among the political newspapers of a Liberal complexion were the *National*, edited by Jules Simon, *L'Événement*, supported by Victor Hugo, and *La Presse*, directed by Émile de Girardin, together with *Le Siècle* and *La République*. In consequence of these journalistic efforts the power of the Republican opposition grew.

France was divided between two powerful conflicting parties, the Catholic Conservatives and the Democratic Republicans, and the Prince-President had to feel his way between the two and devise an independent policy. He did not desire to lose his influence with either party. He posed as the supporter of order, despite the democratic Press and the Protestants, but did not wish to become the servant of the Church. What he possibly had in his mind was the settlement which his uncle had always aimed at, and particularly desired, the establishment of a democratic Empire. He appointed Liberal Ministers of great distinction, de Tocqueville, Lanjuinais, and Dufaure, who became Minister of the Interior. He attempted to persuade the Pope to adopt

Liberal reforms, but received a doubtful answer and a shadowy promise. The Catholics were not satisfied with this, and said that it would be an obvious piece of inconsistency to force the will of a Sovereign whose independence they were engaged in vindicating. The Assembly approved by a large majority of the expeditionary corps remaining unconditionally at Rome, in the Pope's service.

The President now created a new Ministry, containing some names which continued to be connected with him during the rest of his career. Rouher was made Minister of Justice and Fould Minister of Finance. Rouher was the most energetic of the new servants of Napoleon, and carried on an active crusade against the Republicans. His subordinates were ordered to gain information every month with regard to the organisation of the Democratic party, its newspapers, its societies, and all its dealings. An attempt was made by Parieu, Minister of Education, to centralise instruction under the Prefects, but this gave way to the famous Act of Falloux, passed on March 15th, 1850, which charged the State with the burden of providing national education, but, at the same time, placed it, to a great extent, under the influence of the Church. Four archbishops, elected by their colleagues, were installed as the governing body of the University, to inspect programmes of lectures, examine books and inquire into abuses. Two priests, one of them a bishop, were placed on the provincial academic councils to supervise the masters, and the parish priests acquired the right of inspecting their parish schools. In March, 1850, Baroche was made Minister of the Interior. He had come into notice by opposing first Guizot and then the Republicans. These three, Rouher, Fould and Baroche, to whom Morny was afterwards added, became the devoted Ministers of the second Empire.

The campaign against the Republicans as the enemies of order was prosecuted with persistence, if not with vigour. Baroche set himself to rectify universal suffrage, as it was called, and accordingly those who had not resided for three years in one place, or had taken part in clubs or in secret societies, or been convicted before a political tribunal, were deprived of the franchise. House-to-house distribution of books and pamphlets, and political meetings and banquets were forbidden. These and other measures were necessary for the establishment of good government, and are comparable to the steps taken by Napoleon Bonaparte when he became First Consul. But the policy was interpreted by the Republicans as a step towards the re-establishment of the Empire, and this opinion may have unduly influenced them. Of the two

great forces of which government is composed, it is difficult to regulate *libertas* without exaggerating *imperium*.

By the beginning of 1851 it became nearly certain that there would be an Empire; the question was whether it would come into existence by legality or by violence. Article 45 of the Constitution forbade the re-election of the President after five years of office. If, therefore, the Prince were to continue President, the Constitution would have to be revised. There was a majority in the Chamber for the revision of the Constitution in this respect. But a simple majority was not enough. A majority of three-fourths was necessary and more than a quarter were obstinate Republicans. On July 8th, de Tocqueville opened the debate in favour of revision, but Victor Hugo declared that not a single Republican would vote for it, and on July 19th the project was thrown out by nearly 100 votes. A deputy remarked: "The Constitution will not be revised; it can only be said to have ceased to exist."

Napoleon now made preparations for action of a different character. He summoned to Paris St. Arnaud, Magnan and Fleury, young officers from Africa, who could assist him in a *coup d'état*. He took Maupas and Morny, men of unscrupulous devotion to his cause, further into his confidence, and the question how the revolution was to be carried out seems to have been discussed between them and Caslier, the Prefect of Police, at St. Cloud between August 11th and September 9th. Napoleon himself was undecided; he was divided between the alternatives of establishing his power on a firm basis and losing all his power if he took no risk.

At last he resolved that he must dare everything. On the morning of December 2nd, 1851, the walls of Paris were covered with a proclamation announcing that the Assembly was dissolved, and the electors were to meet between December 14th and 21st, to decide about the revision of the Constitution. In this hopeless deadlock the President turned from the impracticable Chamber to the voice of the people. At the same time the garrison of Paris was under arms. The Parliament House was occupied by two regiments of the line. But, what was grossly illegal, and an unpardonable outrage on the liberties of the country, a number of deputies, Royalist as well as Republican, had been arrested early in the morning and carried off to prison. Among them were Changarnier, Lamoricière, Cavaignac and Thiers.

Those attacked defended themselves. Under Berryer 200 deputies met for a last sitting and proclaimed the fall of Louis Napoleon and the continuance of the Assembly. At the order

of Maupas, General Forey cleared the hall, and the courageous asserters of constitutional principles were marched off to prison between two lines of soldiers.

Some Republican representatives adopted even stronger measures than did the deputies to secure their rights. A committee of opposition, which contained the names of Carnot, Jules Favre and Victor Hugo, decided on a popular rising in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine on December 3rd. But nothing happened till the evening, when, between seven o'clock and midnight, St. Arnaud cleared the Boulevards with considerable and indiscriminate slaughter. Morny was now established as Minister of the Interior. He did everything to arouse the enthusiasm of the country for the coming plebiscite. He stimulated his prefects and sub-prefects by ardent dispatches. He authorised them, after December 4th, to replace *juges de paix*, mayors, and schoolmasters, whose loyalty was not certain, by such as could be depended upon, and forbade them to allow a single newspaper to appear of which he had not seen the proofs. On December 7th and 8th a list of proscriptions was drawn up, probably the most terrible of any known in history. The members of the political Opposition, whether Legitimists, or Monarchists, or Republicans, were incarcerated by hundreds in prisons and fortresses. Thousands were deported to the deadly climate of Cayenne, which earned for itself the name of the " bloodless guillotine." In Paris up to December 4th the number of arrests amounted to 2,100, and they continued during the following days. In the Department of La Meurthe nearly 5,000 of the Republicans were arrested.

On December 21st, 1851, the plebiscite took place, and France decided by 7,500,000 votes against 640,000 to delegate to the Prince-President the right of drawing up the Constitution. This victory was celebrated by a solemn Te Deum at Notre Dame, on January 1st, 1852. The President installed himself at the Tuileries, and the eagle of the Empire appeared once more on the standards of France. It cannot be denied that when a revision of the Constitution was obstinately refused by a great portion of the Chamber vigorous action was necessary. For Napoleon to have surrendered the Presidency would have thrown the country back into hopeless confusion, and made it the prey of warring factions. But some means of effecting this could have been found other than the commission of monstrous crimes, for such were the imprisonment of the deputies on December 2nd, the shooting down of the populace in the streets, and the deportations which followed. Those deeds tainted the new Government with

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an indelible stain. Those who were punished and their friends never forgot the injury, and even those who supported the change lamented the means by which it had been brought about.

Tacitus says that no government founded on crime can be a permanent success, and this saying was often referred to during the triumphs of the Empire. For some two years after the Crimean War Louis Napoleon became, to an extent which it is difficult for the present age to realise, the most commanding figure in Europe. But throughout this splendid position the vice of the Empire's origin was never forgotten, nor the despicable character of the Emperor's *entourage*, which had little object in view except to profit by the spoils. When the Emperor was driven from Sedan to Bouillon, a defeated prince in abasement and tears, those who saw him felt pity for his misfortunes, but admitted at the same time that the punishment long delayed was not undeserved, and that the mills of God may grind slowly but they grind exceeding small.

Persecution continued after the declaration of the plebiscite. By the decree of January 9th, eighteen deputies, of whom six were Republicans, were exiled for a period, and sixty-six for life, all of whom belonged to the extreme party. The Conservative deputies were released. In the provinces lists of suspects were drawn up by prefects and other officials. It is estimated that in the month of January, 1852, nearly 100,000 were arrested. These were tried by special tribunals, mixed commissions acting in districts declared to be under martial law. We learn from official documents that the number of persons thus sentenced was but few under 30,000, of whom 3,000 were banished to the interior of the country, 10,000 were deported to Algeria, and 6,000 were subjected to penal servitude. To these must be added the voluntary exiles in Switzerland, Belgium, England and America, who were very numerous. This cruel work was completed by February, 1852.

It now remained for the President to give the provisional Constitution to France. This was promulgated on January 14th, 1852. It was mainly the work of Troplong, Persigny, Flahaut and Rouher. Ministers were to be appointed by the President and were removable at his pleasure. Great powers were given to the Council of Three, nominated by the head of the Government. The Senate was also appointed by the President and the salaries of its members were fixed by him. The sittings of the Senate were not public and only lasted so long as the President chose. The legislative body consisted of 250 members, who were elected by the *arrondissements* to pass laws and to regulate taxation, but

they had no power of initiative and were obliged to pass Government Bills without having any right to modify them. About the only power left to them was the annual voting of the budget.

This was merely an Empire in disguise, and in November, 1852, came the formal restoration of the hereditary Empire in the person of Napoleon III. A storm of addresses had given the President the opportunity of asking for an expression of opinion in the country with regard to altering the form of the Constitution. The Senate decreed the holding of a plebiscite by an almost unanimous vote, and the people decided for an Empire by an overwhelming majority. On the fatal day, December 2nd, the day of Austerlitz, the day of the *coup d'état* in Paris, a dull, wintry afternoon, the Senate and the legislative body went to St. Cloud, attended by torches, to announce to the Prince-President the result of the popular vote. He told them that he assumed the title of Napoleon III., by the grace of God and the will of the people Emperor of the French, but that he recognised everything which the history of France recorded since the extinction of the first Empire. Shortly afterwards he made his solemn entry into the Tuileries, and his civil list was fixed at £1,000,000 a year.

CHAPTER XI

ENGLAND, 1846-52

THE Ministry of Lord John Russell in 1846 marks to some extent a new epoch in the history of the United Kingdom, an epoch which lasted until the advent of Gladstone in 1868. During this period domestic questions become less important, and the front of the stage is occupied by the politics of the Continent and the affairs of China and India. In this Ministry, Sir Charles Wood was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Palmerston was Secretary for Foreign Affairs, until his place was taken by Lord Granville in 1851. Except in its dealings with foreign nations the Cabinet could not be called conservative.

The men who had just won the repeal of the Corn Laws were not represented in it. Mr. Villiers, a prominent Free Trader, was offered a place in it, but refused the honour, and Richard Cobden was neglected. The only representative of that party was Milner Gibson, and he was placed in a very inferior position. Still, the principles of Free Trade were fully accepted by the new Ministry. They extended those principles to the important commodity of sugar, which forms so important a part of the food of the poorer classes. This was opposed by the Protectionists, but supported chivalrously by Peel. The alteration in the tax had the effect of bringing to British markets large quantities of sugar which previously had been excluded. It increased the revenue and at the same time decreased the price. Lord George Bentinck admitted that by this measure the revenue had gained £400,000 and the consumer had saved nearly £2,500,000.

The question of Ireland was very urgent. A terrible famine was raging in the country, and masses of people, without food and without shelter, were dying by the roadside. Potatoes were rotting in the ground, and potatoes were the staple of the people's diet. The Cabinet established relief works, but they were of little use, and it was impossible to regulate admission to them. The number attending them rose from 114,000 in October, 1846, to 734,000 in March, 1847. The blight had fallen quite suddenly on the crops. Father Mathew wrote: "On July 27th I passed from Cork to Dublin, and the doomed plant bloomed in all the

luxuriance of an abundant harvest. Returning on August 3rd I beheld with sorrow mere wastes of putrefying vegetation." But while the relief works alleviated misery in some districts, in others thousands of people were perishing. It was evident that the relief works must be discontinued, for the roads were blocked by the labourers and by the stones they were crushing. The works had developed into a vast system of impoverishment for England and of pauperism for Ireland. The system came to an end in August, 1847. Relief Committees were organised instead, and the population was kept alive by daily rations until the harvest. At the same time a Bill was passed suspending the duty on foreign corn, and relaxing the navigation laws which prevented the importation of foreign corn in non-British ships and ships not manned by British seamen.

Another pressing evil in Ireland was the inadequacy of the arrangements for the relief of the poor. Outdoor relief was unknown and anyone requiring assistance had to seek it in the workhouse. But workhouses were few and had accommodation for only a very small fraction, not more than 3 per cent., of those really requiring help. However, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the Irish landlords, a measure of outdoor relief was passed. A Bill was also passed for selling encumbered estates, but this did not produce the good expected of it, because the new proprietor was often an unsympathetic landlord, who raised the rent of his tenants, and made their position worse than it had been before. A small sum was also granted by the Government to encourage the building of Irish railways.

The expenditure undertaken for the relief of the Irish distress had laid a burden on the Exchequer of not less than £7,000,000; the relief works alone had cost over £5,000,000, and the distribution of food more than £1,500,000. It was only possible to meet this by a loan. Though the attention of the country was occupied by the election of a new Parliament, which differed but little from the Parliament it replaced, and by a commercial crisis which made it necessary to suspend the operation of the Bank Charter Act, it soon became needful for it to concentrate its thoughts on Ireland.

During the months of October and November, 1847, shooting at the person in open daylight was a common occurrence in the counties of Clare, Limerick and Tipperary. With few exceptions none of the miscreants were arrested; the murderers, protected by the people, in almost every instance escaped, and the hillsides were sometimes illuminated to celebrate the crime. The Govern-

ment's remedy for this state of things was a Coercion Bill. The Lord Lieutenant was authorised to proclaim a district, and in a proclaimed district he had power to increase the police force and charge the cost to the ratepayers.

Ireland was, moreover, to be affected by the convulsions which shook the thrones of Europe in 1848. Smith O'Brien went as the head of a deputation to ask Lamartine, the famous French orator and statesman, to assist Ireland in her troubles, but Lamartine replied that it would not be proper for France to interfere in the affairs of a country with which she desired to remain at peace. The Cabinet increased the stringency of the Coercion Act, restricted freedom of speech, and suspended the Habeas Corpus Act. But the so-called rebellion of Smith O'Brien was a mere flash in the pan, and the movement, which had been treated as a serious menace to the community, ended in laughter. This was the last Irish rebellion, and the chance of its having a successor grew less and less likely owing to the gradual diminution of the population, which six years of famine had reduced by nearly two millions; and the numbers, comparatively small as they were, were still further decreased by emigration.

But rebellion would not have occurred in Ireland at all if it had not been stimulated by similar disturbances in England, where the unrest of the Continent also produced an effect. Multitudes were out of employment, and the poor were suffering privations the like of which they had not experienced for many years. These hardships led to a revival of Chartism. The Chartists were at this time under the guidance of an Irishman, Feargus O'Connor. Tall, and of noble presence, he had all the qualifications for a rough, popular orator. He and his colleagues and their followers agreed to carry a monster petition to the House of Commons, and to escort it by a monster procession. It was publicly advertised that this would take place on April 10th, 1848. The Government issued an order that such a procession was illegal, and the defence of London was entrusted to the Duke of Wellington. The approaches to Westminster were guarded by some regular troops, many more being held in reserve, but judiciously kept out of sight. A hundred and seventy thousand special constables were sworn in for the preservation of order, amongst them Prince Louis Napoleon, the future Emperor of the French. The procession was abandoned, and the petition, instead of being accompanied to Parliament by a triumphant throng, was taken in a hackney coach. When the roll was examined, it was found to contain fewer than 2,000,000 signatures, instead of over 5,500,000, as had been

asserted by its supporters. Many of the names were fictitious. Besides those of the Queen, Wellington, and Peel, were found appellations such as "Pugnose," "Flatnose," and "No Cheese." The English rebellion ended, like the Irish, in ridicule.

Unfortunately the disturbed state of the Continent produced a panic in England, founded upon a dread of France, which, but for the sudden collapse of the French Government, might have had disastrous consequences. Such panics are liable to recur, directed now against one country and now against another, and the lessons of experience seem powerless to prevent them. At that time the subject of the panicmonger's frenzy and tail-lashing was the creation of a French steam fleet. The Duke of Wellington denounced the condition of the national defences, and the United Kingdom quivered at the fear of imminent invasion. And this was at a period when economy was especially needed to repair commercial disaster, and when the famine in Ireland had caused a large expenditure. The Prime Minister did not dare to resist a senseless popular cry, and the budget left the nation with a deficit of over £3,000,000, the shortage being met by raising the income tax from sevenpence to a shilling in the pound. The budget was received with a burst of disapproval from both parties, one clamouring for economy and the other for further expense. But a dramatic catastrophe happened. The budget was propounded on February 18th, and a week later it was known that the Monarchy of July had collapsed, and that the dreaded master of an imaginary steam fleet was on his way to England, a sick and weary fugitive. The budget was withdrawn and the income tax remained as before.

The difficulties with regard to Ireland still continued. The Poor Law of 1847 had given Irish peasants a claim to outdoor relief, and this, by making it more easy for the owner to clear the property, led to wholesale evictions. Thousands of families were turned out of their cottages; some went into villages where there was no proper accommodation for them, others lay down and died by the wayside. Some went to England; those who could, emigrated. Wherever they went they carried with them the seeds of disease and perished like flies. One of the first acts of the Ministry was to vote £50,000 in aid of bankrupt unions, but really the whole system of Irish poor law relief demanded examination and amendment. In the end the situation was met by a regular grant in aid of poor law relief from the richer country to the poorer, and by the limitation of the amount of poor rate to which Irish estates were liable.

The year 1849 also witnessed an extension of Free Trade by the repeal of the Navigation Acts, the object of which was to keep the world's carrying trade entirely in the hands of Great Britain. First passed in the time of the Commonwealth, they were confirmed by the Parliament of the Restoration in 1660 and 1662. They were directed primarily against the Dutch, then England's great rivals in maritime commerce. But as years rolled on and the circumstances of the world altered, the working of these laws became disastrous. When the Americans came to possess a mercantile marine they retaliated, and if American ships could not bring British produce to America, British ships might not bring British produce to the United States. Huskisson was obliged to introduce the principle of reciprocity, which after his time was largely extended by treaty. Direct trade with the treaty countries was partially opened. Concessions were made to Austria and the States of the Prussian Zollverein. The Colonies were allowed to trade directly with most foreign nations, and the East Indies with any friendly Power. American ships might trade between England and India, but no foreign ship might carry between England and her colonies, or from colony to colony. No Asian, African, or American produce could, as a rule, be brought from any European port, neither sugar nor coffee from Rotterdam, nor cotton from Havre.

In 1844, Mr. Gladstone, then Vice-President of the Board of Trade, appointed a committee to inquire into the operation of the Acts, but the matter was not ripe for legislation till 1849. Even then opinion was equally divided. Mercantile and manufacturing prosperity required complete freedom, but the British shipping interest and the old school of naval officers were almost unanimous against repeal. Probably the scale was turned by Canada, which declared that the repeal of the Corn Laws had given the Americans a great advantage in competition for the corn trade. America could send her corn freely to England, but Canada must use only British vessels, and the British shipowners raised the freights. There was danger of an estrangement between the colony and the Mother Country. Canadians said that this was one of the evil consequences of Free Trade, and that if Protection were established all grievances would be removed. The Bill passed with great difficulty, the Protectionists in the House of Lords only being defeated by a majority of ten on the second reading, and by a majority of thirteen on the third. The passing of this Act was the main work of the session of 1849.

Difficulties again arose with regard to Ireland. The Battle

of Dolly's Brae, between the Orangemen and the Catholics, took place on July 12th, 1849. On that day, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, the Orangemen of Down set out to pay a visit to their master, Lord Roden, at Tollymore Park, and had to pass through a defile in the Monaghan Hills known as Dolly's Brae. A large force of military and police prevented a conflict on the outward journey, and the return might also have been achieved in peace had the Orangemen taken a shorter and more convenient road home, but, swollen with whisky, they refused to do this, and, singing Orange songs and waving banners, reached the pass in the evening. There they produced an explosion of feeling. The Ribbonmen fired on the police, and the Orangemen joined in the fray. Four Ribbonmen were shot dead, forty were wounded, the Orangemen sacked and burned the houses of the Ribbonmen, and murdered at least one inoffensive person. This scandal caused a profound sensation, but it was difficult to find a remedy. A better state of feeling was evoked by a short visit which Queen Victoria paid to Ireland in her yacht, steaming into Cork and leaving by Belfast. She and her family were received everywhere with enthusiasm. Thus encouraged, the Ministry in 1850 introduced three measures, a Relief Bill to alleviate the burden on Irish property, an extension of the Irish county franchise, and the abolition of the Viceroyalty. The first two measures were passed, the second in an amended form, but the third, the object of which was to abolish an office that was a symbol of dependence and more ornamental than useful, was not carried; it is difficult to say why. Perhaps it was feared that the abolition of the Castle Court might be prejudicial to the interests of Dublin tradesmen. The second reading was adopted by a large majority, but the Bill was afterwards abandoned.

Between 1846 and 1851 Lord Palmerston held the office of Foreign Secretary, certainly one of the most brilliant statesmen that ever held those seals. He carried out a difficult policy in a determined manner, and his action often brought him into conflict with the Crown. The foreign policy of the United Kingdom has always been largely under the control of the Sovereign. Consequently all dispatches were submitted to the Queen before being sent, and when returned to the office they frequently showed alterations in her handwriting. But in these matters Prince Albert also exercised a powerful, if not paramount, influence. He always worked with the Queen, their writing-tables were side by side, and her correspondence was invariably prepared for her perusal by him. He had a profound knowledge of foreign affairs

and very definite views, but his ideas did not always coincide with those of Palmerston, and the British Minister might reasonably hold that the foreign policy of Great Britain ought not to be controlled by one who was himself a German and possibly represented the ideas of the smaller German States.

When Palmerston came into office in 1846, the relations between France and Great Britain were strained by the question of the Spanish marriages. A dispatch of July 19th, in which he objected to the French marriages, and expressed a desire for a return of constitutional government in Spain, offended both Paris and Madrid and drove Queen Isabella into hastening the Bourbon marriage. Probably Palmerston's action wrecked an understanding between the two countries, a relation, however, which he described as *ni entente, ni cordiale.* When, in 1846, Austria destroyed the independence of Cracow, Palmerston was rumoured to have said that Cracow had always formed part of the general arrangement which the great Powers had made at Vienna for the settlement of Europe: what Europe laid down Europe alone could alter. He also interfered actively in the affairs of Portugal, where civil war was raging between Saldanha and the insurgents. Palmerston, however, agreed to mediate if four conditions were fulfilled:—

1. A general amnesty;
2. A revocation of the decrees issued since Saldanha took office;
3. A convocation of the Cortes;
4. The appointment of a national administration.

If these terms were refused the British Government would arrange, with the Governments of France and Spain, the best means of offering essential assistance to the Queen of Portugal. Neither party liked this arrangement, but, their fleet being captured by the British, the Portuguese were obliged to submit. A Convention was duly signed, and the civil war ceased.

Palmerston took an equally bold and independent line on the question of the Sonderbund. He refused to admit that the formation of the Sonderbund had dissolved the Swiss Confederation, and proposed that the foreign Powers should offer their mediation on the understanding that, if it were refused, no intervention should take place, and that, if it were accepted, the Jesuits should be expelled, the Sonderbund be dissolved, and the civil war terminate. Guizot threatened to form a separate alliance and leave Great Britain to stand alone. Luckily, the rapid suppression of the Sonderbund by General Dufour obviated all danger of a civil war.

To the unconcealed disgust of Metternich, Palmerston also loyally supported the new Liberal movement in Italy. He expressed a hope that, considering the deep, widespread, and well-founded discontent, Austria would use her influence to encourage necessary reforms and improvements, declared that any armed intervention of Austria in Italy would be resented by Great Britain, and seemed to hint at the possibility of war. Lord Minto was dispatched to Italy to support reforms both in Rome and Sardinia. He was asked to assure the Italians that the moral force of Great Britain would be everywhere on the side of progress. Palmerston learned of the Revolution of February with some satisfaction, because it brought about the fall of Guizot, to whom he was especially opposed, and whose fate he deemed to be a guarantee for peace. He ordered the Minister accredited to Louis Philippe to continue at his post, and to assure the provisional Government of the friendly feelings of the British nation.

In the disaster caused by the revolution of Italy, Austria appealed to Palmerston for the assistance of Great Britain. He was obdurate and told the Austrian envoy that his sympathies were with Italy, and advised Austria to give up her Italian possessions quietly and at once. It is probable that Palmerston trusted too much to the possibility of Italy's obtaining what she wanted by force of arms, and that he did not foresee the victories of Radetzky. It is doubtful whether Great Britain could have done anything worth doing for Italy, and it is certain that Palmerston did not choose the favourable opportunity for doing it. When Radetzky was beaten, Palmerston had urged Austria to cede Venice; when Radetzky was victorious, he did his utmost to secure the cession of Lombardy. Even after Novara he endeavoured to moderate the demands of Austria.

Palmerston pursued an equally enlightened and generous policy towards Hungary, urging Austria to satisfy the national feeling of the Hungarians. When the Hungarians were crushed by the aid of Russia, he warned Austria to pay regard to the ancient constitutional rights of Hungary. When the patriots fled for refuge into Turkey, both Russia and Austria put strong pressure on the Porte for their extradition, and even broke off diplomatic relations with Turkey. But on the advice of Palmerston, supported by Stratford Canning, the Turks refused to surrender them. In all these matters Palmerston played a noble and high-spirited part, and raised the reputation of his country to the highest pitch. He has never received adequate praise for his heroism when he stood at bay against the great autocratic Powers of Europe,

exhibiting conduct worthy to be compared with the best achievements of Canning, who is still the idol of European Liberals.

But heroic conduct, to be appreciated and supported, needs a heroic environment, and this was not to be found in the Great Britain of 1850 and still less in the mind of Prince Albert. He was jealous of Palmerston; he could not follow the rapid decisions of the statesman's intellect, and was always recommending caution. Palmerston was perfectly right not to allow the foreign policy of Great Britain to be transferred to the Prince's study at Osborne or Windsor Castle. Yet a comparatively unimportant matter gave Palmerston's enemies an opportunity of scoring a point against him; this happened in connection with the tiny kingdom of Greece.

King Otho, in building his palace, had taken possession of some ground belonging to George Finlay, the historian of Greece, the King offering very inadequate compensation for its value. About the same time, an outrage was committed upon a Jew, named Don Pacifico, who was a British subject from Gibraltar. On Easter Sunday, a Greek had broken into his house, beaten his wife and children, destroyed his furniture, and robbed him of money and jewels. Don Pacifico's claim for money amounted to £30,500. Palmerston endorsed this claim and, as the demands for redress dragged on from 1847 to 1850, at last determined to bring matters to a crisis by sending the British fleet to the Piræus. He gave the Greeks forty-eight hours to settle the claims, and at the expiry of that time began to seize Greek gunboats and merchant vessels. An attempt was made by the French to mediate, but eventually the Greek Government gave way and satisfied all claims. Palmerston's action was honourable and even estimable, but it exposed him to attack. A vote of censure was carried in the House of Lords by 169 to 132, but a resolution in his favour, proposed by Roebuck in the House of Commons, where Palmerston made a masterly and convincing defence, was carried by 310 to 264, and he emerged triumphantly from his ordeal.

One result, however, was that the Queen drew up a memorandum on August 12th, 1849, in which she required Lord Palmerston to say distinctly what he proposed doing in any given case, so that she might know to what she was giving her sanction; she further stipulated that, having given her sanction, it must not be arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister; and she also stated that she expected to be informed as to what passed between Lord Palmerston and foreign Secretaries of State, and to receive

dispatches from abroad promptly and the drafts of dispatches in reply in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they were sent out. In this controversy, public opinion generally has supported the Queen, and modern historians agree in condemning the Foreign Secretary and in underrating the character of his work.

Final judgment, however, will probably recognise Palmerston to have been one of the greatest Foreign Secretaries that Great Britain has ever had: wise, liberal and courageous, the very opposite of Castlereagh; as bold as, but more generous than, Wellington, ranking rather with Cromwell, Chatham and Canning. To have withstood Metternich, to have championed the cause of liberty in Europe in its darkest days, to have foreseen and to have aided it in its future triumph, to have maintained the credit of the British crown high and unsullied, when thrones were toppling throughout Europe, is no mean praise. In England justice is sometimes long in coming, but it comes in the end. Further, it may be doubted whether Prince Albert really had the qualities of a great Minister. He was learned, laborious, and conscientious, but his political training had been narrow and pedantic, and he possessed neither the outlook nor the intuitive grasp necessary for the successful conduct of affairs. Those behind the scenes in the Courts of Europe knew all along what the British public shrewdly suspected, that the Queen was the genius and her Consort the pedagogue, and an attentive study of her letters, one of the most interesting and most valuable contributions ever made to political literature, will lead the careful student to the same conclusion.

Still, on some sides, Prince Albert was supreme. He was a man of culture, to whom nothing could have been more distasteful than the insular ignorance and boorishness which characterised the governing classes amongst whom he had to live. It is creditable that he suffered them with such patience and concealed the dislike which they, in turn, instinctively felt for him. He did this by identifying himself so closely with the Queen that it was impossible to dissociate them. As Charles Kingsley said when he heard the news of his death, "He was King of England for twenty years, and no one knew it." The secret of his power lay in the fact that no one knew it, and that he allowed no one to know it. The Queen, although a woman of rare natural capacity, did not care for intellectual society, and Prince Albert's love for it, which would have injured him in English opinion, was veiled by her distaste for it.

Yet his influence in skilfully undermining the crust of Philistine prejudice which lay over the highest society, and impeded its growth, cannot be overrated. He produced a sympathy between Great Britain and Germany which the union with Hanover had never been able to effect. German, instead of Italian, began to be studied by young Englishmen. The intricacies of German music received an appreciation which had been confined to the admirers of Handel, whom most Englishmen regarded as their own countryman. The Queen had little taste, and the Prince a rather poor taste, but the love of music began to make itself felt, and Prince Albert's deep interest in science was not without its effects. Whatever England possessed of culture in the last half of the nineteenth century received from him probably a greater stimulus than from any other man. He took a keen interest in education, paid marked attention to Eton, founded Wellington College, was Chancellor of Cambridge, and his early death laid a serious misfortune on England by depriving her of the services of the one man who could have led the educational strivings of the age to a successful issue.

All these efforts culminated in the International Exhibition of 1851, which was the creation of the Prince Consort. It was a fine idea to induce the nations of the world, exhausted by the struggles of internal civil war, to meet as brothers, and to know no rivalry except in the arts of peace and industry. It is strange to remember that, in those days, the masterpieces of Italian art, the works of Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci, were classed among the products of Austria, and that the only collection from Germany bore the uncouth and unintelligible appellation of "Zollverein." But from the time of this exhibition insular barriers were broken down; Englishmen discovered that the Continent was peopled by human beings like themselves, and foreigners found out that the island of Britain was not always shrouded in perpetual fog, nor its people's hearts frozen in continual reserve. The exhibition marked a great epoch in the history of civilisation, and was a dividing line between the new era and the old.

The year 1850 saw the death of Sir Robert Peel, who, although more frequently in opposition than in office, deservedly ranks with the foremost British statesmen. His last speech in the House of Commons was on the question of the censure of Palmerston. Next day he attended a committee of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, and in the afternoon went out for a ride. While proceeding up Constitution Hill, he stopped to speak to a young lady. His horse shied and threw him, causing severe

injuries. He lingered for a few days, but died in the night of July 2nd, 1850.

The final excitement of the year was caused by the issue of a Papal Bull at the end of September, creating a hierarchy of Roman Catholic bishops in England, each having the title of his own see. Lord John Russell wrote a letter to the Bishop of Durham, in which he declared the Pope's action to be a pretension of supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undiminished sway which was inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy and the rights of the bishops and clergy of the Anglican Church. He went on to attack the High Church party in the Church of England. The day following the publication of this letter was Guy Fawkes' Day, and the effigies of the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman, who had just been made Archbishop of Westminster, instead of Archbishop of Mesopotamia, took the place of those of the traditional conspirators. The agitation led, in the following year, to the introduction of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which was received with much ridicule and obloquy when first proposed, but which, when altered and strengthened, was passed by a large majority.

The Ministry, discredited by the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, suffered a more severe defeat on the budget. The window tax had existed for a hundred and fifty years, and had been originally associated with a house tax. All houses had to pay a tax of two shillings, but houses with ten or twenty windows had to pay an additional tax of four shillings and eight shillings respectively. In 1834 Althorp repealed the house tax, but the window tax remained. It was a wretched burden, tending to diminish in every dwelling the sun and air, the first requisites of health. The Chancellor of the Exchequer determined to abolish the tax and substitute a house tax for it. But the budget had no prestige, and was received with indifference.

Locke King, member for Surrey, having proposed a motion to place householders in counties on the same footing, with regard to the franchise, as householders in towns, was opposed by Lord John Russell, who was, however, defeated by nearly two to one. The Cabinet, thus discredited, and not supported either in the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill or the budget, resigned on February 22nd. But an endeavour to form another Ministry, either under Lord Stanley or with the assistance of Aberdeen or Graham, having proved fruitless, the Queen was obliged to recall Lord John Russell, as was said, to office, but not to power. Shortly after this, the relations between the Crown and Palmerston reached breaking-

point. The Queen was anxious not to express approval of the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon, but Palmerston had already spoken to Walewski, the French Ambassador in London, recognising the necessity and the advantage to France and Europe of the bold and decisive step taken by the President. Palmerston, instead of explaining his conduct, entered into a long defence of Napoleon, and Russell decided to dispense with his services.

We have already seen how the International Exhibition came into being, and it remains to say that it was opened on May Day, 1851. The building had been erected in a portion of Hyde Park, lying between Knightsbridge and the Serpentine, a little to the east of the ground now occupied by the Albert Memorial, and of the trees that were left standing in the vast structure one still flourishes. The Exhibition was opened by the Queen, and never during her reign did she preside at a more impressive pageant. In her speech she expressed a hope that the undertaking might conduce to the common welfare of the human race, by displaying the arts of peace and industry, and strengthening the bonds of union among the nations. At the time when the riches of the world were collected in her capital, when her husband was assuming the position which she felt him to deserve, when the various peoples governed by her sceptre were present with their products, and when a sympathetic world shared in the enjoyment of the spectacle, she might have been exalted with pride, but her only thought, she humbly avowed, was to give praise and thanks to God.

The Great Exhibition was regarded as a festival which was to inaugurate a long reign of peace. It is now, to the eye of the historian, an event which closed a long interval of peace, because, since the year 1851, war has almost continuously disturbed the world. The *coup d'état* in France was followed by the Crimean War as one of its natural effects, and this by the Indian Mutiny. Then came the war between France and Austria for the liberation of Italy, the Civil War between North and South in the United States, the conquest of Sicily and Naples by Garibaldi, the expulsion of the Emperor Maximilian from Mexico. Next ensued the war between Germany and Denmark, the struggle for supremacy in Germany between Austria and Prussia, and the war between France and Germany in 1870. Since the last-named campaign the world has witnessed the war between Russia and Turkey, between Turkey and Greece, the disastrous struggle between Boer and Briton, the wars between Japan and China and between Russia and Japan.

A LANDMARK OF CIVILISATION

During half a century the gates of the Temple of Janus were scarcely ever closed. But notwithstanding this, and the possibility of future strife, the Exhibition of 1851 remains a landmark of civilisation, and has been the fruitful parent of similar international meetings, the general outcome of which must be the gradual extinction of war and the consolidation of the brotherhood of man.

CHAPTER XII

THE SECOND EMPIRE

NAPOLEON III. ascended the throne of France with the intention of realising what he called "the Napoleonic ideas." These were the reconstruction of French society, shattered by fifty years of revolution, and the reconciliation of order with liberty, and of popular rights with the principle of authority; in other words, he hoped to reconcile the conflicting principles of *imperium* and *libertas* by establishing a democratic Empire. Napoleon I. had found it impossible to realise his projects in ten years; his mission had been to complete the work of the Revolution and establish liberty in France. But liberty could not crown the edifice unless a sure and solid foundation were first laid. The authority of government must be generally recognised; it must appear as the beneficent influence which rules the whole community. Napoleon had attached great importance to manufactures, had encouraged those which existed, and had created new ones. His successors, if they would complete his work, must supply a similar stimulus to affairs by helping and encouraging all classes alike. They must assist the peasants by improving the cultivation of the land, the manufacturers by opening new fields of industry, and the artisans by keeping them well employed with good wages. In this manner work would be found for the unemployed, a demand would be created for every product, and poverty would disappear. The triumph of Christianity abolished slavery, the triumph of the French Revolution abolished serfdom, the triumph of Democracy would abolish pauperism. In foreign affairs the fundamental Napoleonic idea was that of a European confederation, the loyal offer of an alliance with France to every Government willing to combine with her in defence of interests common to all. Such were the ideas which the Emperor pledged himself to accomplish. They included a cordial understanding with Great Britain, and he believed that peace with the United Kingdom had always been one of his uncle's dearest wishes if the island Power had but given him the opportunity of carrying it into effect.

The Constitution of January 14th, 1852, together with later additions, made the head of the State responsible to the nation,

but gave him free and unfettered authority. He commanded the forces by land and sea, could make peace and war, administered justice, and possessed the prerogative of pardon. He had the sole power of initiating laws, he promulgated them and carried them into effect. He had, therefore, the whole of the executive in his hands, and considerable influence over the judiciary and the legislature. He obtained the power of concluding treaties of commerce and of ordering and authorising all works of public utility. He was the judge of the relations between the Senate and the legislative body. It is true that the budget of each Ministry was voted by the legislative body, but the appropriation of the various sums was settled by Imperial decree.

It was said that he was responsible to the people, but the people could only act through a plebiscite, and a plebiscite could only be sanctioned by the authority of the Emperor. He governed France through the Ministers, the prefects, and the great network of centralised administration by which the country was covered. The Ministers were ten in number. First came the Minister of State. He was the means of communication between the Emperor, the Senate, the legislative and other bodies; he had charge of the Imperial household, and was entrusted with all matters not specially assigned to other Ministers. The other Ministers presided over Justice, Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Finance, War, Marine and the Colonies, Public Institutions and Religion, Public Works, and Police, including the Press. The Ministers waited on the Emperor at least once a week, made their reports, expressed their views, and received his orders; but they did not form a Cabinet. They swore fidelity to the Emperor, were excluded from the legislative body, and each worked by himself in his own Ministry.

The prefects of the different departments were the representatives of the Government, and had all the authority of the Sovereign in their own territories. They received the commands of the Emperor through his Ministers; had power to legislate in certain cases, appointment of teachers being eventually placed in their hands, and had full control over all local bodies in their departments. Within his own sphere the prefect was a miniature Emperor, with his council of the prefecture and his general council. There was, indeed, in each commune, except in Paris, an elective municipal council, chosen every five years, with power to vote the municipal budget; but its sittings were not public, it might be suspended, and had very little power.

Besides Ministers and prefects, the Emperor had under his

authority the army and the police. The police kept the newspapers well under control, only one paper being allowed for each shade of opinion. The Government was represented by the *Constitutionnel*, the *Patrie*, and the *Pays*; the Orléans party by the *Journal des Débats*; the Legitimist party by the *Gazette de France* and the *Union*; and a mild Republicanism by the *Siècle*.

It was natural that the Emperor should wish to establish a brilliant Court, and, indeed, the Court of Napoleon III. was very brilliant. He took up his abode at the Tuileries and, as we have said, his civil list was fixed at £1,000,000 a year. The dynasty was made hereditary in his own legitimate and direct descendants, but in default of male issue he might adopt the male issue of the brothers of Napoleon I. All his relatives received an allowance of £60,000 a year, but the only recognised members of his family were Jerome, ex-King of Westphalia, and his two children, Prince Napoleon and Princess Mathilde, who was married to Prince Demidoff.

Prince Napoleon lived at the Palais Royal, and gathered round him advanced Liberals who had leanings towards Republicanism. He had a strongly-marked Napoleon face and went by the name of Plon Plon, had considerable abilities, but was deficient in tact and moderation. The Emperor did not trust him, and looked upon the Palais Royal as a centre of opposition.

It was natural that the Emperor should desire to marry as soon as possible, partly to provide his Court with a mistress and partly to secure an heir. Overtures were made to several European Courts without success; but Mr. Evans, an American dentist, who was an intimate friend of the Emperor, had some time before fixed his mind on Eugénie de Montijo as a fitting consort. She was, on her father's side, of a noble Spanish family, and on her mother's of Scottish descent. She was invited to Court balls and danced frequently with the Emperor, who was much fascinated by her. One morning Mr. Evans was with the Emperor when the post arrived, bringing a fresh rejection. The Emperor read the letter with disgust and said, "I won't have anything more to do with these princesses: I'll marry your American."

Evans said, "She is not an American; she is a Spaniard."

"I don't care what she is," cried the Emperor; "I'll marry her."

And the marriage took place. She was then twenty-six years of age, and a better choice could not have been made. She was one of the loveliest women in the world, and her manners were

simple and dignified; but she was extremely religious and undoubtedly strengthened the hands of the Clerical faction in the Tuileries.

Let us now consider the position of the bodies who were supposed to limit the power of the Emperor—the legislative body, the Council of State, and the Senate. The Lower House was elected by universal suffrage, all citizens being voters. France had been divided into one-member constituencies, as the *scrutin de liste*—according to which members were elected by larger constituencies—had been abolished. At every election there was an official candidate, whose address to the electors was posted at the public expense. Opposition candidates were permitted, but great difficulties were placed in their way. The mayor, appointed by the Government, was the returning officer, and was able to exert considerable influence over the results. The official candidate generally obtained a majority. The President of the Chamber, or, as we should say, the Speaker, was appointed by the Emperor. The legislative body sat for three months in the year, chiefly for the purpose of passing a budget. It had no power of initiative, nor could it amend a Bill brought in by the Government.

The Council of State was a very important body. The President, appointed by the Emperor, held the rank of a Minister. A similar council does not exist in the British Constitution, but it is of great service. Its business was to discuss and elaborate all Government measures, first in each of its six sections, and then in a full sitting. It also had certain legislative and judicial powers. It was also the supreme administrative tribunal, and appointed from its own body inspectors of prefects, who exercised a certain control over the executive. The Senate consisted partly of ex officio members (marshals, admirals, cardinals and the like), and partly of 150 members nominated by the Emperor. It had not only a share in legislation, but the power of initiative, and could propose measures to the Government. It could codify and interpret the Constitution, and annul enactments which were not in accordance with it. The text of the Constitution said "The Emperor governs by means of the Ministers, the Council of State, the Senate, and the legislative body."

The relations of the Emperor to the Church and education may be concisely stated. The leaders of the Catholic party, Veuillot, Montalembert, and Dupanloup supported the results of the *coup d'état*. Of these, Montalembert broke with the Emperor and formed a Liberal Opposition, while the Emperor received thoroughgoing support from Veuillot and the *Univers*. The

Church gradually obtained control over education, chiefly by means of Fortoul, Minister of Instruction from 1851 to 1856. It is unnecessary to trace the steps by which the Universities became gradually the servants of the Government. The secondary and primary schools also came, little by little, into the hands of the Church. The time when the instruction of France was to be committed to Duruy, a Liberal and a reformer, was not yet.

There is no doubt that the material prosperity of France increased greatly under the Empire: those who travelled through the country saw everywhere increasing signs of trade and prosperity, of commerce, of the spread of towns, and of social and industrial well-being. This was greatly due to the wisdom of the Emperor, who attracted to himself such commercial leaders as Enfantin, Talabot, Michel Chevalier, and the brothers Péreire.

Under this influence the well-known trading institutions were founded—the Crédit Foncier and the Crédit Mobilier. The object of the first was to lend money on mortgage, the second was to be a joint-stock bank, which was to contract loans, make advances and issue notes. The function of the Crédit Mobilier was to set on foot and support important enterprises, take part in public loans, and assist in the establishment of great companies, and it was allowed to issue securities to the amount of ten times its capital. One of its enterprises was the establishment of a gas company for the lighting of Paris. Its prosperity was so great that in a few years its shares were worth four times their original value. The Bank of France shared in the general expansion, and in the later years of the Empire an order was issued to establish at least one branch in each department of the country. By wise legislation the building of railways was encouraged, and in five years the length of the system was increased fivefold. The number of agricultural societies was enlarged and medals were accorded to those who had distinguished themselves in agricultural enterprise. The Landes, the vast pine-covered sandy plains in the south-west, were drained, and horse-breeding was encouraged. Manufactures were stimulated, and trades, like those of butchers and bakers, were relieved from vexatious restrictions.

The number of patents taken out became much larger, and the amount of horse-power used in steamers increased fivefold. Manufactures of cast and wrought iron developed wonderfully and were able to satisfy the demands made upon them by the extension of railways and the like. The cotton industry doubled its consumption of raw material, and in the chemical industries the value of the output grew tenfold between 1847 and 1865.

To benefit the working classes, a scheme of Government workshops was introduced. Ten millions of francs were devoted to the improvement of workmen's dwellings, and extensive measures were undertaken for the improvement of the condition of the men. This policy was, in part, no doubt, devised to prevent political discontent, but it was also inspired by higher motives. Boards of arbitration, which had long existed under the name of *Conseils des Prud'hommes*, were placed upon a better footing, and given into the hands of the masters and the men together. Associations of workmen were also permitted, and great efforts were made to find work for the unemployed, both in the provinces and the capital. At Marseilles the docks were completed and opened, and many other public buildings adorned that city, which takes the first place among the ports of the Mediterranean. The towns of Lyons and Lille were beautified, and the port of Havre was enlarged.

Immediately after the *coup d'état* the Emperor set to work on the improvement of Paris, which under his hands became one of the wonders of the world. In this work he found an able coadjutor in Haussmann, whom he made Prefect of the Seine. He created an entirely new Paris by opening up facilities for traffic in the approaches to railway stations, by constructing squares, churches, and barracks, and by making magnificent boulevards. Visitors from every part of the world thronged to the beautiful city, some as sightseers and some to reside, and the money they brought helped to pay for the cost of the improvements. Paris in those days was excellently groomed. There was no accumulation of snow and filth, and everything bore the appearance not only of material well-being, but of gaiety and happiness. If the working class population were driven to the circumference away from the centre, they had ample means of communication with the field of their labours.

A new epoch in the history of the Empire began with the Crimean War. Émile Ollivier, the Liberal Minister of the last years of Napoleon III., who had ample means of knowing the facts, attributes its origin mainly to the designs of the Emperor. He says that, being a Carbonaro in 1830, and intimately connected with the secret societies of Italy, the Emperor was pledged to the liberation of that country. A more honourable motive, perhaps, existed in the circumstance that Napoleon I. was Italian by origin, had been the first to realise the possibility of Italian regeneration, and the first to give effect to it, and that the liberation of Italy from the yoke of the Double Eagle was one of the

most fruitful and most beneficent of the "Napoleonic ideas." However this may be, Napoleon III. had determined to make the enfranchisement of Italy the principal work of his reign, and he saw that this meant the expulsion of Austria, which could only be accomplished by war. He saw further that such a war could not be successful if France had to fight Austria and Russia in conjunction, and it was, therefore, essential to render it impossible for Russia to give active assistance to her Austrian neighbour. For this purpose France must go to war with Russia. A pretext for hostilities presented itself in the dispute about the Holy Places, a quarrel which was the ostensible cause of the campaigns in the Crimea.

We must consider the condition of Great Britain when this crisis occurred. The dismissal of Lord Palmerston, who was succeeded by Lord Granville, nearly brought about the fall of the Ministry. It lingered for nearly a year, but was defeated on the Militia Bill. The restoration of the Napoleonic dynasty in France led Great Britain to fear that a new series of wars might be embarked upon, and so the country was driven to adopt measures of internal defence. The British army, apart from the enlisted professional army, consisted of militia, which was of two kinds, regular and local. The regular militia was under the control of the Crown, and could be called out for training and be embodied for actual service. The local militia had come into existence during the war with Napoleon. It could only be used for the suppression of riots or rebellion, or in the case of the appearance of an enemy upon the coasts. It could not, in any circumstances, be moved out of Great Britain.

After Waterloo both forces had fallen into desuetude, and the Ministry now proposed to revive one of them. But they chose to revive the local, instead of the regular, militia, which was a very inadequate step. Palmerston had no difficulty in persuading the House to remove the word "local" from the proposals of the Ministry, who, in virtue of this defeat, resigned office. They were succeeded by Lord Stanley, who had just inherited the title of Lord Derby, but his reign was a short one. The most powerful man in the administration was Disraeli, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is remarkable that, of the thirteen members of the Cabinet, only two had ever sat in a Cabinet before. Moreover, they did not possess a majority in the House of Commons and barely in the House of Lords. They avoided the mistake made by Lord John Russell, by reviving the regular militia, with the approval of the Duke of Wellington.

This was, indeed, the last advice given by the Duke on public affairs. He died at Walmer Castle, in Kent, on September 14th, 1852. The Queen wrote of him in her diary: "His position was the highest a subject ever had; above party, looked up to by all, revered by the whole nation, the friend of the Sovereign; and how simply he carried these honours. With what singleness of purpose, what straightforwardness, what courage, were all the motives of his actions guided. The Crown never found, and I fear never will find, so devoted and faithful a subject, so staunch a supporter." He was buried on November 14th in St. Paul's Cathedral, with a magnificence of pomp which must live in the memory of all who saw it or even heard of it from eye-witnesses. He did not believe in popular liberties, but had no sympathy with the oppression of liberty as carried out by foreign Governments. If he was opposed to the principles of the Reform Bill, he was also opposed to those of the Holy Alliance. He was the embodiment of the sense of public duty. His firmness and tenacity won the Battle of Waterloo; but he was generous to his antagonist, and would never allow a word to be spoken against him in his presence. When asked his opinion about Waterloo, he would only reply, "We pounded and they pounded, and we pounded hardest." Undoubtedly he prevented the Ministry from delivering up Napoleon to Louis XVIII., to be shot as a traitor; but it is thought that he might have intervened to prevent the execution of Ney and the slow murder of the fallen Emperor on the rock of St. Helena.

Before the funeral a newly-elected Parliament had met. Lord Derby had hoped that he would obtain from the country a reversal of the policy of Free Trade. But he was disappointed. Disraeli was clever enough to throw over Protection. The spirit of the age tended to free intercourse, and the producer had nothing to expect but fair treatment, for whom all the Ministry could do was to diminish the cost of production. The Free Traders did not like this, and Mr. Villiers proposed a resolution declaring that the Act of 1846 was a wise, just and beneficent measure. To this Disraeli brought forward amendments, but the House eventually adopted a resolution of Lord Palmerston's which was a compromise between the two. Disraeli then introduced his budget in a five hours' speech of remarkable brilliancy. But the measure itself was fantastic and economically unsound, and was ruthlessly exposed by Gladstone. It was defeated by 300 votes to 286, and the Ministry had no alternative but to resign. The majority was composed of very different elements. The larger section were

or the lamps of the Holy Sepulchre. During this period, however, Russian Christians had done what the French had failed to do, and their action had been recognised and authorised by the Sultan. In 1850 Louis Napoleon, as President of the French Republic, stimulated by the Catholic influences which surrounded him, revived their claims, and after long negotiations succeeded in obtaining their recognition by the Porte. This concession excited resentment in Russia, and the Porte found itself between the upper and the nether millstone. It endeavoured, in the first instance, to gain time, and then to do something which would conciliate both disputants, but which ended in exasperating both.

Relations between France and Russia were further strained by the dislike of the Emperor Nicholas to the creation of the second Empire. He had no great desire to see the advent of a third Empire in Europe, and his strong Legitimist prejudices were offended at the manner of its creation. He was somewhat slow in acknowledging it, and addressed the new Sovereign not as "my brother," but as "my friend." If Napoleon really wished to pick a quarrel with Russia this gave him an opportunity of doing so. At the same time there began to arise a misunderstanding between Russia and Great Britain. Nicholas was naturally anxious for the destruction of the Turkish Empire and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, as every patriotic Russian and, indeed, every right-thinking man would be. In 1844 the Tsar had paid a memorable visit to England, when Aberdeen was Foreign Minister, with whom he formed an intimacy which almost amounted to friendship. Nicholas said to Aberdeen and Peel, then Prime Minister: "Turkey is a dying man. We cannot now determine what shall be done at his death, but we may keep the event before our eyes. Russia does not claim one inch of Turkish soil, but she will not suffer any other Power to have an inch of it; therefore, to prevent France from seizing Turkish territory in Africa, the Mediterranean, or the East, Russia and Great Britain should be agreed, and should arrive at some common understanding. If Russia, Great Britain and Austria were at one, peace would be assured."

Nicholas imagined that the advent of Aberdeen to power would give him another opportunity of doing what he wished, and on January 9th, 1853, he said to Sir Hamilton Seymour, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg: "The Turk is a sick man, his country is falling to pieces; it is important that Great Britain and Russia should come to an understanding on the subject." He renewed the conversation five days later, remarking: "Turkey

may suddenly die upon our hands; we cannot resuscitate what is dead; if the Turkish Empire falls, it falls to rise no more. It is better to be prepared for this catastrophe." He asked Sir Hamilton Seymour to communicate his views to the British Government. Lord John Russell, who had not yet surrendered the seals of the Foreign Office, replied in a friendly dispatch that personal arrangements, made without the knowledge of the Powers, might precipitate the crisis, but that Great Britain would enter into no arrangement for the disposal of Turkish territory without communicating with Russia in the first instance.

On February 20th, 1853, when Seymour received Russell's dispatch, he had an interview with the Tsar, in which the latter again referred to the fate hanging over Turkey. He said that he had no desire to see Constantinople in the hands of Russia or any other Great Power. On the other hand, he would not consent to the restoration of the old Byzantine Empire, the extension of the territory of Greece, or the division of Turkey into a number of petty States. The Principalities already enjoyed independence under the protection of Russia. Servia, Bulgaria, and other Turkish provinces might be made independent in a similar manner, and Great Britain might occupy Egypt and Crete, thus securing the road to India. Lord Clarendon, who had now succeeded as Foreign Minister, replied "that the British Government did not think the condition of Turkey so desperate as Nicholas supposed, and that, when the catastrophe came, the future of Turkey should be decided at a congress of the Great Powers."

The careful student of history will probably come to the conclusion that no wars are inevitable, but arise principally from misunderstandings, just as quarrels arise between individuals in private life. Such misunderstandings were now about to plunge Europe into war. The Tsar sent Prince Menshikov and the British Government Lord Stratford de Redcliffe as ambassadors to Constantinople. Menshikov arrived at Constantinople on February 28th. He waited upon the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, but refused to wait upon Fuad Pasha, the Foreign Minister. Fuad resigned his post and Refad Pasha was appointed in his place. A panic seized upon the Turkish Government, and the Grand Vizier appealed to the Ministers of France and Great Britain. As Lord Stratford and the French Ambassador had not arrived, both countries were represented by subordinate officers. Benedetti sent a warning letter to Paris and Rose ordered up the fleet from Malta. This, however, was overruled by the British Cabinet, and the French

Emperor, who was probably anxious to fish in troubled waters, sent a French fleet to Salamis. It was not favourable to the preservation of peace that France and Russia, whose relations were already strained, should be placed within striking distance of each other.

What now happened is a little obscure. Menshikov asked that the Greek Christians in Turkey might be placed under the protection of Russia. There was nothing unreasonable in this demand. The Roman Catholics in Turkey were already under the protection of Austria, and the Treaty of Kuchuk Kanardji, just eighty years before, had placed the Greek Church at Constantinople under Russian protection. But by this time Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had arrived. He was an arrogant and hot-headed diplomatist, an enthusiast for the cause of Turkey—the Government of which, however, he treated with supreme contempt—and had his personal reasons for disliking Nicholas, who had objected to his being ambassador at Constantinople. He affected to believe that the concession Menshikov asked for would strengthen Russia's influence all over Turkey, as the Greek Churches were numerous, and persuaded the Porte to refuse. In consequence of this, Menshikov broke off the negotiations and left Constantinople on May 22nd, 1853. Lord Stratford, without any orders from home, had changed the whole aspect of affairs, and involved Great Britain in a dispute with which she had nothing to do. The result was that Russia threatened to send her armies across the Pruth, and to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia, and the British Cabinet ordered the Mediterranean fleet to the Dardanelles, and placed its further movements in the hands of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

It is difficult to write with patience about these events, when reviewing the circumstances long after the curtain fell on the last act. As far as can be seen, the principal forces at work were in favour of peace. Nicholas was strongly opposed to war, and was shocked at the thought that the Union Jack should float side by side with the Crescent in opposition to the Cross of St. Andrew. The Queen and the Prince were strongly in favour of peace, and so were a majority of the Cabinet, especially Gladstone. Russell and Palmerston favoured a warlike policy, and the principal desire of Aberdeen was to keep his Cabinet together. But Lord Stratford de Redcliffe at Constantinople was determined for war, and unfortunately the Cabinet, by placing the control of the fleet in his hands, gave him the opportunity of making it. Terrible, indeed, is the responsibility which lies on the man who brings about an unnecessary war.

LORD STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE AND THE WAR

The Great Powers still worked for peace. They drew up a Note, originally drafted in France, but adopted at Vienna in July, which was to be presented simultaneously at Constantinople and St. Petersburg. It was accepted by the Tsar on August 3rd. But in the meantime Stratford de Redcliffe had composed an alternative Note, which he published and the adoption of which he urged. In Clarendon's name he advised the Porte to accept the Vienna Note, but his personal objection to it was well known, and the Porte, believing that it was sure of the support of Great Britain, refused. There is no doubt that, at this juncture, the Powers should have declined to support Turkey any further, for she had refused the Vienna Note, which Russia had accepted. Austria and Prussia continued to do their best for the acceptance of the Note by the Porte, but France and Great Britain did nothing. This broke up the concert of the four Powers.

At the beginning of October, 1853, the Sultan, with the approval or at the suggestion of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, summoned Russia to evacuate the Principalities within fifteen days, and said that a refusal would be considered as a declaration of war. Omar Pasha, the commander of the Turkish army, actually crossed the Danube, and engagements occasionally took place between the two armies, although Russia announced that she had no intention of undertaking offensive operations, either in Europe or in Asia, during the winter. In the beginning of December a new Note was drawn up by the four Powers, which it was hoped would be satisfactory to both belligerents. But Stratford de Redcliffe, urged on by France, advised the entrance of the British and French fleets into the Black Sea, under the pretence of bringing off the consuls from Varna, and of looking after the grain ships at the Sulina mouth of the Danube.

On November 27th the Queen wrote to Aberdeen that the perusal of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's dispatches gave her the strongest impression that, while guarding himself from the possibility of being called to account for acting in opposition to his instructions, he was plunging deeper and deeper into the war policy, from which escape would be difficult; wherefore should three poor Turkish steamers go to the Crimea, but to beard the Russian fleet and tempt it to come out of Sebastopol, which would thus constitute the much-desired contingency for the combined fleets to attack it, and so commit Great Britain irretrievably? The Queen seriously called upon Lord Aberdeen and the Cabinet to consider whether they were justified in allowing such a state of things to continue.

At the very time this letter was written, the Tsar, harassed on all sides, allowed his squadron to leave Sebastopol and cruise in Turkish waters, and, three days later, a Turkish squadron, on its way from the Bosphorus to Batoum, was attacked at Sinope by a Russian fleet and virtually destroyed. This "massacre of Sinope," as it was called, was regarded in Great Britain as a humiliation and defiance, and aroused in that country and France feelings of strong indignation, and an almost irresistible desire for war. No one stopped to ask whether the incident had not been caused by the hostile action of the Western Powers, and whether it was not the natural answer of Russia to the order of the Western Powers, given in September, for their fleets to pass the Dardanelles. The Tsar naturally desired to strike a blow at the Turkish navy before the Allies could intervene in its favour.

In the closing days of 1853 a new Note was drawn up, which was adopted by the Porte, and communicated by the four Powers to the Tsar on January 13th, 1854. But on the very day that the four Powers adopted their resolution, the British Minister at St. Petersburg communicated to Nesselrode the decision of the Western Powers, taken at the instance of France, to invite all Russian ships to return to Sebastopol. Nicholas refused in these circumstances to answer the new proposal, and in the beginning of February the Russian Ministers were withdrawn from Paris and London, and the British and French Ministers from St. Petersburg. War, however, did not immediately break out, and Austria offered to join France and Great Britain in urging the evacuation of the Principalities by a fixed date. But the passions of the nations were already beyond control. British indignation at the so-called massacre of Sinope was so insistent that the popular demand for war could not be denied. Without waiting for a formal arrangement with Austria, the Western Powers addressed an ultimatum to Russia, and, on the Tsar declining to notice it, declared war.

CHAPTER XIII

ALMA, BALAKLAVA AND INKERMAN

ONE of the most painful things in the outbreak of a war is the madness which seizes upon the populace and makes war inevitable, even before statesmen have determined that it is necessary. This was not absent in the case of the war with Russia. Ignorant of the real matters in dispute, careless of the object to be gained, negligent of the means by which it was to be obtained, the people, the Parliament, the Press of the United Kingdom, all demanded war. There was an outbreak of popular indignation against Prince Albert, because of his supposed leanings towards peace, arising perhaps from some reminiscences of his previous misunderstanding with Palmerston, who was known to be favourable to war. A great fleet, such as Great Britain had hardly ever seen before, was assembled at Portsmouth. The command was given to Sir Charles Napier, of whom Aberdeen wrote that he mingled boldness with discretion, and that, if he had the faults of his family, he was not without their virtues; courage, generosity, and love of country were not wanting to him. On March 7th, Sir Charles was entertained at dinner by the Reform Club, where speeches were made by Lord Palmerston and Sir James Graham of a flippant and unbecoming character. After all, the great admiral did nothing; the Russian fleet was not captured or destroyed. Cronstadt was not even attacked, and Napier's inactivity passed into a proverb and reproach.

In April, 1854, about 20,000 British troops, under the command of Lord Raglan—who, as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, had been the intimate friend of Wellington, and had lost an arm at Waterloo—together with a French army of twice that strength, under the command of Marshal St. Arnaud, landed at Gallipoli, in the Dardanelles. They then removed to Varna, where a council of war was held to decide upon further operations. Fuad Pasha recommended a landing in Asia, with the purpose of driving the Russians from the Caucasus, a proposition which met with favour from the British. But St. Arnaud was in favour of an attack upon Sebastopol, and Lord Raglan agreed with him, as the best means of concentrating the naval power of Russia in the Black

Sea. Omar Pasha was defending the line of the Danube, and 1,500 men of the allied armies had already perished in the pestilential swamps of the Dobrudscha. The Turks on the Danube were able to manage for themselves. The Russians under Paskevich attacked Silistria, but the garrison resisted, and on June 22nd the siege was raised. Indeed, the Russians were compelled to evacuate the Principalities. Now was the time for making peace, as the one object of the war had been realised. But when war has once begun the belligerents will not be satisfied without a substantial victory. Great Britain could not bear the thought of peace without the attainment of a national triumph.

Certainly the Sultan, on whose behalf these great sacrifices were being made, did not impress those who saw him for the first time as worthy of the outlay in money and, it might be, in life. The Duke of Cambridge, who was in command of the Guards, wrote from Constantinople in May that he was not struck either with the appearance or the ability of the Sultan, "a wretched creature, prematurely aged, having nothing to say for himself." The Duke found his Ministry, and the whole population of the country, a most wretched and miserable set of people, far, far worse than anything he could have imagined or supposed. "In fact, 'the sick man' is very sick indeed, and the sooner diplomacy disposes of him the better, for no earthly power can save him; that is very evident." The Duke was also of opinion that the sooner the Turks were turned out of Europe the better, and he added that he did not think that anyone was aware of the real state of affairs in Turkey. However, the question in people's minds was now not so much the regeneration of Turkey as the honour of the British arms and the abasement of Russia.

Under these feelings an expedition against Sebastopol, the great arsenal of the Russians in the Black Sea, was decided on. The naval strength of Russia might be destroyed for years if Sebastopol were taken and the fleet sunk. On June 15th, 1854, *The Times* voiced the popular opinion by saying that the political and military objects of the war could not be obtained so long as Sebastopol and the Russian fleet were in existence, and on June 22nd it insisted that a successful enterprise against this place was the essential condition of permanent peace. On June 28th the Cabinet assembled at Lord John Russell's house at Richmond, and, after a very long discussion, sent instructions to Lord Raglan, in which the necessity of a prompt attack upon Sebastopol and the Russian fleet was strongly urged. The final decision was left to the discretion of the French and British commanders, after

they should have communicated with Omar Pasha. They were, indeed, both of them opposed to it, but Lord Raglan was of opinion that the terms of the dispatch left him no choice in the matter. Thus the war entered upon an entirely new and unnecessary phase. If peaceful councils had prevailed the failure of the Tsar's attack upon Turkey might have led to a satisfactory arrangement. Gladstone and those members of the Cabinet who agreed with him should have pressed their opposition to the point of resignation.

The allied forces landed on September 14th, 1854, a short distance from Eupatoria, on the west coast of the Crimean peninsula. This point had been chosen because there was sufficient space for the two armies to stand together, and the operations would be protected by the fire of the ships. It was four days before the whole of the forces were disembarked and in a condition to advance. The British numbered about 21,000 infantry, 60 guns, and the Light Brigade of cavalry, about 1,000 strong. The French had 28,000 infantry and the Turks 7,000, with 68 guns, but no cavalry. The advance began on September 19th, the French being on the right, next to the sea. The army moved straight towards Sebastopol, which was about twenty-five miles distant. The post road to Eupatoria ran through their positions, but the ground was such that the army could march anywhere, and roads were not needed. In the rear were the cattle, sheep, carriages and pack horses, and behind all came the cavalry, to keep the throng in motion.

The enemy were first seen at the River Bulganak, which was reached early in the afternoon. After a few shots had been interchanged, the army bivouacked by the river and were unmolested during the night. Next morning, the march was continued towards a succession of grey ridges, and about noon, from the top of a ridge, the army looked down upon the valley of the Alma, a name destined to be great in history. The Russians were posted on the opposite side, with an army of 33,000 infantry, 3,400 cavalry, and 120 guns, all commanded by Prince Menshikov. On coming in sight of the enemy, the Allies halted, while the commanders arranged the order of the attack, which was delivered on September 20th. Military critics are of opinion that on neither side was any great tactical skill exhibited. It would have been better if the British had neglected the difficult ground near the sea, moved their forces beyond the post road and enveloped the Russian right with their superior numbers. On the other hand, the Russians might have massed their forces upon the road to Simpheropol, concentrating for an attack upon the British left. Neither of these courses was taken.

The allied columns advanced towards the stream, and the Russians retired, first setting fire to the village of Burliuk, but the ground was not of such a nature as to allow the Allies to deploy with advantage, and the efficiency of the troops was spoilt by crowding. The stream was in some places shallow, with occasional deep parts, in which the soldiers stood up to their necks in water. As they climbed the slopes on the other side, they suffered much from the fire of the Russian batteries, especially from a heavy battery which plunged its shot into Codrington's division and checked his advance. The Grenadier and the Coldstream Guards continued to advance steadily, in lines still unbroken, except where they were struck by the enemies' shot, their advance producing a great effect on the French. The Highlanders also climbed the hill to the left of the Guards and the whole of the British army began to close upon the enemy. The steady pressure of the Guards and the Highlanders finally decided the battle, and the Russian forces began to retreat all over the ground. In the meantime, Canrobert's division of the French army had occupied the Telegraph Hill, and the allied forces, which had been separated in the engagement, were now connected again. Lord Raglan was anxious to pursue the enemy in their retreat, but St. Arnaud would not allow his men to march without their knapsacks, which they had left behind. In the battle the British lost 2,000 men, killed and wounded, the French probably a much smaller number. The Russian losses amounted to nearly 6,000.

If the Allies had advanced at once, they might have entered Sebastopol unopposed, but they remained two days on the battle-field, burying the dead and tending the wounded. On the third day the march was resumed, and on September 24th the army crossed the Belbek. They had now reached a point from which the town and fortifications of Sebastopol could be seen at no great distance, and the question arose whether the city should be attacked at once from the north side. The delay at the Alma enabled Prince Menshikov to carry out two momentous decisions. He blockaded the harbour by sinking the Russian fleet at its entrance, and leaving the town and fortress to be protected by the crews of the smaller ships. He withdrew his own army to a position towards the north-east, in order to watch the movements of the Allies, and at the same time secure his communication with Russia. St. Arnaud came to the conclusion that it was impossible to attack Sebastopol on the north side with any prospect of success. It could not be accomplished by the army alone, and it was now impossible to

employ the fleet. It was, therefore, determined to march around Sebastopol and attack it from the south.

The march began at noon on September 25th, the army passing Mackenzie's farm and the Traktir bridge, where the road to Balaklava crosses the Tchernaia. The next day from a high ground was seen the harbour of Balaklava, a deep port, lying between opposing cliffs, crowned with walls and towers. An English steamer soon made her appearance in the harbour, showing that it had been captured, and communication with the fleet was established. Only four shots had been fired by the garrison, the commandant, being asked why he had fired at all, said that he thought that he was bound to do so, until he was summoned to surrender. No one was wounded on either side. The French crossed the Tchernaia on the same day. It was soon seen that Balaklava was of very little value and was not what the map represented it to be. As the British were in possession of it, the French gave up their position on the right, which was taken by the British, together with the harbour, an arrangement which proved a fruitful cause of disaster. The armies now took up the positions which they were to occupy till the end of the war. Above them was the broad plain of the Tauric Chersonesus, on which, for nearly a year, their lives were to be passed, and on which many were to die.

If the fortress had been assaulted on September 28th, it might have been taken without loss. Sir George Cathcart declared that he could walk into the place without the loss of a man, and the Russians have expressed the same opinion. Indeed, the Cabinet had reckoned upon this, and had made no preparations for a winter campaign. Three-fourths of the troops arrived before the town without their knapsacks, with no tents and no change of clothing. The army brought with it the seeds of cholera, and, if it were not intended to take Sebastopol by assault, it was a mistaken policy to be in the Crimea at all. However, Canrobert, who, on the death of St. Arnaud, had succeeded to the command of the French army, thought it dangerous to advance, and his opinion was shared by Sir John Burgoyne, who commanded the Engineers. They decided that it was better to bombard the place before storming it, and they were consequently compelled to wait till October 17th, the earliest day they could put their siege-train in position.

It happened that there were present among the Russians in Sebastopol at this time two men of genius, Kornilov and Todleben. Kornilov had been admiral of the sunken fleet. He was a man of

enthusiastic nature, with that unfaltering faith in his Sovereign, his country, and his God which inspires so many persons in his wonderful country. He was killed at the opening of the siege, but the spirit which had animated him lived after him. Todleben was an engineer of unlimited patience and resource, who knew how to make earthworks, and was well aware of their value. The delays of the Allies gave him the opportunity of turning Sebastopol into an impregnable fortress. He used the twenty days required to bring up the Allies' siege-train in procuring the help of the dockyard labourers and the resources of the arsenal to strengthen his defences, and, when the bombardment began, the assailants had before them an object of attack worthy of their supremest efforts.

The fire opened at daybreak on October 17th, both from the batteries and from the fleet, one of the fiercest bombardments known to history. The Allies had imagined that the defences of Sebastopol would fall before them like the walls of Jericho, and they would walk in as conquerors. The result was entirely different. The ships sustained some injury themselves, but effected little loss on the enemy. The British succeeded in dominating the Russian fire, but the French had no advantage, and the explosion of a magazine in their lines disheartened their troops and silenced their batteries. The Russians repaired at night the effects of the day's attack, and Sebastopol was actually stronger after the bombardment, which was intended to be fatal, than when the Allies arrived before it.

At the end of October, the British army, including the sailors landed from the fleet, numbered about 25,000 combatants, the French were about 40,000. At the Battle of the Alma the Allies had only about 40,000 men against them, but during the six weeks which followed Menshikov was largely reinforced. The concentration of the Allies at Sebastopol had left all the roads from Russia open, and the surrender of the Principalities set free a large number of men for service in the Crimea, so that, by the end of October, the Russian army was not less than 130,000 men strong, twice the number of the Allies. Menshikov was now able to take the offensive, and he first struck at the port of Balaklava. We must give some description of the ground.

The outer harbour of Sebastopol is about four miles long from its entrance in the Black Sea to the point where the Tchernaia flows into it. The water in it is extremely deep, even close to the shore. It was defended, at its entrance, by two shore forts, bearing the name of Constantine and Alexander, as well as the Quarantine

Fort outside and the Artillery Fort inside. There was also an inner harbour, a mile and a half long, starting from the southern shore of the great harbour, at about a mile from its entrance, defended at its mouth by two forts named Nicholas and Paul.

Sebastopol stands on the western shore of this inner creek and on the opposite side was the Karabelnaia suburb, which contained the barracks for the garrison. There was also, on the same side, a creek on which the dockyards were built, and about a mile from the inner harbour, on the same side, ran the so-called Careenage Bay, terminated by Careenage Creek. The allied armies were posted on a plateau separated from the valley of the Tchernaia by a wall of cliff, which, at its termination, formed the boundary of the harbour of Balaklava. The plateau is channelled by many chasms and ravines and is marked by elevations, which afterwards became well known as the Malakov, the Redan, and other similar names. The extreme point of the Chersonesus, in this direction, bore the name of Cape Cherson, and just to the north of it lie the two inlets of Kazatch and Kamiesch, which were used by the French as their sea base, and were far superior to Balaklava, which had been assigned to the British.

The two harbours were connected with the French positions by a paved road. The depression which forms the inner harbour is connected by a ravine, which for some time formed the line of separation between the French and the British armies. There was also an important feature called the Woronzov Road, which connected the Woronzov estate at Yalta with Sebastopol, and crossed the Valley of Balaklava. A branch of this road crossed the Tchernaia and went along the heights, by Mackenzie's farm to Bakhtchiserai. By this road the Russians were able to approach Balaklava without coming into the range of the allied batteries placed upon the plateau.

Todleben, to strengthen the defence, built the Star Fort on the south side of the harbour, and on the same side completed the defences which had been traced years before. These consisted of the Redan, the Little Redan, batteries at Careenage Bay, and a semicircular tower called the Malakov, built of stone, 4 feet thick, 28 feet high, and 50 feet across. By September 26th Todleben had armed this place with 172 pieces of ordnance. On October 2nd, before the siege began, all non-combatants were sent out of the town, the works were strengthened every day, and a ship of 84 guns was moored at the head of the harbour.

As we have indicated, the valley between Balaklava and the Tchernaia is crossed by a line of low hills, along which lies the

Woronzov Road. Four of these hills had been crowned with earthworks of very slight description, armed with nine twelve-pounder guns, and a high hill at the south-eastern corner had been fortified and named Canrobert Hill after the new French commander. On October 25th the Russians with a body of 22,000 infantry, a large force of cavalry, and 78 guns, crossed the Tchernaia, and began to bombard Canrobert Hill. The fire was returned by the forts, and afterwards by the batteries of artillery, supported by the Scots Greys. When it appeared that the attack was more formidable than was anticipated, the British divisions and a French brigade were sent to the scene of action, but, instead of descending into the valley, they marched along the heights. They saw the Russians storm Canrobert Hill, killing many of the Turks who occupied the redoubt, and putting the rest to flight. There was a danger of the Russians securing the shipping and stores at Balaklava, which were only protected by the 93rd Regiment, under Sir Colin Campbell, who, however, was equal to the trial.

Two brigades of British cavalry were at this time moving on different sides of the ridge, the Light Brigade, numbering 600 on the side towards the Tchernaia, and the Heavy Brigade, numbering 900, on the side towards Balaklava. The Heavy Brigade was commanded by General Scarlett. Scarlett did not know that he was marching, with a comparatively small force, across the face of a huge body of Russian cavalry. When he discovered this fact, he wheeled his little force into position and prepared to attack. The Russians, instead of charging, received the onslaught at the halt, and the British cut their way through the column. In eight minutes, the unwieldy column was broken and retreated to the eastern end of the valley. The glory of this magnificent exploit has been shared by the brilliant, but inexcusable, charge of the Light Brigade, which followed on the same date (October 25th).

The Russian artillery still occupied the heights on the north, the Russian troops still held the guns which they had captured from the Turks, and a Russian army still held the eastern end of the valley. But the valley itself was clear of the enemy. Lord Raglan wished to recover the redoubts, on the south of the valley, which had been captured from the Turks, as their possession seemed necessary for the security of his base at Balaklava. He therefore ordered Cathcart to recapture them; but, the infantry moving slowly, decided to employ cavalry for the purpose. He gave the order, "Cavalry to advance and take advantage of any opportunity to recover the heights. They will be supported by

the infantry, which have been ordered to advance on two fronts." On receiving this order, Lord Lucan moved the Heavy Brigade to the other side of the ridge, to await the promised support of the infantry. When it was seen that the Russians were attempting to carry off the guns they had captured, a second order was sent to Lord Lucan, in the following words: "Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns. Troops of artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left. Immediate." The order was carried by Captain Nolan, who found Lord Lucan between his two brigades, divided by the Woronzov Road.

Lord Raglan had intended the charge to be made against the defeated Russian cavalry, who had retreated down the valley towards the Tchernaia; but Lord Lucan, strengthened in his opinion by some blunder of Nolan's, understood the order to refer to a large body of Russians posted right in front, strongly supported on either side by artillery. Although both Lord Cardigan and Lord Lucan knew the charge to be desperate, they did not hesitate, and the order was given for the Brigade to advance. They moved at a steady trot, and in a minute came within the range of the cannon. After five minutes they found themselves exposed to the fire of twelve guns in front, and the pace was increased, but when they reached the battery more than half the Brigade had been killed or wounded, and the rest were now lost to view in the smoke of the guns. The Heavy Brigade moved in support, but had to retire with severe loss, and a brilliant diversion was effected by a regiment of Chasseurs d'Afrique, sent by the French General Morris, whose well-directed charge saved many British lives. Behind the smoke of the guns the Light Cavalry drove the gunners off and charged parties of Russian cavalry, who retreated; but they soon had to retreat themselves, and rode back, singly, or in twos or threes, some wounded, some supporting wounded comrades. But when the Russian cavalry drew up across the valley to cut off the retreat of the British, the 8th Hussars and some of the 17th Lancers scattered them to right and left.

The Brigade had lost 247 men killed and wounded. The Russians were left in undisturbed possession of the three hills which they had captured, with their seven guns. The charge of the Light Brigade will be remembered for ever; that of the Heavy Brigade is well-nigh forgotten; but, while Scarlett led his men to a gallant and successful feat of arms, Cardigan's squadrons were the victims of an unhappy blunder. The French character-

ised the operation in their well-known phrase, "*C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.*"

The plateau above Sebastopol, upon which the allied forces were encamped, was accessible to the Russians at many points, but especially by the Careenage Ravine, which was a continuation of the Careenage Harbour. At noon on October 25th, the day of the Battle of Balaklava, a Russian force of six battalions and four light field guns, came out of the town and ascended the ravine and the slope which led to the camp of the Second Division. They threw a heavy fire on Mount Inkerman, but were easily repelled by De Lacy Evans, who was in command of the British troops opposed to them, and who gradually withdrew his pickets and dispersed the enemy with artillery. It is probable that the object of the Russians was to establish a redoubt on Shell Hill, in order to cover a more serious attack to be made at a future time. In order to prevent them, the British built a battery upon an advanced ridge, armed it with two eighteen pounders, and called it the "Sand-bag Battery." When it had done its work of clearing the Russians its guns were removed, but the post became important in future operations.

On November 4th it was known on both sides that a crisis was impending. The allied infantry before Sebastopol now consisted of 31,000 French, 16,000 British, and 11,000 Turks. The French siege corps was endeavouring to retrieve its disaster of October 17th. The British were strengthening their batteries and replenishing their magazines, and their daily loss of men was not so large as that of the Russians. A meeting of the allied commanders had been summoned for November 5th, to concert measures for delivering the final assault. The total of Menshikov's forces in and around Sebastopol was not less than 100,000 men, without counting the seamen, so that about 115,000 men were opposed to 50,000.

In the early dawn of Sunday, November 5th, the bells of the churches were celebrating the arrival at Sebastopol of the young Grand Dukes, Michael and Nicholas. Menshikov chose that day for a great battle, and it was his purpose to drive the Allies from the Crimea by an attack all along the line. He felt himself strong enough to threaten at all points, and to strike at many; but his main plan was aimed at a rocky eminence on the right flank of the British army. Simonov was to move up the Careenage Ravine with 19,000 infantry and 38 guns; Paulov was to advance along the Woronzov Road, round the bridge of the Tchernaia, with 16,000 infantry and 96 guns; whilst Gortshakov was to support the grand

attack with a division, and the garrison of Sebastopol was to cover the right flank of the attacking force with its artillery fire. When the two bodies of Simonov and Paulov had effected their juncture they were to be commanded by General Dannenberg.

The ground which was the object of the main attack was occupied by about 3,100 men of the Second Division, and three-quarters of a mile behind them was the Brigade of Guards, numbering 1,330 men. Two miles in the rear of the Second Division were the nearest troops of Bosquet's Army Corps. Simonov left Sebastopol in the middle of the night, and, passing to the Careenage Ravine, began to form the order of battle at about 6 a.m. He did not wait for Paulov, but began the attack at once. He placed twenty-two heavy guns on Shell Hill and opened fire and attacked with his columns at about 7 a.m. The pickets of the Second Division, commanded by General Pennefather, in the absence, through illness, of De Lacy Evans, were driven back; but the main body was moved forward to support them, the crest being held by twelve nine-pounder guns. The morning was foggy and the ground muddy, but the mist was sufficient to conceal from the Russians that the troops attacked had no immediate support.

Simonov assaulted the British left, our troops, fortunately, being in ignorance of the enormous numbers opposed to them. By extraordinary acts of personal prowess and daring seven out of the fourteen battalions were repulsed, and Simonov himself was killed. Paulov, advancing up the Quarry Ravine from the Tchernaia, was not more successful. The 41st Regiment, numbering 525, drove five battalions of Russians, numbering 4,000, down the hills. When General Dannenberg arrived a new action, began. He brought with him about 19,000 infantry and 90 guns, and attacked the centre and right of the British position. But by this time the British had received reinforcements. Cathcart had come with 400 men of the Fourth Division, but his troops suffered heavily, and he was himself shot dead. Indeed, the British right was in considerable danger, until a French regiment came to its assistance.

Finally, the Russians made a third attack with 6,000 men, the Allies being able to meet them with 5,000, the Russian artillery still having the predominance. Issuing from the Quarry Ravine, they attacked the British centre and left, and met with considerable success. They penetrated as far as the Careenage Ravine and spiked some British guns. The attack was finally

repulsed by the combined efforts of the French and British, and it was all over by eleven o'clock.

The Battle of Inkerman was without decisive results to either side. The British had not the numbers, nor the French the desire to turn the defeat into a rout. The early gloom of a November evening descended upon the battle-field. The Russian losses were said to be 12,000 killed and wounded. The British lost 597 killed and 1,760 wounded; the French, 143 killed and 786 wounded. This shows that the Allies had acted mainly on the defensive, and had spent their efforts in driving back the Russians. The heavy Russian losses were mainly due to the fact that they persisted in attacking by columns, whereas, if they had thrown out skirmishers, they would have been more successful. The British losses, also, would have been less severe if they had trusted more to their artillery. The battle, however, had a great moral effect, and the Russians lost all hope of driving the Allies from the plateau they occupied. At the same time, the losses of the Russians had been more than double those of the Allies, the conditions of the campaign were altered, and any idea of an immediate assault on the part of the Russians was given up.

It became evident that the Allies would have to remain in the Crimea during the winter. But no preparations had been made for this contingency. It had been difficult enough to provide the army with the arms and ammunition necessary for the bombardment, and nothing had been done to furnish the soldiers with what was absolutely necessary for their health. Even those who were wounded in battle or struck down with cholera had neither adequate shelter nor the necessary medical comforts. Matters were made worse by a terrible storm on November 14th. Up to this time the tents had stood in dry and level spaces of turf, and it had been possible to supply the rations for men and horses with tolerable regularity. But the storm changed all this. It tore down whole camps and scattered them on the plain, so that there was no refuge for the men when they returned from the trenches. The sick and wounded were without protection, quantities of food and forage were spoilt, and communications with Balaklava were interrupted. Twenty-one vessels in or near the harbour were dashed to pieces, among them the *Prince*, a magnificent steamer, containing stores of every kind which the Government could think of for the comfort of the troops, besides twenty days' hay for the horses. The French lost their most beautiful vessel, the *Henri IV.*, and the storm affected the Russians as well as the Allies.

THE HORRORS OF SEBASTOPOL

After the storm came the snow. The sick and wounded had to lie in mud, and the trenches were often deep in water. The soldiers were afraid to pull off their boots, lest they should not be able to draw them on again. The difficulty of cooking induced the men to devour their rations raw, and this largely increased the number of the sick. There was, it is true, a sufficiency of salt meat, biscuits, and rum, but there was little variety, and means of preparing it were lacking. There was stored at Balaklava plenty of flour, rice, fuel, vegetables, tea, but there was no Army Service Corps to convey these supplies to the front. The sufferings of the animals were frightful; they died all round the camp and on the road to Balaklava, and lay unburied where they died. The labour of toiling through the muddy roads to Balaklava to fetch their own forage killed many horses on each journey. The result was that by the end of November the British had nearly 8,000 men in hospital. The great hospital was at Scutari, close to Constantinople, and the journey thither proved the death of many. The hospital itself was said to be " crammed with misery, overflowing with despair."

It is true that every effort was made both at home and on the spot to remedy these disasters, and on January 13th, 1855, Lord Raglan was able to write, " I believe I may assert that every man in the army has received a second blanket, a jersey frock, flannel drawers and socks, and some kind of winter coat in addition to his ordinary great coat," but still the number of the sick mounted up till it reached 14,000. The French were better off, because their harbours were more convenient: their transport was well organised, and the sea was at a shorter distance. On the other hand, their tents were a very inadequate protection against the weather, and their rations were barely sufficient to keep them in health. They lost many men from sickness, especially frostbite. Still, they received reinforcements, so that in January they had 78,000 men on the plateau, whereas the British had only 11,000 men fit to bear arms. Lord Raglan admitted that the numbers of the French were at least four times those of his own troops. Canrobert, therefore, relieved the British from the duty of guarding part of their ground, and this set free 1,500 men.

As we have said, strenuous efforts were made to relieve these sufferings. A Crimean Army Fund was established in England, by means of which not only necessaries, but luxuries, were poured into the camps. Sidney Herbert, also, the Secretary for War, succeeded in introducing a better system of management into

the hospitals at Constantinople. Florence Nightingale, whose name must ever be held in reverence by English-speaking people, arrived at Scutari on November 4th, 1854, accompanied by eighteen Protestant sisters and nurses and twenty trained nurses. She organised the management of the hospital on a new plan, which became the pattern of modern scientific nursing. Improvements, however, were slow to take effect, and in the four winter months nearly nine thousand soldiers died in the hospitals.

Such was the result of the war which had been entered into with such lightheartedness and begun with so much enthusiasm. The then rising generation had had no experience of war in Europe. For the first time in the history of war newspaper correspondents at the front were writing home vivid accounts and impressions of what they saw with their own eyes. The public felt that they themselves had largely been the cause of these misfortunes, but scrupled not to call for the punishment of the men whom they had driven into a course of action of which their better judgment disapproved. When Parliament met on January 23rd, 1855, Mr. Roebuck gave notice that he would move for a Committee of Inquiry. Lord John Russell immediately resigned, on the ground that he had strongly urged the reorganisation of the War Office in the previous autumn, and he felt he could not defend in public arrangements he had condemned in private. His retirement made the defence of the Ministry impossible. After two nights' debate it was defeated by the large majority of 305 to 148, and Lord Aberdeen resigned the Premiership.

Thus ended the career of a man who deserved a better fate. He had been an excellent Foreign Minister under Peel, but was unfit for the position of a leader on strong lines. He could not command his own Cabinet, nor restrain the efforts of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, aided by Lord Palmerston, to plunge the country into a war, which he knew to be indefensible. When he resigned, public opinion pointed to Lord Palmerston as his successor, and after a vain attempt to secure the services of Lord Derby, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord John Russell, the Queen was obliged to send for the Minister whom, above all others, she and the Prince Consort especially disliked.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CRIMEAN WAR: THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE

THE history of the Crimean War during the year 1855 can now be written with more fullness and accuracy, in consequence of the publication of the letters of Queen Victoria. In the autumn of 1854 the Tsar was desirous of peace, and at the beginning of 1855 agreed to accept the Four Points originally put forward by the four Powers, together with the interpretation now put upon them. The Four Points were: the cessation of the Russian protectorate over Moldavia, Wallachia and Servia; the privileges granted by the Sultan to the Principalities to be effectually guaranteed by the Powers; the free navigation of the Danube and the termination of the preponderance of the Russian power in the Black Sea; and abandonment by Russia of her claim to protect any subjects of the Porte. The Queen, however, thought it most important that Sebastopol should first be taken. Before Parliament met she showed her confidence in Lord Aberdeen by forcing upon him the Order of the Garter, which he was extremely reluctant to receive.

Lord John Russell, as has been seen, left the Ministry at the first intimation of Mr. Roebuck's Commission of Inquiry. The Queen was surprised and disgusted at this conduct, and expressed these feelings to him in a strong and abrupt letter. Aberdeen was shocked at being deserted without notice or warning, so that the only object could be to upset the Government. Palmerston was equally scandalised at Russell's conduct, and wrote him a scolding letter; but the Cabinet felt that without Lord John they could not go on and determined to resign. The Queen protested against this as exposing her and the country to the greatest peril, since it was impossible to change the Government at the moment without altering the whole policy of the nation in diplomacy and war. Yielding to the Queen's wishes, the Ministry resolved to meet Mr. Roebuck's motion, though with little hope of success. Lord Palmerston became leader of the House of Commons, and at 2 a.m. on January 30th announced to the Queen that Mr. Roebuck's motion had been carried with a majority of 157, a large number of Liberals voting in the majority. The

Tories, however, refused to regard the division as a party triumph. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon Aberdeen came down to Windsor and tendered the unanimous resignation of the Cabinet.

It seemed almost as if the Premiership might go a-begging. The Queen tried first one statesman, then another, but for two or three days to no purpose, reluctance to serve with Lord John Russell being at the root of the difficulty. Finally, and in despair, she was at length obliged to solicit the co-operation of Lord Palmerston, who handsomely undertook to come to his Sovereign's rescue. But the Queen's troubles were not yet ended. Roebuck determined to proceed with the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry, and the Government did not oppose it. Mr. Gladstone and his friends, Sidney Herbert and the Duke of Argyll (who had consented to join Palmerston on the assurance that his policy would not be bellicose), were of opinion that this action was most unconstitutional, a most presumptuous and most dangerous course, after which it would be impossible for the Executive ever to oppose again the most absurd and preposterous demands for inquiry. Therefore, on February 21st, they retired from the Cabinet. The Queen wrote to her uncle, " We have lost our three best men—certainly from the best and purest of motives, but the result is unfortunate. Altogether affairs are very unsettled and unsatisfactory. The good people here are a little alarmed, but I feel sure that it will right itself. Lord John's return to office under Lord Palmerston is most extraordinary." Another cause of anxiety was the determination of the Emperor of the French to go to the Crimea, a course to which the Queen, Prince Albert, Lord Palmerston, and the Emperor's own advisers were strongly opposed. Eventually it was averted, but it had been determined that if he did go Lord Cowley was to accompany him.

On March 2nd, 1855, a dispatch was received at Windsor from The Hague, saying that the Emperor Nicholas had died that morning at 1 a.m. of pulmonic apoplexy after an attack of influenza. He really died of a broken heart, the final blow being given by the defeat of the Russians by the Turks at Eupatoria. In this place Omar Pasha had collected about 30,000 men, and the Russians, feeling that both Perekop and Simpheropol were threatened, ordered Wrangel to drive them out. The Russians were entirely defeated and driven back with great loss. Thereupon Menshikov resigned the command, and Gortshakov took his place. The Emperor felt the blow keenly, although in his letters he did everything he could to spare the feelings of the defeated generals. On February 27th he caught a chill at a review

of the Imperial Guard, and died three days afterwards. He was succeeded by his son Alexander II. The news of the Tsar's death reached Sebastopol on March 6th, and was communicated by Canrobert to General Osten Sacken. Both sides hoped that it might hasten the conclusion of peace, but meanwhile the operations went on.

The allied generals were of opinion that the fall of Sebastopol could only be brought about by the capture of the Karabelnaian suburb, and that this could only be effected by their becoming masters of the Malakov Tower, for which purpose the occupation of the Green Hill was necessary. Todleben, however, succeeded in establishing a lunette on the Green Hill, and by a system of earthworks, partly under ground and partly over, greatly impeded the siege. Between March 13th and March 31st there were four skirmishes between the Russians and the French. On April 19th Rear-Admiral Istovich was killed on the Green Hill and buried in the cathedral near to Komilov. On the night of March 22nd a sortie was made by Kulov, but without success. Eight Russian officers and nearly 400 men were slain and more than 1,000 wounded; the French lost 600 killed and wounded; and the British fewer. This sortie was the most murderous of the whole siege, and an armistice was arranged for the burial of the dead and the care of the wounded. At the same time the besieging forces were increased by Turkish troops, which Omar Pasha brought from Eupatoria.

A great bombardment was arranged for April 9th. The previous day was Easter Sunday, the most important festival of the Russian year, and the troops decorated their new fortifications with sacred pictures, and the clergy offered prayers for the success of the Russian arms. Women and children ventured into the trenches to give the Easter kiss to their husbands and fathers. There was laughing and singing in the cheerful throng, which was unconscious of the fate which awaited them next day. During the night the weather, till then fine, changed to torrential rain. At 5 o'clock in the morning 520 cannons of the Allies opened fire and were answered by nearly 1,000 on the Russian side. In estimating the difficulties of the besiegers, we must remember that all artillery and ammunition had to be brought from the coast, that the batteries were 30 feet thick, and that the earth of which they were made had to be brought from a distance. By midday the fire of the besiegers was seen to be superior to that of the Russians. Breaches were made in the wall which united the Quarantine and the Central Bastion,

and several Russian forts were destroyed, notably those on the Green Hill. The Russians had lost 536 men, but the Allies determined not to storm the place, but to continue bombardment for ten days longer.

Todleben afterwards admitted that the Allies might easily have become masters of the Flagstaff Bastion, and that this would have carried with it the fall of Sebastopol. But they could not make up their minds. Niel, the new French general, believed that the Russians had in their trenches a number of concealed cannon, and said that an attack on Sebastopol would be rather in the nature of a battle than a storm, and that in a battle the ground must be favourable for the command of troops. Neither Canrobert nor Raglan could successfully oppose these views, and it is Todleben's opinion that this hesitation was increased by the fear of Russian mines. The ten days' bombardment, which had taken six months to prepare, and in which 254,000 projectiles were fired at a loss of the lives of 6,000 Russians, 1,584 French, and 205 British soldiers, must be pronounced an entire failure. The third day cost the life of General Buzot, who had laid the mine before the Flagstaff Battery, which held about 50,000 pounds of gunpowder. The explosion of this mine, on the evening of April 15th, was like a funeral salute to the general who had been the maker of it.

The condition of the Russian wounded during the ten days was incredible. In the ball-room of the Nobles Club sixty Sisters of the Cross tended the wounded. The floor was several inches deep in blood. In the next room the blood streamed down from the operating tables, and heaps of amputated limbs were thrown into casks. One of the most skilful operators was a sailor, Paskevich, who was specially expert in tying up arteries. The atmosphere of the room was a repulsive mixture of the odours of blood and chloroform and sulphur. When seen at night the scene can only be likened to the lower regions of Dante's Malebolge.

It now became important that Austria should make up her mind to take decided action, that is, to force Russia to accept the Four Points under threat of declaring war. For this purpose representatives of the Powers interested were sent to Vienna—Lord John Russell from England, Emir Ali Pasha from Turkey, and Drouyn de l'Huys from France. The last-named, before proceeding to Vienna, went to London to discuss with Clarendon, Palmerston and Lansdowne the exact meaning of the Third Point, to which Russia had the strongest objection. Was the Black Sea to be entirely neutralised, that is, closed to the warships of all

nations, or only the numbers of the Russian fleet to be limited? The French Emperor was in favour of neutralisation, that is to say, that neither Russia nor Turkey should have ships in the Black Sea or Sea of Azov; that the harbours in these seas should be regarded as places of commerce, in which consuls might be established; that any concentration of troops which might threaten the security of the neighbouring States should be illegal; and that, if these conditions were not observed, Great Britain, France, and Austria should have the power of sending their fleets into the Black Sea. If it were preferred to proceed in a different manner, Russia and Turkey should be allowed to have only four ships of the line and four frigates in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, and a corresponding number of light, unarmed vessels for the transport of troops. France, Great Britain and Austria might have half these numbers, but Russia should not have the right of entrance into the Mediterranean. In case of danger, and at the command of the Porte, the whole fleets of the three Powers might pass the Bosphorus, and these Powers should also have the right of establishing consuls in the ports of the two seas.

From London Drouyn de l'Huys went to Vienna, where he found Buol in favour of pressing the Four Points, but reluctant to declare war if they were not accepted, and preferring limitation to neutralisation. In his conversation with the Emperor, Drouyn de l'Huys said that the settlement of the Eastern Question was not so important as a good understanding between France and Austria; but it is doubtful whether in saying this he was expressing the real opinions of his Sovereign. Francis Joseph received these advances with caution. He had not forgotten that the Emperor of the French, when urging an Austrian alliance upon Hübner in Paris, had said, by way of threat, "I have confidence in Austria, but I suppose you know I could kindle a war in Austria as easily as I light this cigarette." The Austrian Emperor desired to treat Russia with as great tenderness as possible.

In the Conference it was found that Gortshakov was in favour of all limitations being removed and the straits being open to the warships of all nations. This was opposed by Russell and Ali Pasha. After Russell had left Vienna Gortshakov proposed that the straits should be closed as a rule, but that they might be opened to the fleets of all nations in case the Porte asked for assistance. But these propositions were futile. Drouyn de l'Huys had been ordered by the Emperor to consent either to neutralise the Black Sea or to limit the Russian fleet, and he had no authority

to accept any other proposals. As Austria and Russia were opposed to both conditions, the Conference, so far as France was concerned, came to an end, and the British representative had already left.

Matters entered upon a new phase by the visit of the Emperor and Empress of the French to England. The charm and beauty of the young Empress delighted all hearts, her drive down Piccadilly being a triumphal procession. They were received at Windsor with great pomp and were lodged in the suite of apartments which had been arranged for the Emperor Nicholas in 1844. The Queen was deeply impressed both by the Emperor and the Empress. She wrote that "he is a very extraordinary man, with great qualities, there can be no doubt. I might almost say a mysterious man. He is evidently possessed of indomitable courage, unflinching firmness of purpose, self-reliance, perseverance, and great secrecy. To this should be added a great reliance on what he calls his star, and belief in omens and incidents as connected with his future destiny, which is almost romantic, and at the same time he is endowed with wonderful self-control, great calmness, even gentleness, and with a power of fascination the effect of which upon all those who become more intimately acquainted with him is most sensibly felt." She mentions that he had written in 1847, "Let us hope that the day may yet come when I shall carry out the intentions of my uncle, by uniting the policy and interests of England and France in an indissoluble alliance. That hope cheers and energises me. It forbids me repining at the altered fortunes of my family." She wrote of the Empress, "I am sure you would be charmed with the Empress; it is not such great beauty, but such great elegance, sweetness, and nature. Her manners are charming; the profile and figure beautiful and particularly *distinguée.*"

Advantage was taken of the Emperor's presence at Windsor to hold two councils of war in the Castle. On April 18th Prince Albert stated that all present were opposed to the Emperor's going to the Crimea. Two days later another council was held, at which the Queen was present, in which detailed arrangements were made for the prosecution of the siege. The journey of the Emperor was left uncertain, but all idea of peace was to be postponed until a decisive victory should be gained by the fall of Sebastopol. On hearing of this Drouyn de l'Huys resigned. He could no longer follow the Emperor in his foreign policy. He knew or suspected his ulterior designs with regard to Italy; these designs were, indeed, partly revealed by the accession of Sardinia

to the alliance and the dispatch of an Italian contingent to the seat of war. Drouyn de l'Huys knew that the foreign policy of the Emperor was now at the parting of the ways. For himself, he preferred that which represented the traditional policy of France to that which arose from the private objects of the Napoleonic dynasty.

In fact the Emperor was reminded of his engagements towards Italy by an attempt upon his life made by an Italian, Pianori, who fired two pistol-shots at him in the Champs Élysées, neither of which took effect. Pianori was guillotined, and the Emperor, feeling more acutely the uncertainty of his position, gave up the journey to the Crimea. The place of Drouyn de l'Huys was taken by Walewski, who had been ambassador in London. He was a natural son of Napoleon I., whom he resembled in a striking manner.

At the end of May Buol made a proposal that the number of Russian troops in the Black Sea, now greatly reduced, should not be increased, and that any addition to the Russian ships should be followed by an addition to those of the Powers. He offered to present this as an ultimatum to Russia, and to declare war if it were rejected, but this proposal was declined by the Powers. Buol then proposed a private arrangement between Russia and Turkey, which Gortshakov accepted. A further proposal of Buol's, that the Russian fleet in the Black Sea should not exceed its present diminished number, was taken by Gortshakov *ad referendum*, as he knew that Great Britain and France would never consent to it.

Russia, however, had gained her object in keeping Austria neutral. When Gortshakov left Vienna Francis Joseph thanked him for his conciliatory attitude, and the Russians believe that he gave him an assurance that Austria would never take up a hostile attitude towards his country. The conduct of Austria in these matters had been wavering and uncertain, but it must be remembered that her finances were in a very bad condition, and that for her war meant bankruptcy. The heads of the Austrian War Office were also opposed to war. France and Great Britain were disgusted with her temporising policy, and made known to her that in any peaceful arrangement which they might eventually make with Russia they should not feel bound to consider the interests of Austria.

In the council held at Windsor on April 20th, it had been determined that a body of 60,000 men would be required to hold the trenches and the town after it was taken, and that the rest

of the allied army should be used for defensive purposes as might be necessary, so that the army should be divided into two sections, one for the siege and the other for general operations. The 60,000 men of the besieging army should be composed of 30,000 French and 30,000 Turks, and be under the command of Canrobert; the army of operations should be made up of 25,000 British and 15,000 Sardinian troops, to which should be added, if possible, 5,000 French and 10,000 Turks. This should be under the command of Lord Raglan. A second army of operations should be composed of the remaining 45,000 French already before Sebastopol and 25,000 more who were now at Constantinople in reserve. This army of 70,000 French should be under the direct command of the Emperor, or of some general whom he might appoint. Before these arrangements were known, the assault was fixed for April 28th, but on the news that the steamers were under orders to bring the reserve from Constantinople the plan of an assault was given up.

On May 5th Niel took the place of Buzot in command of the engineers, and on May 17th Pélissier succeeded Canrobert, who had begun to have some difficulties with Lord Raglan, and now resumed the command of his own division. Pélissier had to choose between two plans of operation, either to cut off the communications between Sebastopol and Simpheropol or to proceed with the destruction of the southern works of defence. The latter course was chosen, partly because there were no trustworthy maps of the region with which the first alternative was concerned, and partly because operations in the interior might be deferred. At the same time he determined to make an attack on Kertch, and ordered Canrobert, supported by the Sardinians, to descend into the plain of the Tchernaia.

There was a difference of opinion between Niel and Pélissier, and Pélissier had the stronger will of the two. Niel was in favour of enclosing the whole of Sebastopol, but Pélissier urged that to take the Mackenzie Heights, which was necessary for this purpose, would be as costly as a storm. At the same time the united forces of the Allies amounted to 180,000 men, against the 100,000 which Russia could oppose to them, which gave some support to the views of Niel and the Emperor. Todleben now formed an entrenched camp, which commanded the flank of the French approaches and defended the Central and Quarantine Bastions, and Krilov threw up earthworks on the heights of Quarantine Bay. These works were attacked successfully by the French. The Russians suffered very serious losses, and became convinced that this kind of defence

was disastrous, and the iron ring which enclosed them grew gradually tighter.

On May 25th Pélissier made a movement which improved his position and secured himself from an attack in the rear. Some important ground was wrested from the Russians. The Sardinians secured for themselves an independent position, between the French and British, and Omar Pasha pitched his camp close to the redoubts which had been lost in the Battle of Balaklava. The line of the Allies was thus extended and strengthened, and their encampment was made more sanitary, with a good supply of forage and water.

The bombardment began on June 6th. It was agreed that the French should attack both the Careenage Bay redoubts and the Green Hill, or Mamelon, while the British should occupy the Quarries before the Great Redan. On June 7th, just before sunset, the signal for the attack was given by Bosquet from the Lancaster Battery and by Pélissier from the Victoria Redoubt. The French, under Leconte and Failly, successfully stormed the two redoubts opposed to them, and 400 Russians, including twelve officers, were taken prisoners. The storming of the Mamelon was more difficult, but, after a severe struggle, it was eventually carried. The British succeeded in taking the Quarries, and the conquered batteries were used against the Russians. On June 9th an armistice was proclaimed for burying the dead. The French loss was, in men 628 dead, 4,160 wounded, 379 missing, and in officers 69 dead, 203 wounded, and 4 missing. The British had lost altogether 693 men, and the loss of the Russians was estimated at 6,000, although they only admitted a loss of 2,500 men. Among the dead was General Tomosiev. The French had captured seventy-three guns in the Mamelon, of which twenty-one were of heavy calibre.

This victory raised the spirit of the Allies. The generals were in favour of a storm along the whole line, but Pélissier insisted on limiting the attack to the Karabelnaia until the Malakov Tower and the Redan were in his hands. Pélissier was at this time much troubled by the interference of the Emperor, who was very anxious for the conquest of Simpheropol, and intimated to his master that unless he were trusted and allowed to carry out his own views he must resign the command.

It was now settled in a council of war held on June 15th that the fourth bombardment should begin on June 17th, and that simultaneously on June 18th (Waterloo Day) the French were to storm the Malakov Tower and the British the Redan. A demon-

stration should be made in the valley of the Tchernaia by the Sardinians and Turks, supported by five divisions of the French. This bombardment was so severe that by the evening all the Russian batteries were silenced and the Russian hospitals overcrowded with the wounded. The garrison of Sebastopol, consisting of 43,000 soldiers and 10,000 sailors, performed wonders of bravery and self-devotion.

But the attacks of June 18th failed. The French, by a mistake, began their advance too soon, and were forced to retreat. The Redan was stoutly defended, and the British were repulsed with severe losses. The Russians were correspondingly jubilant, and their thanksgivings for victory were heard in the allied camps. The failure of this attack, from which so much had been expected, cost the life of Lord Raglan. Five days later an officer of the staff wrote: "I fear that it has affected Lord Raglan's health; he looks far from well, and has aged very much latterly." On June 26th he was seized with cholera and died two days afterwards. Next morning Pélissier stood for more than an hour by the bed on which the corpse had been laid, crying like a child. On July 3rd the coffin, on a gun-carriage drawn by eight artillery horses, was taken to Kazatch, through a continuous line of British and French soldiers, and placed on board the *Caradoc*, the ship which had brought him from England. His place in the command was taken by General Simpson. Just before this Todleben had been wounded and had to leave the field of action, and on June 12th the Russians lost their most valiant champion, Admiral Paul Nakhimov.

On the other hand, the position of the Allies before Sebastopol was far from favourable. Misunderstandings arose between the British and French commanders in the field, and there were grave doubts whether it would be possible to continue the siege of Sebastopol through another winter. At the same time Omar Pasha was anxious to leave the Crimea and to devote himself to the defence of the Caucasus. However, the visit of the Queen and the Prince to Paris, where they stood with the Emperor before the grave of the great Napoleon in the Invalides, strengthened the essential conditions of the alliance.

CHAPTER XV

THE CAPTURE OF SEBASTOPOL

IN the middle of August, 1855, the parallel of the Allies was only a short distance from the Malakov and the Little Redan, so that the question arose in the Russian camp whether it were better to continue a hopeless defence, or make an effort to drive the besiegers from their position. Gortshakov was opposed to an attack, and wrote in July to Dolgorouki, the Minister of War, that it would be madness to assault an enemy so strongly posted and fortified. It might be easy to gain a temporary success which would sound well to the public ear, but it would mean a loss of from 10,000 to 15,000 men, and necessitate the surrender of Sebastopol. It was urged, on the other hand, that the daily drain on the defenders of Sebastopol was very considerable, even when there was no special attack, and that when reinforcements arrived it would be better to employ them in the offensive against the Allies than allow them to waste away uselessly. Gortshakov gradually gave way, but determined to wait for the arrival of sixty cohorts of militia from the Central Provinces. The question was at last, by the Emperor's command, submitted to a council of war on July 30th, and the majority decided on an attack on the Tchernaia. Todleben, who was lying wounded at Belbek, was strongly opposed to this plan, and Gortshakov undertook it, although convinced it would fail. He wrote to Dolgorouki: "I march against the enemy because if I do not do so Sebastopol will shortly fall. The conditions of the attack are terrible. The position of the enemy is particularly strong. I have only 43,000 infantry against 60,000. If disaster follow it is not my fault. I have done my best, but, since my arrival in the Crimea, the task has been too hard for me."

The position of the Allies on the Tchernaia was very strong. Balaklava lay to the south, Inkerman to the north, and the river to the east. In the centre Herbillon commanded nearly 18,000 men with 48 cannon, three divisions were in reserve, besides a strong cavalry division under Morris and the reserve of artillery. On the right were the Sardinians, and there were, besides, 10,000 Turks and 3,000 British under Scarlett. Two bridges crossed

the Tchernaia, one the Traktir Bridge, over which passed the road to Simpheropol, the other two miles distant, near the mouth of the river.

Gortshakov's force was divided into two army corps, the first commanded by Read, and the second by Liprandi. There were also an infantry reserve, a cavalry reserve, and an artillery reserve. His whole army amounted to 60,000 or 70,000 men, of which only 45,000 could, according to Todleben, be made available for attack. The Russians left the Mackenzie Heights on the evening of August 15th. The general plan was that Read was to attack the French, and Liprandi the Sardinians, while Gortshakov was to assist one or the other as occasion might demand. A dense fog concealed the advance of the Russian army. When Gortshakov arrived on the field he found that nothing had been done, and sent to Read and Liprandi to ask what they were waiting for; it was time to begin. Read said, "Begin what?" and on the question being repeated said, "Good! tell the Prince that I will begin the cannonade." The Russians attacking the Sardinians at first forced them to retire, but under the orders of La Marmora they took up a strong defensive position.

Gortshakov was preparing to attack the Sardinians when he heard firing on the right wing. This came from Read, who, inspired by the retreat of the Sardinians, had attacked the French and driven them from the bridge across the river. However, reinforcements came up and the Russians were repulsed in their turn. Indeed, the assault was so severe that Read and the chief of his staff were killed. It was still early in the morning, and the mist concealed the movements of the Russians. They gained a temporary advantage in an attack on Division Failly, but did not know how to make use of it. The battle raged principally round the Traktir Bridge. When Pélissier was convinced that the attack on the Tchernaia was not a feint, he brought up fresh forces from the town. The Division Dulac came first, then the Division Levaillant, and last the Guards.

La Marmora, when he had established himself safely in the Sardinian entrenchments, directed the Brigade Mollard, under his orders, to cover the right flank of the French. But the rout of the 19th Russian Division was already completed. The Russian cavalry began to retire. The Sardinians continued the pursuit, and Gortshakov rallied his forces beyond the range of the fire of the Allies. His right wing was protected by cavalry and his fresh forward movement was protected by artillery. The Sixth Division blocked the valley of Shulin. But the

Sardinians drove everything before them, and crossed the Tchernaia. The battle was now virtually at an end, and at three in the afternoon the Russians gave the order to retreat. On August 18th and 19th an armistice was proclaimed for the burying of the dead. Among the Russian dead were three generals and two colonels, and among the wounded eight generals and sixteen colonels. Out of 2,250 prisoners 1,750 were wounded. The Allies only lost 196 dead. The military conduct of Gortshakov was severely blamed. Paskevich said of him: "When the Emperor sent his whole army, except the Guards and the first corps, to the front he certainly must have intended that this Commander-in-Chief would do something, but neither the Emperor nor Russia could have foreseen that he would lead the whole army like victims to the slaughter." He also complained that Gortshakov had left in Perekop 20,000 grenadiers who had done nothing and eventually perished by disease. This defeat took away from the Russians their last hope of retrieving their misfortunes. Their losses during the war had been enormous and were estimated from the official sources at 250,000. It is said that in the six months from March to August 81,000 men had been killed and wounded in and around Sebastopol.

Russia had suffered a severe defeat not only by land but by sea. On May 21st, under the command of Sir George Brown, a British, Turkish and French division had been sent by sea to the Sea of Azov, accompanied by 34 British ships under Lyons, and 24 French ships under Bruat. On May 24th the troops landed in the neighbourhood of Kertch, which was weakly garrisoned by Wrangel. The Russians blew up the fortifications of Kertch and Yenikale, destroyed their supplies as far as they could, and allowed the allied fleet free entry into the Sea of Azov. Kertch was somewhat disgracefully plundered, and a large quantity of war materials and provisions was captured. The Allies found large supplies of grain and eighty-three cannon, besides several Russian ships, and thus deprived Sebastopol of its principal source of supply.

On August 17th a bombardment of the works in the Karabelnaia suburb began; this cost the Russians a loss of from 600 to 1,000 men every day, and made it impossible for them to repair their defences. The French, however, suffered a great loss in the night of August 28th by the explosion of two magazines in the so-called Brancion Redoubt, which lay on the extreme left of their works. This destroyed an enormous amount of gunpowder and shells, and caused great destruction.

However, the Allies were now so near the town that the final storm could not be long delayed. Their principal objective was the Malakov Tower, which completely commanded the Karabelnaia suburb, and from which the bridge across the harbour could be easily destroyed. The French were now only about thirty yards from the Malakov Tower and fifty from the Little Redan. The British had harder work, because the ground before them was more rocky, and they were at least 200 yards from the Great Redan. On the other side the trenches were being brought to within sixty or eighty yards of the Flagstaff Bastion and the Central Bastion, which defended Sebastopol itself.

The storm was fixed for September 8th, but the preparatory bombardment began on September 5th, with 635 guns on the French side and 179 on the British. The Russians replied with 1,380 guns. Thirty flying-bridges, made especially strong so that they could be used for the support of artillery, were constructed to cross the ditches. Pélissier ordered the attack to be made in three divisions. MacMahon and Wimpffen were to advance against the Malakov Tower on the left, Dulac and Marolles against the Little Redan on the right, Motterouge and Mellinet against the curtain which joined the two walls. The whole force consisted of 25,300 men arranged in sixty-one divisions. On the Sebastopol side the Central Bastion was to be attacked by Levaillant and d'Autemarre, and the Flagstaff Bastion by the Sardinians and Cialdini, supported by a French reserve, the general command of the whole being committed to General de Salles. The British were to attack the Great Redan, with 10,726 men, Codrington being on the right, Markham on the left, and Eyre and Colin Campbell in reserve.

At 11 a.m. Pélissier, accompanied by his staff, took up his position in the Brancion Redoubt, Bosquet being opposite to the Little Redan, Simpson close to the Great Redan, and de Salles close to the Schwartz Redoubt, which lay midway between the Central and the Flagstaff Bastions. At noon the pioneers of the leading regiment, without their ladders, rushed over the ditches, which were filled with ballast, and appeared on the Russian breastwork. The rest of the columns followed, and in a short time, after a brave defence, the outer Malakov works were in the hands of the French. At the same time the Grand Duke Michael's regiment was driven by Vinoy's brigade out of the Gervais Battery on the left. The attack on the Little Redan under St. Pol was at first successful and the Russians were driven out, but they rallied and, supported by strong reserves and assisted by the fire of the forti-

fications and the ships in the harbour, drove the French back into their trenches with considerable loss. St. Pol was killed and so, too, was Marolles, who went to his assistance.

It had been originally intended that the attack should be supported by the allied fleet, but the weather was too stormy to admit of this, whereas the Russian ships in the harbour, the *Chersonesus*, the *Vladimir*, and the *Odessa*, were of great service to their own side.

Bosquet now made a new attempt to become master of the Little Redan, calling up the Guards to his assistance. He succeeded in occupying the works, but was again compelled to retreat by the violence of the Russian fire. He then brought into action two reserve batteries of field artillery, but these were silenced by the Russians, and out of 150 gunners ninety-five fell. Bosquet was himself wounded and Dulac took his place. The attack on Sebastopol itself seemed at first to be successful, but Trochu was compelled to retire, with the loss of 900 men out of 3,200 and 71 officers, being himself severely wounded. The Schwartz Battery, which had been at first captured, was retaken by the Russians; a second attack under Levaillant was equally unsuccessful, and a final storm under de Salles himself failed.

The assault of the British on the Great Redan was an entire failure. Markham's division advanced when they saw the French tricolour floating from the Malakov works. But Russian reinforcements soon came up and Codrington's reserve met with a stubborn resistance. The work was taken and retaken twice, but finally remained in the hands of the Russians, therefore the only success of the day was the capture of the Malakov Tower. Todleben tells us that on September 8th the Allies made twelve separate strong attacks, of which this alone succeeded.

Even so the works connected with it had to be taken against an obstinate resistance, the capture being mainly due to the Zouaves, with whose manner of fighting the Russians were not familiar. In the end only a small body of Russian soldiers and five officers remained in the last vault of the fortress. The French were preparing to smoke them out, but desisted from fear of exploding the mines. When the brave little handful came forth, they were greeted with cheers by their conquerors. The French were already complete masters of the Malakov, when Gortshakov, who had gone to Fort Nicholas, at the mouth of the harbour, gave General Martinau the command of the Karabelnaia and ordered him to recover the Malakov. The Russians fought with distinguished bravery, and Martinau lost his right arm, but the

attempt was a complete failure. The losses on this day were terrible. The French losses before the Karabelnaia were, officers 122 dead, 131 wounded, men 1,475 dead, 2,959 wounded, 369 missing. Before Sebastopol, 154 men and officers were killed, 1,418 wounded, and 546 missing. The British lost 365 dead and 1,886 wounded, the Sardinians four dead and 36 wounded, so that the whole losses of the Allies on this single day were not less than 10,000. According to Todleben the Russians lost two generals, 34 officers dead, 7,750 common soldiers killed and wounded, 37 officers and 1,838 men missing, of whom 600 were taken prisoners in the works of the Malakov.

Pélissier was making preparations for a renewed attack when he saw the Russians retreating over the great bridge. Gortshakov, after a reconnaissance in which he was exposed to considerable personal danger, gave orders to evacuate the town. Thirteen Russian sailing-ships were sunk first, and ten steamers eventually suffered the same fate, so that the whole Russian fleet in the Black Sea was destroyed. The Russians also blew up thirty-five powder magazines, three batteries, and Fort Paul, which defended the harbour on one side, but there was no time to blow up Fort Nicholas. The booty which fell into the hands of the Allies was very great; it comprised 128 large and 374 smaller guns, more than 400,000 filled and more than 100,000 empty shells, 500,000 cartridges, more than 500,000 pounds of gunpowder, and a large amount of war material for the fortifications and the ships. Todleben gives the whole of the Russian losses, killed and wounded, as 128,669 men, of whom 102,669 fell in the siege. Among them were five generals and 129 officers dead, 14 generals and 1,626 officers wounded, and 54 missing. But it is possible that the losses are largely understated.

The French lost about 45,000 men, over 41,000 in the siege; amongst these 416 generals and officers were killed, 1,543 wounded, and 59 missing. The British lost 17,901 men, of whom 13,000 fell before Sebastopol. Of British generals and officers 157 were killed, and 515 wounded. It has been reckoned that in the siege 1,906,000 cannon shots were fired, of which 1,104,000 came from the French, and 252,000 from the British. The Russians are said to have fired 1,506,964, of which many came from the ships. To the 16,500,000 cartridges of the French the Russians replied with 28,500,000.

The Queen wrote to the King of the Belgians from Balmoral on September 11th: "The great event has at length taken place. Sebastopol has fallen. We received the news here last night, when we were sitting quietly at our table after dinner. We did

what we could to celebrate it, but that was but little, for, to my grief, we have only one soldier, no band, nothing here to make any sort of demonstration. What we did was, in Highland fashion, to light a bonfire on the top of the hill opposite the house, which had been built last year, when the premature news of the fall of Sebastopol deceived everyone, and we had to leave it unlit, and found it here on our return. On Saturday evening we heard of one Russian vessel having been destroyed, on Sunday evening of the destruction of another, yesterday morning of the fall of the Malakov Tower, and then of Sebastopol. We were not successful against the Redan on the 8th, and I fear that our loss was considerable. The daily loss in the trenches was becoming so serious that no loss in achieving such a result is to be compared with that. This event will delight my brother and faithful ally and friend, Napoleon III., I may add, for we really are great friends."

The Emperor himself, although he shared in the general rejoicings, and gave the rank of Marshal to Pélissier, Canrobert and Bosquet, and the title of Duc de Malakov to the first of these, did not lose his calmness of judgment, and knew well that the fall of Sebastopol did not necessarily imply the conclusion of the war. He expressed his views in a dispatch to Walewski on September 14th, in which he said that the month of October must be used to change the front of the Crimean army. The right wing must be moved to compel the Russians to surrender the fort on the north side and their strong position on the Mackenzie Heights. This could be effected by an occupation of Eupatoria, or Simpheropol, or Bakhtchiserai, in the rear of the Russian army. The allied army must then repair the land fortifications in Sebastopol, hold the barricade and the docks, and open the entrance into the great harbour. The mass of the army could then withdraw from the Crimea, leaving a mixed garrison of British, French, and Turks, and a considerable and well-found fleet. It would be a mistake to destroy Sebastopol and to fill up the harbour. If the Allies kept Sebastopol they would have a protection against Russian ambition; from it they could command the whole coast of the Black Sea and strike important blows either in Asia or Bessarabia. In short, they must threaten the Russian rear and restore Sebastopol instead of destroying it.

There was a great deal to be said in support of the views expressed in this dispatch, although they favoured French rather than British interests, and from this point the policy of the two countries began to diverge. As Great Britain could not expect to have the sole possession of Sebastopol, it was not in her interest

to preserve it at all. However, for the moment, the Emperor's plans received the approval of the British Cabinet; indeed, they were highly praised by Lord Palmerston. They gave prominence to the occupation of Simpheropol, which had been so strongly opposed by Pélissier.

At a later period the real views of Great Britain found practical expression in the entire destruction of the costly works of Sebastopol. In the Crimea itself, however, the Emperor's plan had been supported by Niel, but strongly opposed by Pélissier, who was of opinion that the establishment of the Allies in their present strong position would be more likely to subdue the Russians than a renewed attack. He would only consent to the strengthening of the garrison of Eupatoria and an improved position on the Tchernaia, which would be rather of a defensive than an offensive character. The British, on the other hand, approved of an expedition against Kaffa and the capture of the Russian magazines in Karasubazar, north-east of Simpheropol. Marshal Vaillant strongly opposed the undertaking against Karasubazar, and the expedition against Kaffa was rejected by the votes of a general council of war. Eupatoria, however, according to the views of both Allies was retaken by General d'Allemande and strongly occupied by a whole division of French infantry and a brigade of cavalry. The Allies agreed also to the occupation of Kinburn, at the mouth of the Dnieper. The estuary of the Dnieper was defended on one side by Kinburn, and on the other by the fortress of Oczakov, the place which was the cause of so much excitement at the end of the eighteenth century. Kinburn was attacked by an army of French and British 8,500 strong, under the orders of General Bazaine, the allied fleet being commanded by Lyons and Bruat. It was taken on October 17th, after a slight resistance, and the fortifications of Oczakov were destroyed by the Russians. The Allies were satisfied with leaving in Kinburn a small garrison and a few ships.

The new Tsar, Alexander II., determined, with great nobility of character, to proceed himself to the Crimea, where he behaved with sympathetic gentleness to Gortshakov and the other generals, and issued an order of the day calculated to raise the spirits of the army. Both he and Gortshakov were strongly opposed to the surrender of the Crimea. However, on January 8th, 1856, the control of the army and the general charge of the forces of the Crimea were given to Linden, and Gortshakov was deprived of his command. Similarly, Simpson was replaced in the head of the British command by Codrington.

At the same time the allied forces in the Crimea were not diminished, but increased. In the autumn of 1855 they reached the number of 147,000. The war material in the peninsula was of almost incredible extent. On November 15th an explosion took place which killed and wounded many French and British officers, in which 100,000 pounds of gunpowder, 4,000 bombs, and 600,000 cartridges were destroyed, but an adjoining tower with very thick walls which held twice as much was happily spared.

In Asia Omar Pasha defeated a body of 10,000 Russians on the banks of the Ingur, and forced the passage of the river. He then advanced to Kutais, but was compelled to retreat. Muraviev made an attempt to capture Erzeroum, and then turned his attention to the fortress of Kars, which was gallantly defended by General Williams. The garrison was closely invested and suffered greatly from hunger, and, as Omar Pasha was unable to come to their assistance, Williams was obliged to surrender the fortress on November 26th. This was the only success of the Russians during the war, but it made it easier for them to make peace.

Curiously enough, Sweden joined the alliance against Russia on November 21st, 1855, but only for defensive purposes, and the mission of Canrobert to Stockholm could not persuade her to adopt a more decisive action. Denmark, on the other hand, had withstood all efforts to include her in the alliance, and her refusal induced the French Emperor to suggest to the King of Prussia the occupation of Holstein, which, however, for the present he declined to agree to.

Thus, at the end of 1855, the bloodiest war of modern times came to an end. It was also the most unnecessary, and has been condemned by the mature judgment of all subsequent commentators. It was not only useless in itself, but it unfortunately broke the halcyon days of peace which Europe had enjoyed for forty years and was the precursor of a long series of political storms which have not yet ceased to agitate the world.

The historian is forced to the conclusion that no war is inevitable, any more than quarrels between individuals are inevitable. They are brought about partly by national passions and partly by the ambitions and follies of statesmen, who for their own purposes fan a spark into a flame and excite feelings of enmity and rivalry between communities, passions which soon pass beyond their control. Yet every experienced Minister is aware that the wars which have taken place are very few compared with those which might have taken place. Not a year passes in which events do not arise that the world knows nothing of, that

remain as the secrets of Chanceries and Foreign Ministers, which might easily produce war if war were desired, and which are constantly with difficulty rendered innocuous. It is not too much to hope that mankind may come to consider that war is a barbarous expedient, unworthy of civilised nations, and that peoples will be so bound together by mutual interest and sympathy that they will not suffer themselves to be drawn into quarrels, or be made the instruments of a statesman's ambition or the cat's-paw of his personal antipathies.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PEACE OF PARIS

MEANWHILE, strong influences were making for peace. The French and Russians had found during the war that no cause for hatred existed between them; that, indeed, it might be some day to their interest to combine against the overwhelming influence of Great Britain. The French Emperor was anxious to maintain the alliance with Great Britain, but he saw that the continuance of the war, which would cost France a great deal more than it would cost Great Britain, could only be compensated for by arrangements to which the latter would probably object. When Drouyn de l'Huys had come to London in March, 1855, to discuss terms of peace, which was then thought possible, he spoke about the restoration of Poland without considering how offensive such an arrangement would be to Austria and Prussia. Great Britain repudiated the idea, as she still had hopes of persuading the two Powers to join the alliance against Russia. Walewski was ordered by the Emperor to make a similar proposal to Great Britain in the following September. The renewed refusal of Great Britain made Napoleon III. more inclined to come to terms with Russia.

At the same time Russia, although willing to treat for peace, did not desire to begin the negotiations. To use an expression of Gortshakov, "She was dumb, but not deaf." Two men, a Frenchman and a German, were found to give the first impulse to negotiations which neither side cared to open officially. These were Count Morny and Seebach, the Saxon Minister in Paris. Morny was an illegitimate son of Queen Hortense and, therefore, half-brother to the Emperor, while Seebach was a son-in-law to Count Nesselrode and had represented Russian interests in Paris during the war. Morny was an unprincipled person who, as we have seen, had taken an active part in the *coup d'état* and had used his official knowledge to make money on the Stock Exchange. He had no scruples about throwing over Great Britain and making suggestions to Russia that there was no reason why the French and Russians should be enemies. He gave out that any limitation of Russian power in the Black Sea need only be of a tem-

porary character, and that treaties on this head only lasted as long as the circumstances which had produced them. After all, the very nation which had imposed the conditions might be the first to desire them to be broken. It did not occur to him that the treacherous alliance which he now desired to make might lead to a treacherous desertion when France was in need of Russian assistance.

Austria, although she had taken no part in the war, was anxious not to lose her influence in the negotiations, and on November 14th Buol and Bourqueney proposed an ultimatum to Russia, on the refusal of which she could withdraw her ambassador from St. Petersburg. Great Britain was not informed of this whilst it was under discussion, but it was offered to her to take it or leave it as she pleased. We gather from the Queen's correspondence that she thought the participation of Austria in the war was so important that she did not care to complain of the scant courtesy with which she had been treated. Eventually a proposal was made, under the influence of Austria, that a Fifth Point should be added to the conditions of peace, by which Russia was not only deprived of the mouth of the Danube, but of half of Bessarabia. Esterhazy was to carry these proposals to St. Petersburg, but it was determined that Seebach should go there as well, Napoleon III. personally charging him to express his strong desire for peace. Esterhazy reached the Russian capital on December 26th, three days before Seebach.

Austria represented herself as a mediator, anxious to obtain favourable conditions for Russia, which, if Russia accepted, she would press in Paris and London. The Emperor Alexander did not see things in this light, and demanded the withdrawal of the Fifth Point. Thereupon Austria declared that if her proposals were not accepted she would break off diplomatic relations. The message brought by Seebach from Napoleon III. induced Russia to disregard this threat, and she proposed to submit her interests to a general conference, as proposed by Napoleon III., in which she would probably obtain better terms. In Prussia King Frederick William IV. strongly urged on Alexander the necessity of concluding a speedy peace.

There can be no doubt that the British Government was at this time anxious to continue the war. Great Britain had not come out of the business with any great amount of honour. The French had taken the Malakov, but the British had been repulsed at the Redan. They were not in a position to dictate the terms of a treaty and were in danger of being dragged at the heels of

Austria or France. Palmerston was strongly opposed to peace. The Duke of Cambridge was sent to Paris to confer directly with the Emperor, and on January 10th, 1856, a remarkable council of war was held at the Tuileries at which the Emperor presided. It was attended by Prince Jerome and his son; by Generals Canrobert, Bosquet, Niel and Martimprey; Admirals Hamelin, Jurien la Gravière and Regnault; the Duke of Cambridge; Generals Airey and Jones; Admirals Dundas and Lyons; by La Marmora, Walewski and Lord Cowley. Great Britain pressed strongly for the continuance of the war; the British army was to be raised to 74,000 men, and the Sardinian to 34,000; so that the Allies would have a force of 250,000 men, which they would first employ for conquering the Crimea. It was hoped also that Spain would give assistance.

Five days later an Imperial council met in St. Petersburg, attended by the Grand Duke Constantine, Dolgorouki, Orlov, Woronzov, Kisselev, Nesselrode and Meyendorff, the Emperor taking the chair. Nesselrode proposed to accept the Austrian ultimatum, otherwise the negotiations with Austria must be broken off, which would mean the renewal of the struggle, with Austria, Prussia and Sweden against them. Russia's strength was not broken, but it would be hard for her to conduct a defensive campaign over a huge extent of territory, since the enemy could choose their own point of attack. Austria and Prussia might be neutral for a time, but would eventually be drawn into the conflict. It had been determined at Paris that the British, with the Sardinians and the Turks, should attack Batoum and Trebizond, while France continued the war on the Danube and in Bessarabia, and the occupation of the Crimea would divide the Russian forces. If the Allies merely blockaded the Russian ports they would do her great injury; the longer the war continued the worse it would be for her. Great Britain had, with difficulty, been persuaded to agree to the Five Points, and if Russia consented to them the coalition against her would be divided. To reject the advances of Napoleon would throw him into the arms of Great Britain; to accept him as mediator would give a new direction to Russian policy. Even if the acceptance of the ultimatum did not bring peace, Russia would have given a proof of her good intentions, thrown the responsibility of the war on the Allies, and deprived the neutral Powers of all ground for action.

The feeling of the council was in favour of peace. It is probable that Nesselrode had arranged matters previously with

the Tsar, and finally the ultimatum was accepted. Paris was chosen in preference to Brussels as the place of congress, as the British Government thought that in this way they would have a more direct influence over the policy of the Emperor. Cavour was disappointed when he heard of the conclusion of peace, but it was difficult to understand why, since the participation of Austria in the war would have made it difficult for France to declare war against her for the liberation of Italy.

On February 1st the ambassadors of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia and Turkey drew up a protocol which declared that, in consequence of the acceptance of the Five Points, the Governments now proposed to sign formal preliminaries of peace, to conclude an armistice, and to sign a treaty. For this purpose they should meet in Paris in three weeks or earlier. Great Britain opposed the admission of Prussia to the Congress, and Bismarck, who was then beginning to have influence, was strongly in favour of her maintaining an independent position. Russia, on the other hand, strongly supported the admission of Prussia, whom she regarded as her friend. Great Britain pressed for the admission of Sardinia, and France did not oppose it. Indeed, it was known that the Emperor eagerly desired it, but did not wish by any public declaration of policy to offend the Pope and the French Catholics. Cavour entered the Congress with the plan already formed that Parma and Modena should be incorporated with Sardinia, and that their Sovereigns should receive compensation in the Danubian Principalities.

In the Congress France was represented by Walewski and Bourqueney, Great Britain by Clarendon and Cowley, Austria by Buol and Hübner, Turkey by Ali Pasha and Djemil Bey, Sardinia by Cavour and Villamarina, Russia by Orlov and Brünnow. On February 21st there was a preliminary meeting of the representatives of France, Austria and Great Britain, when it was agreed that the points in dispute with Russia should be first considered, that no concessions should be made to Russia on which the three Powers were not agreed, and that the Sardinians should be admitted to the conference.

The first sitting of the Congress took place on February 25th. The Five Points were formally accepted as preliminaries of peace, and an armistice was proclaimed till March 31st, during which the troops should maintain their present positions. The blockade was to be continued and, indeed, was not raised till April 8th. The early sittings were stormy, and nearly led to the dissolution of the Congress, chiefly owing to the demands of Great Britain,

which asked for the surrender of the Aoland Islands to Sweden and suggested a limitation of the Russian fleet in the Baltic. When Russia's proposal that her surrender of Kars should be conditional on her retaining the whole of Bessarabia was rejected by the Congress, Orlov declared that his instructions were exhausted and that he must leave the Congress. However, the negotiations continued and, by the influence of the Queen, the demands of Great Britain were made less onerous. On March 10th a proposition for the admission of Prussia into the Congress was carried, and on March 16th Manteuffel and Hatzfeldt took their places for the first time.

The actual Treaty was signed on March 30th, 1856, which happened to be a Sunday. The Catholics rejoiced because the Epistle of the day told how Christ had appeared on the evening of the Resurrection with the words, "Peace be unto you"; but Lord Clarendon wished to defer the signature till the following day, for fear of offending the Sabbatarians. The instrument consisted of thirty-four Articles, three separate Conventions, and a Declaration. The main points were as follows: Russia gave back to the Sultan the town and fortress of Kars, as well as the other Turkish possessions owned by her; the Powers restored to Russia the town and harbour of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesh, Yenikale, Eupatoria, Kertch, Kinburn, and the other places they had occupied; the Porte was henceforth to participate in the European Concert and be on the same footing as the other Powers in public law. The Powers made themselves responsible for the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire, gave a general guarantee of their duties in this respect, and regarded any violation of those conditions as a matter of common interest. In case of a dispute between the Porte and any of the signatories the other contracting Powers were to mediate. The Sultan's firman in favour of the Christians was communicated to the Powers, but did not give any right of interference in the domestic concerns of the Turkish Empire. The Black Sea was to be neutralised. It was to be opened to the merchant ships of all nations, but closed to all ships of war; consuls were to be admitted to the Black Sea ports, both by Russia and the Porte, but no arsenals were to be formed in the Black Sea either by Russia or Turkey. The number of ships necessary for coal traffic in the Black Sea was fixed by treaty and was not to be altered without the consent of the Powers. The navigation of the Danube was not to be subject to any dues or difficulties excepting those fixed by treaty. Russia conceded a portion of Bessarabia, to belong to Moldavia under

the suzerainty of the Porte. The Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were to retain their existing privileges under the suzerainty of the Porte, and none of the guaranteeing Powers was to exercise any special protectorate over them. On the other hand, the Porte agreed to give them an independent and national government, with free exercise of religion, legislation, commerce, and navigation; they were also allowed to possess a national army. Servia was to remain in a similar position. Russia and Turkey were to maintain their possessions in Asia as they were before the war. The ratifications were to be exchanged within four weeks.

After the Treaty had been signed on March 30th, five other sittings took place, at which were discussed the immediate raising of the blockade and the evacuation of the Crimea. In the twenty-second sitting, held on April 8th, Walewski, the President, spoke of other matters which were not connected with the Eastern Question. The Congress, he said, would be sorry not to use the opportunity of clearing up certain questions and dispersing the clouds which darkened the political horizon. Although it was known that Italy was principally in his thoughts, he began with Greece.

French and British troops had been obliged to occupy the Piræus at a time when they were wanted elsewhere. Even now Greece was by no means in a satisfactory condition. The three protecting Powers should consider the state of that country and take means for improving it. Walewski added that he was sure that Lord Clarendon would agree with him that the Powers looked with impatience to the time when the occupation could be given up, although this could not be done at present without causing serious mischief, unless a real change were made in the condition of Greece. The fact was that France and Great Britain had only determined on this step in order to destroy the influence of Russia. During the Crimean War Great Britain had made up her mind as to the deposition of King Otho, Lord Palmerston desiring to replace him with the Prince of Carignan, who was to marry the Duchess of Parma, and Parma would then come to Sardinia. France and Great Britain had agreed before April 8th that the occupation of Greece should come to an end simultaneously with the French and Austrian occupation of Italy, but to this Russia and Austria would not agree.

After Greece came the turn of Italy. Walewski said that the condition of the States of the Church had compelled France to occupy Rome, and Austria to occupy the Legations. France per-

formed the duty both as a Catholic and as a European Power. The Emperor of the French held the title of the Eldest Son of the Church, which forced him to defend the Papal See; but he admitted that there was something abnormal in the position of a Power which required such assistance. France would be glad if the Papal States could be rendered so secure as to dispense with assistance either from Austria or from France. Going a step farther, the President of the Congress asked whether it would not be well that certain Italian States should, by an act of grace, allow such of their subjects to return as might be regarded as mistaken, but could not be considered corrupt, and whether they could not put an end to a system which weakened their authority without punishing the enemies of order. The Government of Naples would be doing a great service if it would declare itself on this point. Walewski concluded by complaining of the unrestrained licence of the Belgian Press, which had attacked France in the most offensive manner.

Lord Clarendon said that, regarding it as a sacred duty to evacuate territory occupied during the war, it would be inconsistent not to consider whether occupation existing before the war could not also be put an end to. At the same time, the Congress must not confuse the two duties, which were essentially different. He recommended the secularisation of the Papal Government, which might be difficult to carry out in Rome itself, but would be easy in the Legations. With regard to Naples, Lord Clarendon admitted that, as a rule, interference with the internal affairs of another Power was inadmissible, but there were cases where the exception must become the rule. There could be no peace without justice, and therefore the Congress asked the King of Naples to reform his system of government and to pardon political prisoners who had not been punished or imprisoned by any judicial sentence. He could not agree with the remarks of Walewski with regard to the Belgian Press. Count Buol expressed his objections to any interference with the affairs of Italy, and Manteuffel, in the name of Prussia, also objected to any interference in the internal affairs of another State, and particularly called attention to the condition of Neufchatel.

Now came the turn of Cavour. He had already, in February, sent a memoir, expressed in moderate terms, to France and Great Britain about Italy. He considered then that it was not to his interest to disclose his whole plan to the Emperor Napoleon, whom he believed to be devoted to the Pope and the French clergy; he recommended reforms in Naples and the Papal States, although

he knew that their introduction would assist the revolution; and suggested the annexation to Sardinia of Parma, Modena, Ferrara and Piacenza. At the sitting of the Congress on April 8th, he pointed out that the occupation of the Papal States by Austria had now lasted seven years, and assumed every day a more permanent character. It was clear that circumstances had not improved, because in Bologna a state of siege still continued in full severity. The presence of Austrian troops in the Legations and in Parma destroyed political equilibrium, and was a real menace to Sardinia. With regard to Naples, he entirely agreed with the views of Walewski and Clarendon, and thought it in the highest degree necessary to devise measures which, while they tended to appease passion, would make the regular course of affairs in the rest of the peninsula less difficult.

To this Hübner replied that Cavour had spoken only of the Austrian occupation and not of the French, that the towns of Mentone and Roccabruna, which belonged to the Principality of Monaco, were occupied by Sardinian troops, and that the only difference between the two occupations was that the Austrians and the French had been invited by the Sovereigns to whom the territories belonged, whereas the Sardinian garrison in the Principality of Monaco was there against the wish of the Sovereign and remained there in spite of his protest. Cavour replied that he wished nothing better than that both the French and the Austrian occupation should come to an end, but that for Italy the Austrian was by far the more dangerous of the two, because it was based on Ferrara and Piacenza, where the fortifications had been increased in violation of the Treaty of Vienna, and had extended along the Adriatic as far as Ancona. As for Monaco, Sardinia would be happy to withdraw the fifty soldiers who occupied Mentone if the Prince of Monaco were in a position to return to it without the most serious danger.

Cavour had good reason to be pleased with the result of this sitting. He rubbed his hands and said, "Now we are in the saddle." The Italian Question had entered into the domain of practical politics.

The two last protocols, drawn up on April 14th and 16th, had reference to the new regulations about maritime warfare, which were drawn up with reserve, and to a proposal of Clarendon to extend the arbitration of a third Power, which had been already admitted in the case of Turkey and in other international conflicts as well, to be employed before there was an actual recourse to arms.

A TRIANGULAR TREATY

The victorious Powers did not demand any war indemnity from Russia. Indeed, Russia, under the protection of France, was able to make more favourable terms with regard to Bessarabia than those which Austria at first proposed. She lost, however, besides the mouth of the Danube, about two hundred geographical miles of territory, the fortresses of Beni Ismail and Kilia Nova, and the salt lakes on the Danube. Public opinion in Great Britain thought that Russia had been let off too easily. Great Britain, indeed, was still sore about her repulse at the Redan and at the fact that the British army in the Crimea had suffered from disease far more than the French. She felt that in military matters indirectly, and in diplomacy directly, she had been beaten by France. Disraeli very properly denounced this feeling, opposing the principle that wars should only be undertaken with the prospect of important conquests; to hold this view was to lower the status of the defenders of public law to that of gladiators.

However, on April 15th, the day before the last sitting of the Congress, a Treaty was signed between Great Britain, France and Austria for the defence of Turkey, which was not communicated to Russia. In this Treaty the high contracting Powers guaranteed, singly and together, the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire, as laid down in the Treaty of Paris, signed on March 30th, 1856. Every violation of the provisions of the Treaty would be regarded by the signatories of the general Treaty as a *casus belli*. They would consult with the Porte as to the naval and military arrangements to be made in the furtherance of this object. Later events showed that this agreement did not prevent Russia from tearing up the Treaty of Paris when it suited her interest to do so, and its publication was a sad blow to the illusions of the northern kingdoms with regard to the friendship of France. Nevertheless, for the present all was smooth. The French Empire was at the height of its prosperity. The International Exhibition, held in Paris in 1857, consolidated the glory with which the glamour of a successful war had invested it, and the birth of the Prince Imperial on March 5th seemed to secure the permanence of the Imperial dynasty. It is worth noting that Count Orlov was the first to pay a visit to the Tuileries to offer his congratulations on that auspicious event.

In taking leave of the Congress of Paris, which closed one important epoch in European history and opened another, it is well to consider what were the results of the arrangements then made, and what effect they produced. In the first place, any

hopes which might have been formed with regard to the regeneration of Turkey were never realised. The Treaty by which the Sultan promised to grant religious equality and freedom to all his subjects remained without effect. The neutrality of the Black Sea, which was regarded as one of the principal results of the war, was denounced by Russia during the war of 1870. In 1878 Russia resumed that part of Bessarabia which she had surrendered in 1856, and when she attacked Turkey in that year none of the signatories of the Treaty of Paris intervened in defence of the Porte.

On the other hand, the views put forward by the Emperor Nicholas, which were the origin of the war, have been justified by events. The subject provinces of Turkey have become to a great extent autonomous Principalities, and further progress is likely to be made in that direction. Nicholas proposed that Great Britain should occupy Egypt and Crete—she does occupy Egypt and Cyprus. This was the result of a great war, which, in all probability, cost the lives of not less than 600,000 men. Moreover, we must remember that the Crimean War, contemptible in its origin and useless in its results, put an end to the long era of peace which had been the happy possession of Europe since the wars of the Revolution and the Empire.

In 1859 the French made war against the Austrians for the liberation of Italy, an enterprise only partially successful; in 1864 there was war between Denmark and Prussia about the question of Schleswig-Holstein, a war in which Great Britain came very near to taking a part. This was followed in 1866 by the war between Austria and Prussia for the hegemony of Germany, and then again in 1870 by the great war between France and Germany, the results of which are still with us, and may perhaps lead to other struggles to settle questions yet in dispute. The war between Russia and Turkey in 1878 arose directly from the fact that the arrangements which concluded the Crimean War were not of a satisfactory or permanent character. Wars have taken place in other parts of the world—such as those between China and Japan and between Japan and Russia—but the five wars we have specified were closely connected with that in the Crimea.

War springs, to some extent, from a conflict of ideals. A nation, like an individual, sets a new conception of conduct and policy before itself, and proceeds to carry it out with such energy as may belong to it. It is hardly possible that the ideal can be realised without conflicting with the ideals cherished by other communities, and the result of these conflicts is war. The Crimean

WAR AND ITS EVILS

War shows us not only that one war may be the progenitor of many, but also that there have been few wars with regard to which a judgment may be more confidently pronounced that they arose less from hate and misunderstanding than from coalition and intrigue, were disastrous to all the countries engaged in them, set back the course of civilisation, and never ought to have taken place.

CHAPTER XVII

THE INDIAN MUTINY

IN this history we have said little or nothing about the British Empire in India, which now demands our special attention from the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857. In 1815, with which date our present survey began, the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, was Governor-General of Bengal, a title exchanged for Governor-General of India by Lord William Bentinck in 1834 and for Viceroy by Lord Canning in 1858. His main exploit was the last Mahratta War, which began with the suppression of the Pindaris, a group of marauders, who, like "human jackals," as they were called, brought the lives and properties of British subjects into perpetual jeopardy. In March, 1816, the Pindaris made an incursion into the northern districts of Madras, which lasted eleven days and a half. During this time, as Sir William Lee Warner tells us, they plundered 359 villages, killed 182 persons, wounded 305, and tortured 3,603. They spared neither age nor sex, violated the living and profaned the dead. What would the Mahratta chiefs do? Would they assist the British in suppressing these robbers, or would they continue to regard them as allies? This choice Hastings offered to the Mahratta chiefs in Western and Central India.

Appa Sahib of Nagpur and Baji Rao, Peshwa of Poona, made treaties with the British, and Sindiah was compelled to do the same. The Peshwa, who violated his engagements, was defeated at the Battle of Kirki, and again at Koregaon. Holkar was subdued and the Peshwa was deprived of his sovereign powers. The Pindaris were treated as public enemies, and eventually the Presidency of Bombay was consolidated, treaties were made with the neighbouring States, and in March, 1818, Hastings was able to break up his army. He left India in 1823, having largely increased the British Empire, to the discontent and disgust of the Directors of the East India Company.

His successor, Lord Amherst, was obliged by circumstances to make war with Burma and attack Rangoon. The war, which lasted till February, 1826, was only partially successful. Great Britain gained possession of Assam, and the right to maintain a

Resident at Ava, but the war cost £5,000,000 and thousands of lives.

Lord William Bentinck held the office of Governor-General from 1828 to 1835, seven years of comparative peace. He placed the finances upon a better footing, improved the communication by land and coast, suppressed thuggee and dacoity, put down the practice of suttee, or burning widows alive, and improved education. He annexed Cachar and Coorg, and established British influence in Mysore and paved the way for the annexation of Oudh. During his rule, in 1833, the East India Company was given a new Charter, which converted it from an association of traders to the position of rulers of an Indian Empire in trust for the Crown. Bentinck retired prematurely from ill-health, and was succeeded by George Eden, Lord Auckland.

Auckland's rule was marked by the disastrous Afghan War, undertaken from an exaggerated fear of Russian aggression, and continued because Auckland had not the moral courage to abandon an enterprise of which he must have disapproved. In this war we hear of Kandahar, Herat, Ghazni and Kabul, names which became current in the mouths of Englishmen forty years later. We need not dwell on the intricate details of these struggles. One of the most notable episodes was the defence of Herat by Eldred Pottinger for ten months in 1839 against a force of 40,000 Persian troops directed by Russian officers. In July, 1838, a treaty was signed at Simla, with the object of placing Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul and to confirm Ranjit Sing, the head of the Sikhs, in the possession of Kashmir and Peshawar.

British troops marched from Firozpur and Karachi. Kandahar surrendered without resistance, and Shah Shuja was crowned there on May 8th, 1839. Ghazni was taken by storm, and in August Shah Shuja made his triumphal entry into Kabul. Dost Mohammed fled and surrendered to the British. Auckland should have been content with this success, but he attempted to establish a settled government in Afghanistan by British influence. The mismanagement was conspicuous, as the British did not know the country or the people. Afghanistan is approached by two passes from the plains—the Khyber Pass, a long and difficult defile, leads to Jelalabad, and the Khoord Kabul Pass, much more difficult, bars the passage to Kabul. General William Elphinstone, who commanded in Afghanistan, sent General Sale to occupy the pass to Jelalabad. But the same obvious precautions were neglected with regard to Kabul. The tribes rose, provisions were cut off, and Macnaghten, seeing nothing before

him but starvation, promised to evacuate Kandahar, Ghazni, and Jelalabad, and to leave Kabul in three days, giving hostages for the performance of the agreement. The terms were violated, and Macnaghten was treacherously assassinated at an interview on Christmas Day, 1841. Deprived of food, harassed by treacherous attacks, frozen in the snow, the army dwindled away to a mere handful, and the women and children had to be surrendered to the enemy. The Ghilzais wreaked their vengeance on the remnant of the British army in the passes covered with snow, and, on January 13th, 1842, Dr. William Brydon, the solitary survivor, rode into Jelalabad wounded and exhausted.

Auckland was so much crushed by this disaster that he made no attempt at retaliation. Even though he was aware that the British captives, some of them women and children, were in the hands of the enemy, he let it be known that the Governor-General in Council did not contemplate any great effort for the reoccupation of Afghanistan. He was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough in February, 1842, but the reverses continued. Ghazni capitulated on March 1st, and Kandahar narrowly escaped capture. Ellenborough ordered Nott to retire, and Pollock to concentrate on the Indian side of the Khyber Pass. The Governor-General was, however, forced by his subordinates to take more active measures. Pollock was at Jelalabad with 15,000 men, and Nott at Kandahar with 10,000. Napier was summoned from Bombay, and a reserve army was organised on the Punjab frontier. Nott and Pollock arrived at Kabul, Pollock's army first. He marched through the Khyber Pass, joined General Sale, took the city of Kabul, and burned the Great Bazaar to the ground. The European prisoners, 105 in number, were rescued on September 21st, and before Christmas Day Pollock and Nott had recrossed the Sutlej.

The war with Afghanistan was followed by a war with Sind. It was the old story, which dominated the rise of the British Empire in India, of commercial intercourse leading, first, to the establishment of suzerainty and then to conquest and annexation. The treaties of 1758 led to the capture of Kandahar in 1839, to a payment of a tribute by the Ameers, and to the repudiation of the tribute when the day of disaster came. The recovery of British power in Afghanistan led to the enforcement of it in other places, to the demands for cession of territory, a free passage for British troops and a partial diminution of sovereignty. The lion claims his share because his name is lion. Sir Charles Napier, who was entrusted with the conquest of Sind, had a conscience which revolted from the work he had undertaken. He wrote at the

beginning of the enterprise, "My present position is not to my liking; we had no right to come here, and we are tarred with the Afghan brush," and he admitted that the enemy whom he was ordered to crush were really incapable of opposition.

Then followed what always happens. The weak, when they discover the disastrous results of their weakness, make a feverish effort to free themselves and put themselves entirely in the wrong. So, when the Ameers realised the real nature of the treaty they had made, they treacherously attacked James Outram in the Residency at Haidarabad. He defended himself as long as he could against a force of 8,000 men, and then joined Napier. There followed the Battle of Meeanee, fought on February 17th, 1843, in which the enemy were entirely defeated. The Battle of Dubba, on March 24th, completed their discomfiture, and the whole country was annexed. Great Britain's justification for thus taking what did not belong to her was, firstly, the welfare of the inhabitants of the country, although they were probably better judges of which government they preferred than the British were, and, secondly, the treachery of the Ameers. But the march of the Empire was remorseless, and is, indeed, governed by forces which are beyond the control of those who summon it. It was necessary to secure a free passage for troops and communication between Bombay and the Punjab, and the obstacles which stood in the way had to be removed.

The reduction of Sind carried with it the reduction of Gwalior, the Maharaja of which, after a hopeless struggle, submitted on January 13th, 1844, when he had to disband his army. Troops commanded by British officers occupied the magnificent fort, one of the grandest objects in India, but the Maharaja preserved a nominal independence. Peace and order, as they were called, continued till 1857, but in that year a contingent from Gwalior joined the mutineers at Cawnpur, and Tantia Topee, a Brahmin officer in the service of Nana Sahib of Gwalior, raised the standard of rebellion in Central India.

Now followed the great struggle with the Sikhs. Ranjit Sing, the head of that nation, had died on June 27th, 1839. After his death, and the death of his son and successor, Kharak Sing, a series of revolutions took place. The army had become insubordinate and disorganised. An infant son, Duleep Sing, became Maharaja under his mother's regency. But the army of 12,000 well-drilled troops usurped the government, and resolved on a campaign across the Sutlej. The British Government had foreseen danger, and moved towards the frontier. The Sikh Durbar

resolved on war on November 17th, 1845. The Sikhs committed the first act of aggression in December by crossing the river near Firozpur, and in the same month Lord Hardinge, by proclamation, annexed all the Sikh country on the left bank of the Sutlej.

It was not likely that a warlike and powerful nation consolidated by religious enthusiasm would submit to this. A battle was fought on December 18th, 1845, at Mudki, where the Sikhs attempted to oppose the advance of Hardinge and Gough. Coming up late in the afternoon, the British attacked on the same day and routed the Sikhs, losing about 200 men, among them the gallant Sale, the hero of Jelalabad. This was followed by the Pyrrhic victory of Firozshah. Here the British forces were unable to concentrate, after a long march, until late in a December afternoon. They were immediately attacked, and held their own with difficulty. A night of horror followed, in which the British troops were unable to light a fire, for fear of drawing on them the attack of the enemy's artillery. At the break of dawn, hungry and weary, they again advanced, but were met by a fresh force of Sikhs, 25,000 strong. Ammunition was exhausted, and the fighters dropped down from sheer fatigue, but, by a miracle of British pluck and endurance, the Sikh camp was taken and the hard-fought victory was won, costing the victors 694 killed and 1,721 wounded.

Though the Sikhs continued the contest in confidence and hope, Sir Harry Smith won a brilliant victory at Aliwal on January 28th, 1846, but with considerable loss. This was followed by Gough's triumph on February 10th, 1846, at Sobraon, where the Sikh camp on the Sutlej, connected by a bridge of boats with batteries on the other side of the river, was taken at the point of the bayonet, and nearly the whole of the guns were captured.

Panic followed, and a treaty was signed at Lahore on March 9th, 1846. The State of which Lahore was the capital was not annexed, but it was diminished by the transfer of Kashmir to Galab Sing and the retention by the British of certain portions. A large force of British troops was quartered at Lahore, and it was there that the Lawrences, Henry and John, laid the foundation of their splendid reputation in civil administration. Their experience and acuteness led them to see danger ahead, but Hardinge was satisfied with his acquisitions, and, when he handed over India to his successor, Lord Dalhousie, on January 12th, 1848, he believed the Sikh territory might be regarded as a peaceful and contented part of the British protectorate.

This dream of security was dispelled by the murder of William Anderson and Vans Agnew at Mooltan, a crime soon avenged by

Herbert Edwardes. Eventually, the Battle of Chilianwala was fought on January 14th, 1849, but it is difficult to determine whether it was a victory or a defeat. During the night the Sikhs recovered the guns that had been taken from them, nearly 700 British dead lay unburied on the field of battle, and more than twice as many wounded, British guns and standards were in the hands of the enemy, and pursuit was impossible. British honour was not avenged until the Battle of Gujrat, fought by Gough on February 21st, in which the Sikhs were worsted with comparatively small loss to the conquerors. On March 12th the Sikhs succumbed at Rawal Pindi, the Afghan contingent flying off discomfited.

Dalhousie, against the advice of the Lawrences, and without instructions from home, forced Duleep Sing, who was a mere child, to sign a treaty, and annexed the Punjab, placing the country in the hands of three Commissioners, of whom the Lawrences were two. Duleep Sing received a not very generous pension, and lived in England as a private gentleman. The Queen felt great sympathy for him, and, if her sentiments had been shared by those who directed the policy of the India Office, some trouble and scandal might have been avoided. The Queen wrote of him to Lord Dalhousie in 1854, when the Prince was sixteen years old: "It is not without mingled feelings of pain and sympathy that the Queen sees the young Prince, once destined for so high and powerful a position, and now reduced to so dependent a one by her arms. His youth, amiable character, and striking good looks, as well as his being a Christian, the first of his high rank who has embraced our faith, must incline everyone favourably towards him, and it will be a pleasure to us to do all we can to befriend and protect him." And later in the same year she wrote: "This young Prince has the strongest claims upon our generosity and sympathy; deposed, for no fault of his own, when a little boy of ten years old, he is as innocent as any private individual of the misdeeds which compelled us to depose him and take possession of his territories. He has, besides this, become a Christian, whereby he is for ever cut off from his own people. There is something so painful in the idea of a young deposed Sovereign, once so powerful, receiving a pension, and having no security that his children and descendants, and these moreover Christians, should have any home or portion." The Queen goes on to advise that the pension should be exchanged for a property, on which he might live, which was in fact done.

Dalhousie proceeded with his policy of annexation. After a war with Burma, on December 20th, 1852, he annexed Pegu. He

also extended what was called the " Rule of lapse," a provision exercised previously by Bentinck and Auckland. It laid down that States to which no heir of any kind was forthcoming should lapse to the British Government, but Dalhousie applied it in such a way as not to recognise the law of Hindu adoption, which was regarded by the natives as equivalent to a natural birth. In this way a number of States were annexed which it would have been more prudent and more statesmanlike to leave under the care of their native rulers.

Still greater was the error made by the annexation of Oudh. This kingdom was created in 1819, it being agreed by treaty that the Sovereign was bound to govern properly; but there could be no doubt that the worst possible government existed in the country. Dalhousie would have preferred to retain the titular sovereign, while administering the country on his behalf; but if the King refused to consent to this arrangement, a further period of misrule would be inevitable, which would have ended in revolution. The Court of Directors, therefore, informed the King that if he did not voluntarily surrender his authority, he should be deprived of it by force. He refused and was removed, and in 1856 Oudh was annexed. Dalhousie laid down rules for respecting the rights of landed proprietors, conciliating the people, and preserving the servants and retainers of the Court. It was also intended to occupy the province with a sufficient force, but at that moment Dalhousie retired and was succeeded by Canning, so that these arrangements were not in every case carried out. Dalhousie was a great Governor-General. He strengthened the administration of the country in every department, and left it in a sound financial position, with men capablein every part, men who saved the country in the hour of need.

Canning became Governor-General on February 29th, 1856. It is the custom for the incoming Viceroy to spend at least a day in Calcutta with his predecessor and discuss with him the situation of the charge which the latter is transferring to other hands. Dalhousie had on this occasion no idea that within fifteen months British supremacy over 150,000,000 natives would be endangered, although warnings had reached him which should not have been disregarded. In his eyes the only possible source of trouble lay in Persia, which had attacked and taken Herat. Canning's first act, therefore, was to declare war and send Outram with a force to Bushire. The Persians soon submitted, and a treaty was signed at Paris on March 4th, 1857. In the meanwhile Canning had made friends with Dost Mohammed, Ameer of Afghanistan,

who had been grievously wronged in the Afghan War, granted him a subsidy, and made a fresh treaty with him.

About this time, in the middle of January, 1857, a lascar engaged in the cartridge factory at Dumdum, near Calcutta, asked a Brahmin soldier to let him have a drink out of his *lotah*, or brass pot. The sepoy refused on the ground that the *lotah* would be defiled if the lascar drank out of it. The lascar laughed and said: "You will all soon be biting cartridges smeared with the fat of the cow and the pig." The fact was that the Government of India intended to introduce into the native army a new cartridge smeared with fat. It was the practice to bite off the paper at one end of the cartridge before ramming it down the musket-barrel. No new cartridges had been issued, but the story told by the sepoy spread like wildfire, and the native soldiers believed there was a conspiracy to destroy their caste. About sixteen miles from Calcutta, on the banks of the Hugli, stands at Barrackpur the Viceregal villa, where the rulers of India enjoy a well-earned week-end holiday. On January 26th the telegraph house at Barrackpur was burned down, and on the same day a conversation was heard between two sepoys at Calcutta, that it would be easy to master the arsenal and magazines, kill the Europeans as they slept, and possess themselves of the fort.

In May, 1857, the sepoys, or native troops, outnumbered the British troops by nearly eight to one, being 311,038 as against 39,500. Of these 137,580, belonging to the Bengal army, were mainly recruited in Oudh, and, as servants of the Company, had the valuable privilege of securing, through the influence of the British Resident in Lucknow, the right of prompt and fair trial in the native courts, an advantage which none of their fellow-countrymen was able to secure. This had made enlistment in Oudh very popular, and when this privilege was lost by the annexation a deep feeling of discontent was produced, which contributed undoubtedly to the outbreak of the mutiny.

Moreover, the more distant wars in which the Government was engaged might necessitate crossing the sea, the dreaded "black water," to pass over which involved a loss of caste; and, in July, 1856, Canning issued a general order providing that every future recruit should be compelled to serve beyond the sea, whether in the territories of the Company or beyond them. This was represented to the sepoys as a deliberate attack upon their faith. Many other changes, merely the inevitable result of civilisation, were hateful to the Hindus. Schools had been opened to all children irrespective of caste, suttee abolished, and slavery

put down; the same laws were applied to the highest and the lowest; while telegraphs and railways were regarded as the works of sorcery and magic. All these things had worked upon the native mind, and the story of the greased cartridges fell like a spark on inflammable material.

The first outbreak took place at Barhampur, about 120 miles from Calcutta. On February 26th a parade was ordered for the following day, for which old cartridges were served out, but in paper of a different colour from that to which the troops had been accustomed. The sepoys, violently excited, rose in a tumult and resolved to defy their officers. Colonel Mitchell, who commanded them, rode down the lines and addressed the native officers, telling them that there was no cause for alarm, and that they were to appease the men. But his words had no effect. Before midnight the regiment rose as one man, loading their muskets and shouting wildly. The commandant called the men out, and they promised to return to their lines if he would call back the cavalry and artillery. This was done, and they obeyed. Next day the parade was held quietly, but the excitement among the men continued. The regiment was eventually marched to Barrackpur and disbanded on March 31st.

But before this date the first blood had been shed at that station. On Sunday afternoon, March 29th, 1857, a sepoy named Mangal Purdy, half drunk with *bhang*, was swaggering along the parade ground, calling his comrades to come out. Lieutenant Baugh, hearing of this, mounted his horse and rode to the scene of the disturbance. The sepoy fired and killed the horse, but Baugh rushed up with a pistol, shot at him, but missed him. Baugh was cut down by Mangal Purdy, but saved from death by a Mohammedan. Then the sergeant-major came up, but he, too, was cut down. After this Brigadier-General Hearsey arrived with his son and others of his staff. Mangal Purdy kept shouting to his comrades: "Die for your religion and caste!" The general ordered the guard to follow and rode straight at the fanatic. His son shouted, "Take care of his musket!" upon which Hearsey replied, "Damn his musket! If I fall, John, rush upon him and kill him." However, before the general could reach him, the madman shot himself. His wound, however, was not mortal, and he was afterwards hanged. As a punishment for this outbreak, the whole of the 19th Regiment and seven companies of the 34th Regiment at Barrackpur were disbanded, the men were not allowed to keep their uniforms, but were marched out of the station with every show of disgrace. There were thus turned loose upon the country

500 embittered conspirators, while nearly 1,000 men went back to Oudh to preach disaffection and treason.

A much more serious mutiny took place at Meerut, a station thirty-six miles from Delhi, between the Ganges and the Jumna. A parade of the 3rd Native Light Infantry had been ordered for May 6th. The ordinary cartridges were issued to the men on the previous evening, but eighty-five troopers refused to receive them. The men were brought before a court-martial composed entirely of native officers, and sentenced to various terms of hard labour, varying from six to ten years. On May 9th the mutineers were marched to the parade ground, stripped of their accoutrements, shackled and ironed, and marched off to the jail, two miles distant. On the following day, which was Sunday, at the time of the evening service, sounds of bugle calls and musket firing were heard, bodies of armed men were seen hanging about, columns of smoke rose, as if bungalows had been fired, and it was known that the native troops had revolted. A rumour had been spread abroad that the rest of the native troops would be treated as the eighty-five prisoners had been, so, when they heard the sound of the tolling bell, the men of the 3rd Cavalry galloped off to the jail to rescue the prisoners. They dragged them out, knocked off their fetters, and brought them back to the regimental lines. When they returned they found that the European officers had been killed by the sepoys.

For the rest of the night the mutinous soldiers, the scum of the population, and the released prisoners were masters of the situation. The authorities were paralysed by the shock and did nothing effective. Bungalows were burnt, wives left unprotected by their husbands were butchered, children were slaughtered under the eyes of their mothers. When day broke mangled corpses lay on the roads, and the sun shone on the blackened ruins of the European houses and their broken and destroyed furniture. The sepoys themselves had marched off to Delhi. There they had gone to the palace of the King, clamoured for admittance, declared they had killed the British at Meerut, and had come to fight for the faith.

The Palace of Delhi, now called the Fort, is one of the most magnificent buildings in the world, a specimen of Oriental architecture not surpassed even by the Alhambra. The Hall of Private Audience, which once contained the peacock throne, is a dream of beauty. The royal baths rival the masterpieces of Moorish art; and the Pearl Mosque is worthy of its name. The palace was occupied by Bahadur Shah, the titular King of Delhi, who

was twentieth in succession from Akbar. He was now an old man and his power did not extend beyond the citadel. Dalhousie had been inclined to deprive him even of this, as a possible menace to the peace of the country, and Canning had determined that he should be the last to hold the title of King. It is scarcely to be wondered at that he admitted the native mutineers to his palace. Once admitted, they killed all the British they found, Fraser, the commissioner, Douglas, the commandant, Jennings, the chaplain, his daughter, a young lady staying with them, and Hutchinson, the collector. There is no reason to believe that the King sanctioned these murders; indeed he was absolutely powerless.

The revolt spread to Delhi itself. The Delhi fort was attacked and its defenders were slain, the office of the *Delhi Gazette* was sacked, the English church was rifled, every European house was attacked, and every Christian found was slain. The cantonments of the native troops were situated on the Ridge, which overlooks the town at a distance of two miles. But the sepoys either refused to obey orders, or revolted and killed their officers. In the heart of the city was the great magazine full of munitions of war. This was heroically fired by British officers, who died in the performance of their duty. The mutiny had triumphed; men, women and children fled to the jungle. At sunset on May 11th, the surviving fifty Christians in Delhi, adults and children, of both sexes, were brought to the palace and placed in a dungeon. Five days later they were led into the courtyard, butchered before an exulting crowd, and their bodies thrown into the Jumna. As a final step, Bahadur Shah, urged by his ambitious queen, was proclaimed Sovereign of India.

Lord Canning heard of the mutiny at Meerut on May 12th; on May 14th he received news of the seizure of Delhi, and on the two following days of the massacre of the Christians, the flight of the officers, and the proclamation of the Mogul. He telegraphed to Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, to hurry up the troops from that province, to the Commander-in-Chief, to make short work of Delhi, to Sir John Lawrence, Commissioner-in-Chief of the Punjab, to act according to the best of his judgment, and to the Governor of Madras to send his two regiments. He also took the responsibility of intercepting the troops which were on their way from England to China, and diverting them to the service of India. This was a bold and masterly step. But it is scarcely surprising that he did not fully grasp the danger of the situation. His Home Secretary, Cecil Beadon, replied to an offer of the French residents in Calcutta to enrol themselves as special con-

stables, "Everything is quiet within one hundred miles of the capital. The mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic has been already arrested, and there is every reason to hope that, in the course of a few days, tranquillity and confidence will be restored throughout the Presidency." Canning had realised the danger of the position to the south of Delhi, but did not understand the strength of Delhi itself, and the difficulty which would be found in conquering it. There can be little doubt that, had he trusted to his own instincts, or listened to the advice of the most capable men about him, many of the disasters which afterwards happened would not have occurred.

As it was, the mutiny spread to Firozpur, to Aligarh, to Mainpuri, and above all to Agra, where, after a mistaken attempt at conciliation, the sepoys of two regiments were disarmed on May 31st. At Gwalior, on June 14th, the native troops broke out into insurrection. They rushed from their lines, murdering every European they met. Seven British officers, the wife of an officer, a nurse, the wife of a warrant officer, three children, and six soldiers were killed. The rest of the British escaped to Agra.

The Commander-in-Chief in India at this time was the Hon. George Anson. He heard of the outbreak at Meerut when he was on his way to Simla. When the news of the catastrophe at Delhi reached him, he interrupted his journey and went to Ambala, which he reached on May 15th. He realised that the most necessary step was an immediate march to Delhi, but he also knew that he had not sufficient troops for the purpose, though both Canning and John Lawrence urged him to take that course. He waited at Ambala until he had dispatched the last of his troops, and set out himself on May 25th, but on the following day he was attacked by cholera and died in a few hours. There is no doubt that if he had lived through the Mutiny he would have made a splendid reputation.

Anson was succeeded by Sir Henry Barnard, who continued the march and reached Alipur, twelve miles from Delhi, on June 6th. He left this two days afterwards, and fought a splendid battle at Badli Serai against the mutineers, six miles to the north of Delhi, driving them into the town. Above all he occupied the Ridge, which formed the best possible base of operations against the city, as it allowed reinforcements to come in from the rear, whilst it commanded the plain right up to the walls. Unfortunately, on the very day after his arrival in the camp before Delhi, he was seized with cholera and died on July 5th.

We must now turn our attention to Cawnpur, Lucknow and Allahabad. At Cawnpur Sir Hugh Wheeler was in command. He realised early the danger of the situation, and resolved to fortify and provision a place, where, if danger should arise, all British and European men, women and children might take refuge until assistance came. He found what he thought a suitable spot in some unoccupied barracks. At Lucknow was the great Sir Henry Lawrence. On May 19th, he was made, by Canning, Brigadier-General, in supreme command in Oudh. He made all preparations for defence, and, on May 24th, moved into the Residency the ladies, the families and sick men of the 32nd Regiment, and the European and Eurasian recruits. On May 27th he wrote to Canning that the Residency and the Mandi Bhavan, a building about half a mile from the Residency, used for the storage of supplies, were safe against any possible attack. No sooner had he completed these arrangements than risings took place all round him, and on June 12th he recognised that the Residency was the only place in the whole country over which he had any real authority. Unfortunately his health gave way, and he had to rely largely on the assistance of others.

At Allahabad Simpson was in command. Here the sepoys of the 6th Regiment professed the greatest indignation at the conduct of the mutineers, and volunteered to march to Delhi against them. But a week afterwards they rose in revolt and murdered a number of their officers. They also captured the guns and dragged them into their lines. Fortunately, by the vigorous action of Lieutenant Bragge, the sepoys in the fort were disarmed and the fort was secured. The town, however, and the cantonments were left to the mutineers. The jails were broken open and the criminals let loose, the shops were pillaged, the railway works and the telegraph wires destroyed. Europeans and Eurasians were mutilated, tortured and killed, and the treasury was sacked.

On the night of June 4th the long-expected mutiny broke out at Cawnpur. The troopers of the 4th Cavalry burnt the sergeants' bungalows, got possession of thirty-six elephants, plundered the treasury and the magazine, broke open the jail and let the prisoners loose. At Cawnpur was Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa of Poona. He had been very friendly to the British, entering freely into society, but at this time he was resenting his treatment by Dalhousie. His adoptive father had received a large pension from the Government, and had retained the title of Peshwa. The adopted son was allowed to inherit the savings and the landed property of his father, but was deprived of the pension and the

title. This, in the opinion of competent persons, was, if not unjust, at least impolitic.

It is not quite certain how far Nana Sahib was responsible for the events at Cawnpur. The soldiers who committed the outrages were undoubtedly his, but he had little authority over them, and perhaps could not have restrained them if he had desired to do so. The mutinous sepoys chose Nana Sahib for their leader, and demanded that he should lead them to Delhi. They did march to Kilianpur, seven miles off, but on the following morning returned to Cawnpur, and Nana Sahib pitched his tent in the centre of the station. On June 7th, Wheeler received a letter from Nana Sahib, saying that he intended to attack the garrison, and by June 11th the rebels were firing upon the garrison night and day with three mortars and twelve other guns. During this time Nana Sahib was treated like a sovereign prince.

The British garrison consisted of 450, armed with six guns. Alone, they could have fought their way to Allahabad, but they had with them 350 women and children, and this fact made it impossible for them to move. They had provisions for four weeks. The casualties were considerable, and the dead bodies were thrown into a well. The siege lasted three weeks. Water was only to be obtained from one source, and that could only be approached with danger to life. Every day was marked with acts of heroism. Wheeler now had only 240 European soldiers, with six guns, to protect 870 non-combatants against 4,000 rebels well supplied with guns and ammunition. The women and children burrowed in holes to escape the bullets and the fall of crumbling masonry. Some died from sunstroke or thirst, others were burnt to death in the hospital. At night, every person in turn was compelled to keep watch. Towards the end of the third week the supply of food became very short. At last, on June 26th, an armistice was proclaimed.

Nana Sahib agreed to allow the British to march out with their arms and sixty rounds of ammunition. They should be escorted to the river side, whence boats with provisions should take them to Allahabad. Those who communicated with him found him courteous in manner and full of compassion for the sufferings of the women and children. They set out on the morning of June 27th, and, reaching the river at eight, found forty boats. The embarkation lasted an hour, after which some of the boats pushed off. Suddenly, at the sound of a bugle, fire was opened upon the boats. Nearly all the men were massacred; the women and children were dragged out and lodged in a brick

building near the shore. Here, on July 15th, they were brutally murdered and their bodies thrown into a well close to the house.

On July 7th General Havelock started from Allahabad for the relief of Cawnpur. He had with him 76 artillerymen, 976 English infantry, 18 volunteer cavalry, 150 Sikhs, and 30 irregular infantry. On July 12th he gained a complete victory over the rebels at Futtehpur, and two days later beat them again. They were now twenty-two miles distant from Cawnpur, and heard that their advance would be opposed by Nana Sahib with a force of 7,000 men. But they also heard that 200 British women and children were confined there, and Havelock exclaimed, "With God's help, men, we will save them, or every man of us will die in the attempt." They started early next morning, and a march of sixteen miles, in intense heat, brought them to the village of Maharajapur.

Havelock heard that Nana Sahib was posted in front with 5,000 men and eight guns, in a very strong position, supported on both flanks and in the centre by earthworks and more artillery. He determined to employ a flanking movement. When within eighty yards of the rebel batteries, he gave the order to charge. The North Staffordshire Regiment and the Seaforth Highlanders, on the right, with their pipers sounding the pibroch, advanced under heavy fire in quick time, with sloped arms, until a hundred yards from the village. Then they charged, using the bayonet with deadly effect. After a short halt the line was reinforced, but a large gun on rising ground was doing great mischief. Havelock rode in front and cried, "Highlanders, another such charge wins the day!" They marched on and captured the gun. The rebels now took refuge in a village a mile in the rear. On arriving in front of it, Havelock cried, "Soldiers, who is to take that village, the Highlanders or the 64th?" Immediately the two regiments rushed for the village and carried it without a check. The force again moved on and came unexpectedly upon the enemy, with a twenty-four pounder gun in position in the road. Farther back was a large body of horsemen and infantry in a concave formation, with two smaller guns.

Havelock told his men to lie down when a twenty-four pounder shot tore through the column. The rebels advanced, with trumpets sounding and drums beating. Havelock's horse had been shot, but he mounted a pony and rode out in front, giving the order, "The longer you look at it, men, the less you will like it; rise up; the brigade will advance, left battalion leading!" The 64th, led by Major Stirling, marched straight on the

gun, and captured it, Lieutenant Havelock, who was aide-de-camp to his father, riding directly up to its muzzle. The rebels gave way, and Havelock's force encamped without food within two miles of Cawnpur. In nine days they had marched 126 miles in the hottest weather and fought and won four battles, as well as other engagements, and had captured twenty-three guns. Next morning they heard that the women and children whom they had hoped to save had been massacred, that four sepoys had been ordered to shoot them through the doors and windows, that some of them refused, and eventually two Mohammedan butchers from the city did the work with swords and knives. Early next day the dead and dying, for they were not all dead, were thrown, as has been said, into an adjacent well.

In the meantime Sir Henry Lawrence was concentrating his forces in the Residency at Lucknow. On July 1st he had blown up the Mandi Bhavan, the large house before mentioned, and had withdrawn entirely within the Residency enclosure. He had there about 600 British infantry, 89 artillerymen, 100 British officers, 153 civilians, and 765 natives. The position was, from a military point of view, a very weak one. It consisted of a number of private houses, the principal of which was the Residency, roughly joined together by mud walls and trenches. It was exposed to the rebels' continuous fire, which included shells, sent hissing into the Residency. By one of these shells Sir Henry Lawrence was wounded on July 2nd, and died on July 4th.

The defence was continued under Banks and Inglis. After some of the outlying houses had been destroyed, the rebels made their general attack on July 20th. They were triumphantly repulsed at four in the afternoon. On July 21st Banks was killed, and there was no one to replace him. On July 25th news reached the beleaguered garrison that Havelock was advancing to their assistance from Cawnpur, and would arrive in five or six days. He, however, had great difficulites to contend with, which delayed him. Cawnpur must be held in his absence, and for this purpose he had built a fortification commanding the river; this held 300 men, and he entrusted it to the command of Neill. Havelock crossed the river on July 25th, and three days afterwards was ready to move. He had with him a small force of 1,500 men, of whom about 1,200 were Europeans, 60 volunteer cavalry, and 10 field-pieces. The distance he had to traverse was over forty miles. On July 29th he fought an engagement with the rebels, in which, although he defeated them, he lost considerably, and was

obliged to return to his base. On August 4th he marched forward again, once more defeated the rebels, but was again forced to return to Cawnpur, convinced that he could do no more unless he received reinforcements. He recrossed the Ganges on August 13th.

Three days before this the rebels made a second attack upon the Residency, which lasted twelve hours, and on August 18th a third attack in full force. On August 28th a letter was received from Havelock, telling them that he had no hope of being able to relieve them for five-and-twenty days. On September 5th the rebels made their fourth and last attack, but were again defeated. On September 22nd the exhausted garrison received news that help would certainly come within a fortnight.

However, the situation developed on lines which neither the besieged nor the relief force could foresee. On August 13th Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Calcutta, and his first object was to march to Cawnpur and then relieve Outram and Havelock. The former had been sent to Cawnpur, where, as the superior officer, he would have superseded Havelock, and he arrived at that city with much-needed reinforcements on September 16th. He determined not to deprive Havelock of the credit of relieving Lucknow, and issued a letter declaring that, in gratitude for and admiration of the brilliant deed of arms achieved by Brigadier-General Havelock and his gallant troops, he would cheerfully waive his rank and accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, tendering his military services as a volunteer. This offer was accepted by Havelock, who now had a force of 3,179 men, all told. By heroic efforts this force, under Havelock and Outram, at last reached Lucknow. The losses were very heavy, and, after all, Lucknow was not relieved, but reinforced. Outram, who now assumed the command, thought that it would be possible to reach Cawnpur, but it was certain that the women and children could not have been withdrawn except at tremendous risk. It had cost 500 men to get into the Residency unencumbered: how many would it cost to get out? Therefore, the two brave men had to stay till they were relieved by a superior force.

Delhi was now the centre of the situation. Here a British force of 4,500 effective men maintained its position in the face of a large army of rebels, whose numbers varied from 30,000 to 50,000. On August 14th John Nicholson brought up a force of 1,600 infantry, a battery of artillery, and 200 cavalry. The arrival of siege-guns a month later rendered an assault possible. The siege of Delhi had continued since June 8th, on which day

Barnard had taken possession of the Ridge from which the siege was to be conducted. On this Ridge a comparatively small force of Europeans and Ghurkas, who were still loyal, had to construct its defences exposed to a burning sun, repelling assaults by day and night, subject at all times to a deluge of shot and shell from the works of the city. At the same time the rebels received constant reinforcements as the spirit of mutiny spread from place to place, and each arrival of reinforcements was the signal for a new general sortie. In two of these, on July 9th and July 14th, the British lost 468 killed and wounded out of a force which then numbered only 5,367 men. Besides this, disease was rife in the besiegers' camp. Many died of cholera and sunstroke; but when the rains began and the heat became less severe matters did not improve, and on September 6th there were 2,800 men in hospital.

Reinforcements had increased the force under Wilson to 8,748 men, of whom 3,317 were British. After a good deal of hesitation he decided on an assault which, after breaches had been made by a bombardment, took place on September 14th. The columns of assault were drawn up at three o'clock in the morning, and every one who took part in the operation knew that the fate of India depended on its result. As day dawned, the columns advanced and took up their position. The most difficult operation was the taking of the Kashmir Gate. This was entrusted to a forlorn hope, led by Lieutenants Home and Salkeld. Each member of it carried a bag containing about 4 lb. of gunpowder. They crossed the ditch by a gate which was fortunately open, and reached the great double gate which was the object of their attack. The enemy, paralysed by their audacity, for a moment ceased to fire. Home and Salkeld attached the bags to the gateway, and then attempted to escape; Home leaped into the ditch, but Salkeld was shot in the arm and leg and was disabled, dying a few days later. Burgess tried to light the fuse, but was shot dead. Carmichael did light it, but was mortally wounded. Next moment, a terrible explosion took place, and the great gate was shattered. Sergeant Smith and Bugler Hawthorne alone survived, and both received the Victoria Cross.

Campbell pressed on with his men and reached the great mosque, the Jumma Musjid, but, not being supported, had to retire. Another victim of the assault was the gallant John Nicholson. He resolved to attack the Lahore Gate, a work of the greatest danger. While ordering a third attack, he was pierced by a bullet before the men could respond to his order. He still called upon his men to go on, but this had become

impossible. There was nothing to be done but to retire to the Kabul Gate. He lingered for eight days in agony, and died with an unrivalled reputation at the age of thirty-seven.

The first day's assault was not very successful, but a solid base had been acquired for future operations. Yet the cost had been enormous—sixty-six officers had been lost and 1,104 men killed and wounded. In the following days, in spite of the stubborn resistance of the sepoys, ground was gained step by step. The magazine was taken on September 16th, and on September 21st Wilson took up his quarters in the Imperial palace. The King had fled and had taken refuge in the tomb of Humayan, three and a half miles from the city. Hodson, of Hodson's Horse, received permission to bring in the old sovereign, providing his life was spared, and this was successfully done. Two sons of the King, however, and a grandson were still at liberty. Hodson was again allowed to fetch them, but no stipulation was made about their lives. They surrendered, dismissed their followers, and rode towards Delhi in a native cart. In a sudden panic, Hodson made them dismount and shot them with his own hand, a most unnecessary act of bloodshed, and an indelible stain on himself and the country he served. No sooner was Delhi captured than a force was sent under Greathed, consisting of about 1,000 British and 2,000 native soldiers, to open the country between Delhi and Agra, and eventually to reach Cawnpur. Agra was relieved after a severe engagement, and Hope Grant, who superseded Greathed, reached his destination on October 26th.

As we have already said, Colin Campbell arrived at Calcutta on August 13th. On October 27th he had completed his arrangements and started for Allahabad, where he arrived on November 1st. He set out for Cawnpur next day, and reached it the day afterwards. He found things by no means in a satisfactory state. Even the road by which he had marched was not at all safe. He felt it dangerous to march to Lucknow, but the need was so pressing that he determined to risk it. Six weeks had now elapsed since the arrival of Outram and Havelock. During this time the garrison had made numerous attacks, the effect of which was somewhat to reduce the desultory fire of the rebels. On October 9th the garrison heard of the capture of Delhi and Greathed's march. They realised that Colin Campbell would come to them in a few weeks. Outram communicated with him by means of a clerk in a public office named Kavanagh, who, disguised as a native, found Campbell, and gave him such information as enabled him to mature his plans.

THE FIGHT AT LUCKNOW

To relieve Lucknow and withdraw the garrison and the British in the Residency was an operation of great difficulty and danger. At first Campbell contented himself with getting into communication with the Alambagh, which had a garrison of 430 British; when this had been effected he found he had a force of about 4,700 men. These he divided into six brigades—the Naval Brigade, under William Peel; the Artillery Brigade, the Cavalry Brigade, and three others, Hope Grant directing the operations.

It would have been madness to attack the city in front, where the way lay between narrow lanes, fortified and stoutly defended, so he determined to swing round to the right, march in a wide curve through open ground, and seize Dalhousie Park, a large open garden surrounded by a wall 20 feet high, which lay about two miles from the Residency. He could use this as a base of operations and pass round to the north of the city. But before he reached the Residency he would have to take a number of strong posts, the most formidable of which were the Secundrabagh and the Shah Najah Mosque.

Making a feint to his left to draw the attention of the rebels in that direction, he marched to his right, occupied Dalhousie Park without difficulty, and afterwards the Martinière College. Here the troops bivouacked, and next day, November 15th, was spent in preparation. Early in the morning of November 16th he moved forward to the attack of the Secundrabagh. A murderous fire opened upon the troops, but they gained their ground. Then the guns were swung round and, within musket-shot of the crowded walls and under a tempest of pellets, opened a heavy fire on the place, the infantry lying down out of sight to wait the moment of assault. Campbell had given orders that, in the assault, they were to keep together in clusters of three, and to rely on nothing but the bayonet. The central man was to attack and his companions right and left were to guard him. Campbell himself stood by his guns, watching the cannon-balls tearing down the works, which were immensely thick. It took three-quarters of an hour to make a breach, and it was difficult to restrain the men.

At last the hole was considered large enough, and the Sikhs and the Highlanders rushed for it at full speed, each straining every nerve to reach it first. A Sikh ran forward, leaped through the aperture, and was shot dead as he sprang; others, however, say it was a Highlander. The Secundrabagh was held by four strong sepoy regiments, amounting to 2,000 or 2,500 men, who had all been well seasoned in the British service. After the walls had been passed, the fight within the building continued

for two hours, and not a single one of its defenders was spared; they were all killed, the British losses being comparatively slight. After the Secundrabagh, came the Shah Najah, a great mosque with a high loopholed wall, defended by trees and enclosures of different kinds. Against this Peel led the attack and opened fire within twenty yards of the wall. After three hours' firing he had not succeeded in piercing it. Night fell, but the place must be captured, as retreat was impossible. At last a breach was discovered at the north-east corner by Sergeant Paton, who entered the place without opposition. A rush was made to it, and when the enemy saw that their position was no longer tenable they fled like sheep.

After this terrible work the troops were exhausted and the muskets had become so foul that it was impossible to load them. However, on the following day, the task was resumed. The first building to be attacked was the Mess House. A Union Jack, hoisted as a signal to the Residency, was shot down. In the meantime, Outram had been pressing forward to join the rescuers, and late on a November afternoon Campbell, Havelock and Outram met on the slope outside the Mess amidst a murderous fire from the Kaiserbagh. Lucknow had now been relieved with a loss of 45 officers and 496 men. But it was necessary to evacuate the Residency and to carry off in safety 600 women and children and more than 1,000 sick or wounded men. Yet so adroitly was this done that the mutineers were pounding the Residency with shot for at least four hours after it had been completely deserted. However, the rescued party did not reach the Dilkusha till November 22nd. On November 24th Havelock died of dysentery and was buried in the Alambagh. On a tree near the grave the letter "H" was roughly carved, and a stately obelisk now marks the spot.

On November 27th Campbell started for Cawnpur, where Windham, who had been left in command, was seriously defeated by Nana Sahib and Tantia Topee. Campbell was not able to attack the rebels till December 1st, and did not reach Cawnpur till the end of the month. Again the garrison had to be removed, and for thirty-six hours the procession of sick and wounded, women and children, guns and baggage, moved slowly across the bridge and eventually reached Allahabad in safety. After this, Campbell, with 5,000 men, brilliantly defeated the rebel army, numbering 25,000, including the Gwalior contingent of 10,000 men. He captured all their baggage and thirty-two guns, and sent them flying in all directions. His own loss was only 99 killed.

ATTACK ON LUCKNOW

When Delhi was taken, on September 21st, 1857, the mutiny might be considered at an end, but Lucknow still remained to be captured. On November 26th Outram had been left in the Alambagh, with between 3,000 and 4,000 men, twenty-five guns and howitzers, and ten mortars. He occupied a position across the Cawnpur road, defended by batteries, trenches, and abattis. For about a month the rebels made no attempt to disturb him, but at the beginning of 1858 they became more active, and in the latter half of February made several attacks, all of which were repulsed. Outram's force never exceeded 5,000 men, but opposed to this the rebels never had fewer than 120,000 men, 27,000 of whom were trained sepoys and 71,000 trained cavalry.

The city stretched along the left bank of the Gumti for more than five miles, being more than twenty miles in circumference. The strongest position held by the rebels was the Kaiserbagh, a palace about 400 yards square. In addition to this they had constructed three lines of earthworks, the first along the side of the canal, the second ending at the Mess House, the third crossing the flank of the King's palace. Campbell's plan was to attack in two directions, to throw a bridge across the Gumti, and to place heavy guns on the north bank, which should attack with overwhelming force the Mess House, the Secundrabagh, and the Residency, which were held by the sepoys. This was the right attack. The left, led by Napier, was to cross the Dilkusha bridge and fight its way up to the Kaiserbagh and the Residency, always supported by the flanking gunfire of Outram.

Campbell began his operations on March 3rd. The entrancing appearance of Lucknow on that fateful morning has often been described. Palaces, minarets, domes, orange and golden cupolas, colonnades, long façades of fair perspective in pillars and columns, terraced roofs, rose up amidst a calm ocean of the brightest verdure. The bridge across the Gumti was completed by midnight on March 5th, and the troops were crossing at four in the morning. On the evening of March 6th Outram encamped about four miles from the city, and on March 9th made his spring. He found that he had approached the sepoys' batteries from the rear, so that they were of no use whatever. After a heavy cannonade he stormed the Chaker Kothi, a yellow house, which was strongly held by the sepoys. Campbell advanced at the same time, and next day the two divisions were in complete touch. On March 11th Outram carried all the positions leading to the Residency, and established batteries close to it. Campbell, on March 11th, occupied the Secundrabagh and the Mosque, but

found himself stopped by the Begum's house. In the storm 600 sepoys were killed. On March 14th the Kaiserbagh was taken by a spirited attack. It is scarcely to be wondered that the soldiers were drunk with plunder. They streamed through court after court, piled up with embroidered clothes, gold and silver brocade, arms inlaid with jewels, priceless pictures and vases.

Unfortunately, a great blunder was now made. Outram asked permission to cross the main bridge and cut off the rebels who were escaping. He was told he might cross, but was not to do so if he would lose a single man. Of course, he must have lost men, but the later pursuit of the rebels who escaped caused a far larger loss of life than would have been occasioned by crossing the bridge then and taking the rebels in the rear. Also, by a mistake of judgment, Outram allowed a body of 20,000 sepoys to escape through a gap in the British lines, and in this way, as Lord Roberts said, the campaign which should then have come to an end was prolonged for nearly a year, in consequence of the fugitives spreading over Oudh and resisting till the end of May, 1859, thus involving the loss of thousands of British soldiers. The Residency, which the sepoys had tried in vain to carry for more than eighty days, was now taken by the British in as many minutes. In this brilliant manner Lucknow was captured after less than fourteen days' fighting, with a loss of only 125 officers and men killed, and less than 600 wounded.

The fall of Lucknow was followed by a campaign in Rohilkhand. In Central India Sir Hugh Rose, starting from Mhow, demolished several forts, defeated the rebels before Jhansi, and took that city by storm. He also recaptured Gwalior, which had been seized by Tantia Topee. This notorious rebel was at last cornered and captured in April, 1859. The last struggle was in Oudh, against the forces of Nana Sahib and the Begum. It is said that Nana Sahib escaped to the jungle of Nepal, where he possibly died a miserable death. But there are some who think that he was alive long afterwards. On January 27th, 1858, the King of Delhi was brought to trial in the Privy Council Chamber of the Palace, charged with making war against the British Government, and was sentenced to be transported for life. After some time he was sent to Pegu, where he died in peace.

The Mutiny demonstrated that the relations of India to the British Empire must be radically changed, and that it was no longer possible to leave the government of the greatest dependency of the British Crown in the hands of a trading company. An Act of Parliament for transferring the administration of India from

the East India Company to the Crown was passed without much opposition, and received the royal assent on August 2nd, 1858. Consequent upon this, the Queen issued a proclamation declaring the principles upon which she intended in future to govern the country. She informed the native Princes that all treaties in force with them would be scrupulously maintained, that she would respect their rights, their dignity, and their honour as her own; that she would sanction no encroachment on the rights of any of them; that the obligations which bound her to her other subjects would bind her also to them. To the natives the proclamation promised complete liberty in matters of religion, and, so far as might be, office was thrown open, without question of religion, to all such persons as might be qualified for it by education, ability and integrity. The Queen said that in framing and administering laws due regard should be paid to ancient rights, usages and customs; that those who had taken part in the Mutiny should be treated with clemency, and that unconditional pardon should be given to all who submitted before January 1st, 1859. This proclamation, published on November 1st, 1858, was regarded everywhere as the charter of the new regime. Addresses poured in from every part of India—from Hindoos, Mohammedans and Parsees, expressing their gratitude, loyalty, and devotion. The British members of the Indian army were not equally complacent, but resented being made forcibly part of the British army, instead of continuing to serve the Company. Eventually they were allowed to choose between the two, and about 10,000 took advantage of this permission.

The events of the Mutiny aroused a bitter desire for revenge, both in Great Britain and in India, and cruel measures of retaliation were demanded which would only have perpetuated ill-feeling between the two countries and stained the honour of the British name. Canning, who had from the first set himself to moderate these sentiments, now did his best to restore the civil administration, and to gain the confidence of the native chiefs. The country was in a deplorable condition, famine having devastated villages and emptied cities of their inhabitants. Canning made a new departure in the relations between the British Government and the chiefs by agreeing to their customs of adoption and succession; this removed an ancient grievance, and ensured the continuance of native rule. The dread of annexation under the "rule of lapse" was removed, and at the same time the chiefs were charged with the responsibility of active loyalty to the Crown. The British Government and the native chiefs were to

co-operate together for the benefit of the country which they ruled side by side. Great Britain remained suzerain, but native rule was to be perpetual so long as the chiefs remained true to their engagements. At the same time, residents were established at the different native courts, to give friendly advice, to correct grave abuses of power, to maintain peaceful succession, and to ensure the continuance of the reign of law and justice.

So far as India was concerned, the transference of the governance did not produce any striking changes, nor was it felt as a violent alteration. The new masters at home merely continued the authority of the old. The place of the Court of Directors and Proprietors and the Board of Control was taken by the Secretary of State for India, assisted by a Council. Unity of government was secured by giving the Secretary of State power to overrule his Council in most matters; in some others, such as appropriation of revenue, he represented a majority of the votes. At the same time, he could, on his own responsibility, give orders regarding foreign affairs and other secret matters with which the former Secret Committee used to deal. Annual reports on the moral and material progress of each province were laid before Parliament. Indeed, the statute which transferred the government to the Crown may be regarded rather as an enabling and continuing Act than as the establishing of a new order of things.

Before Lord Canning left India he had done much besides suppressing the Mutiny. He had defined the legislative authority of the Government of India in respect both of Parliament and the Councils of Madras and Bombay. Power was taken to establish Legislative Councils in Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab, and provision was made for the codification of Indian Law. He also placed the finances of the country on a secure basis. The year 1860–1 saw a deficit of £4,000,000, but this was the last. Canning reduced the expenditure by £5,000,000, and so made the two ends meet. The Mutiny was not followed by any serious military operations, and Canning left the country, on March 12th, 1862, in a condition of prosperity and peace. He was followed by Lord Elgin, who had no chance to show his policy because he died of heart failure on November 21st, 1863. To succeed him, John Lawrence, one of the heroes of the Mutiny, was appointed, and held the office from January 12th, 1864, till its natural termination in 1869.

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

THE MAKING OF ITALY

ON the night of the disastrous defeat at Novara, Friday, March 23rd, 1849, Charles Albert resigned his crown in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II., then twenty-nine years old. He was known as the *Re Galant'uomo*—"King Honest Man"—from the uprightness of his character and the fact that he sturdily refused to recall or impair the Constitution which had once been given to his country. On the following day he held a conference with Radetzky, the conqueror, and, on March 25th, accepted the onerous conditions of the armistice. The Piedmontese agreed to retire from the area bounded by the Po, the Sesia, and the Ticino, to allow the fortress of Alessandria to be occupied by a mixed garrison of Austrians and Piedmontese till the conclusion of peace, to evacuate the Duchies immediately, to recall the fleet from the Adriatic, to disband the Lombard volunteers, and to pay the expenses of the war. Next night the King returned to Turin, accepted the resignation of the Ratazzi Ministry, and established de Launay in his place.

On March 29th Victor Emmanuel swore fidelity to the Constitution in the presence of the two Chambers. He was coldly received, as the armistice was unpopular. Indeed, the Chambers declared it to be unconstitutional, and a revolt at Genoa, under the influence of Mazzini, was put down by La Marmora. Austria demanded a war indemnity of nearly £10,000,000, and, since it was impossible to pay this, the country had to submit to the indignity of a part occupation of Alessandria. However, by the mediation of France and Great Britain, Alessandria was evacuated, the indemnity was reduced to £3,000,000, and peace was signed on August 6th, 1849, by which time Massimo d'Azeglio had become

Prime Minister. The King had great difficulty in inducing the Chamber to approve of this treaty. It met on July 30th, 1849, with a determination not to ratify the treaty or to recognise its terms, and, on November 11th, passed a resolution to suspend its operation. There was nothing to do but to dissolve the House, and the new Parliament accepted the treaty by a very large majority on January 19th, 1850.

D'Azeglio, being anxious to abolish the exclusive privileges of the Ecclesiastical Courts, appointed Siccardi to the office corresponding to the British Lord Chancellorship, having first sent him as ambassador to Pius IX., to endeavour to induce the Pope to accept his views. Siccardi introduced a Bill for the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Courts and their special jurisdiction. He also attempted to abolish mortmain, or the holding of land by corporations without the consent of the Government, and to regulate marriage as a civil contract. These measures were embodied in three laws known as the *Leggi Siccardiani*, which were carried by both Chambers, their acceptance by the Senate, which was supposed to be Conservative, causing great astonishment.

These laws were warmly supported by Cavour in one of the best speeches he ever made—one, in fact, which was the turning-point in his career. He supported them on the broad ground that, the Constitution having been granted to the country by Charles Albert, with the view of establishing liberal institutions, it was the duty of a wise Ministry to carry out these principles by legislation in the same direction, and, the quieter and more peaceful the condition of the country, the more seasonable was the time for doing so. He enforced his arguments by the examples of the Duke of Wellington consenting to the emancipation of the Catholics, Lord Grey carrying the Reform Bill, and Sir Robert Peel avowing his conversion to the principles of Free Trade. He concluded with these words: "See, gentlemen, how reforms, made in time, strengthen authority instead of weakening it, and, instead of increasing the strength of the revolutionary spirit, reduce it to impotence. Imitate boldly the spirit of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Grey and Sir Robert Peel, whom history will declare to be the first statesmen of our time. Go forward generously in the path of reform; do not be afraid if measures are declared inopportune; do not be afraid to weaken the power of the Constitutional Throne, which is entrusted to your hands, because you will really strengthen it. You will really place the Throne on such a secure basis that, when the storm of revolution bursts against it, it will not only be able to resist it, but, by summon-

ing around it the living forces of Italy, will be able to lead our nation to the high destinies to which it is summoned."

Up to that moment Cavour had been regarded as an aristocratic Tory, but he now received the applause of the Chambers, the Ministry, and the people. He had hitherto been the leader of the Right Centre; he now put himself at the head of all the intelligent Liberals in the Lower House. The Siccardi Laws, however, were not put into effect without opposition. Franzoni, Archbishop of Turin, refusing to obey them, was condemned to a month's imprisonment and a fine, and the Bishops of Sassari and Cagliari in Sardinia were similarly punished.

The quarrel was further embittered by the case of Santa Rosa, Minister of Agriculture. Feeling that he was near death, he asked a Servite brother, named Paravino, to perform for him the last offices of religion, but Franzoni refused to allow it unless he withdrew his adhesion to the Siccardi Laws. This he refused to do, and he died on August 5th without having received the sacraments. There was some difficulty in securing for him a religious funeral, and popular feeling was so much excited that the Servites were suspended and their property confiscated. The archbishop was imprisoned in the fortress of Fenestrelle, and eventually exiled. The portfolio left vacant by the death of Santa Rosa was given to Cavour, who became Minister of Agriculture and Marine on October 11th, 1850.

When the proposal to appoint him was made to Victor Emmanuel, he said, "Take care what you are doing. Cavour will soon dominate you all, and will be himself Prime Minister." He began by demanding that Mameli, who was a weak Minister of Education, should be replaced by someone more vigorous. He took a step in the direction of Free Trade by sending a circular to the syndics, advising them to abolish the limit of the price of bread, and made a commercial treaty with Belgium and, a month later, a similar treaty with Great Britain, which compelled the Protectionists in his own country to consent to a reciprocity of duties. On April 19th, 1851, he accepted the portfolio of Finance, which was vacant by the resignation of Nigra. He executed a commercial convention with France, which led to a commercial treaty in the following year. A commercial treaty with Austria, signed in October, 1851, secured the free navigation of the Po and the Ticino, and the junction of the railways uniting Genoa, Turin and Milan.

On December 2nd, 1851, came the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon. This alarmed the Liberals, and strengthened the

revolutionary forces in Europe. But Cavour and d'Azeglio remembered his past career, and knew that Italy had nothing to fear from a man who had played so large a part in Liberal conspiracies. Therefore some French refugees, who were opposed to the *coup* in France, were expelled from Piedmont, and a Bill was introduced to control the extravagances of the Press. But a difference began to arise between d'Azeglio and his Ministers, Cavour thinking that the Government ought to assume a more definitely Liberal character and attitude, and that this could only be done by a coalition with the Left Centre, then led by Ratazzi. This coalition, finally concluded, was announced in a debate on the Press on February 5th, 1852, in which Cavour not only accepted the partnership of the Liberal Ratazzi, but refused that of the Conservative benches, thus bringing about the *divorzio* and *connubio*, the divorce and marriage which are so famous in Italian constitutional history. Ratazzi became first Vice-President and then President of the Council.

Cavour had undoubtedly committed a serious breach of discipline in forming this coalition without the knowledge and approval of d'Azeglio; his only excuse was that, if he had consulted his chief, permission to make it would not have been given. So Cavour resigned his two posts, and the Ministry was reconstructed with the omission of Cavour and Farini. The new Ministry met the Chambers on May 21st, 1852, but it was soon apparent that Cavour had seen the position of affairs with true insight. A Bill authorising civil marriage was introduced and passed the Chamber, but was rejected by the Senate by a single vote. The Pope was very angry at it, and d'Azeglio found himself in troubled waters. Antonelli published a paper, and the Pope wrote to the King, who said that he would not have consented to the law had he known that it would displease the Pope, and that he was ready to make every sacrifice for his country except that of his conscience. Accordingly d'Azeglio resigned and advised the King to send for Cavour.

Victor Emmanuel was reluctant to appoint a Minister who would be distasteful to the Papal Court, and Cavour himself suggested Balbo as an alternative. But these suggested arrangements proved impossible, and, on November 4th, 1852, Cavour formed, without conditions, what has ever since been known as "The Great Ministry." This coalition, or *connubio*, as it was called, formed a solid body made up of the Catholics of the Right and the Democrats of the Left. It was strong enough to support in the country the expedition to the Crimea, the

participation in the Congress of Paris, the interview of Plombières, and the war of 1859.

In the Ministry Dabormida took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, Buoncompagni of Justice, Citrario of Education, La Marmora of War. Ratazzi, leader of the Left, remained President of the Council, and in 1853 became Minister of Justice in place of Buoncompagni. Cavour was above everything a financier, and knew that financial prosperity must be the foundation of a country's greatness. At the same time, he did not hesitate to sacrifice present interest to future advantage, to contract large loans, and to impose heavy taxation to pay the interest. He spent much money in developing railways, especially that from Turin to Genoa. "Genoa," he said, "will now have no time to think of revolutions." He established lines of mail steamers to cross the Atlantic, and took the first steps towards the piercing of the Mont Cénis. He made commercial treaties, revised the customs tariff, with a view to the introduction of Free Trade; cheapened the necessaries of life and the raw materials of industry; established companies, corporate societies, a system of credit for agricultural operations, banks of deposit, and banks of discount.

The first year of his Ministry was a miracle of administrative achievement. He created a new Piedmont, as Peter the Great created a new Russia and Napoleon a new France; and the new Piedmont was eventually to create a new Italy. In all this he had to consider the bitter hostility of Austria. He made his country respected and formidable, reorganised the navy, and fortified Alessandria and Casale.

It was only natural that this bold and original policy should be opposed by the timid folk who form the bulk of every community. They felt the sacrifices which they were compelled to make, but did not realise their import. The priests and the demagogues were against Cavour. He was held responsible for bad harvests and for the failure of the vintage, and in February, 1853, his palace was attacked and his life threatened. At length he appealed to the country, and the new Chamber, which met on December 19th, 1853, gave him a decided majority in support of his policy.

Then followed a stroke of genius by the participation in the Crimean War. The negotiations which preceded it are obscure, but the main lines of the policy are clear at the present day. By taking this bold and decided step Piedmont offered a vigorous contrast to the feeble waverings of her rival, Austria, and took her place among the Powers of Europe, who were joining together

to perform what was supposed to be an act of international justice, although it was really a great iniquity. She earned the gratitude of France, which might repay her services some day by the exchange of Milan and Lombardy for Savoy, and obtained the right of taking part in the congress which must follow the war. It is probable, as we have seen, that the Emperor Napoleon originally began the war with the object of weakening Russia, so as to prevent her from supporting Austria in the war which he intended to undertake for the liberation of Italy. In that case the step now taken was important both for Cavour and the country he desired to serve. Eventually the alliance between France and Great Britain was joined by Piedmont on January 25th, 1855, and on April 21st 15,000 Sardinian troops, as they were called, commanded by Alphonso La Marmora, sailed from Genoa to the Crimea.

On January 12th, 1855, the King lost his mother; on January 20th his wife; and on February 10th his brother, the Duke of Genoa. Victor Emmanuel saw in this the finger of God, and was reluctant to pursue the course of ecclesiastical reform which was being advocated by his Ministers. At this time Piedmont, with a population of under 5,000,000, possessed seventy-one religious orders and 604 religious communities, while the capitalised value of the ecclesiastical property in the whole kingdom, including Sardinia, was estimated at over seventeen millions of English money. It was a pressing necessity to reduce the number of religious orders and to forbid the creation of any fresh ones except by legislation. This step was violently opposed by the Clericals, and was distasteful to the King himself; but the Bill eventually became law on May 29th, Cavour making a concession by excluding from its operation an order which had been specially protected by the King's mother and his brother. The Bill suppressed thirty-four religious orders and 334 religious houses, leaving twenty-two corporations, with 274 houses. On July 22nd Pius IX. excommunicated all those who had promoted, approved of, or sanctioned the law. Cavour, warned by the example of Santa Rosa, had made arrangements with a priest to attend him in his last moments, and this was eventually carried out.

The expedition to the Crimea consisted of 17,767 men, 4,464 horses, and 36 guns. It disembarked at Balaklava on May 8th, and had orders to act mainly with the British. It suffered much from sickness, especially from cholera; but, on August 16th, the success of the Battle of the Tchernaia compensated for everything. It was not a great victory, but it attracted attention and

irradiated the Italian tricolour with a gleam of glory. Indeed, the whole expedition did not bring much military glory, since, while 1,200 men died of cholera in hospital, only forty died on the field of battle.

The visits paid by Victor Emmanuel to the Courts of Paris and St. James's, accompanied by Cavour and d'Azeglio, were first suggested by Cavour, and were a great success. Queen Victoria wrote of the King that "he is startling in the extreme in appearance and manner, when you first see him, but when you know him well you cannot help loving him. He is frank, open, just, straightforward, liberal, and tolerant, with much sound good sense. He never breaks his word, and you can rely on him; but wild and extravagant, courting adventure and danger, with a very strange, short, rough manner. He is more like a knight of the Middle Ages than anything one knows nowadays." Cavour was at first afraid to accompany the King for fear it might give the visit too political a character, but yielded on condition that Massimo d'Azeglio should go as aide-de-camp, to show to Europe that Piedmont was not infected by the disease of revolution.

As they returned through Paris the Emperor proclaimed his interest in the Italian cause by suddenly crying to Cavour, "What can we do for Italy?" He probably said more to the King than he did to the Minister. It is recorded that, on his return to Italy, Victor Emmanuel praised Napoleon to a friend, and said, "You might hear great things if I could speak: enough, either King of Italy or simply head of Savoy." Cavour drew up a memorial for the Emperor, dated January 21st, 1856, which said, "The Emperor can render immense service to Italy, first, by persuading Austria to do justice to Piedmont; secondly, by obtaining a milder government for Lombardy and Verona; thirdly, by forcing the King of Naples not to continue to scandalise Europe by conduct contrary to all principles of justice and equity; and, fourthly, by removing the Austrian governors from the Legations and Romagna, and giving them a better, that is, a lay, government." He concluded with the words, "Whatever Fate or Providence reserves for Italy, every man of heart will always remember that Napoleon was the first to ask, 'What can we do for Italy?'"

The Congress of Paris met at the end of February, 1856. It was not certain whether the representative of Sardinia could be admitted to the congress at all, or be admitted only on a lower footing, and Cavour attended it with great reluctance, foreseeing only disaster. However, by the influence of the Emperor,

supported by Great Britain, he was able to take part in it on the same footing as the others. He behaved with wisdom and moderation, speaking little and always on the Liberal side. In this way he gradually won influence. Eventually, on April 8th, he was able to bring the question of Italy before the attention of the diplomats in a manner which has been related in a previous chapter. Cavour was disappointed with the result of the congress, but on his return to Turin received not only the applause of the King and Parliament, but also congratulations from the whole of Italy. His position had gained immensely in influence and strength, both at home and abroad.

Austria relaxed her severity in Lombardy and Venetia, and removed the edict sequestrating the property of the emigrants. The Emperor Francis Joseph visited the provinces in January, 1857, accompanied by the Empress Elizabeth, who won all hearts, and sent his brother, the admirable Maximilian, to govern it, who was so successful that Cavour was afraid the hoped-for liberation of the territory might not be realised.

At the same time, in Cavour's own government, Mazzini stirred up a useless and motiveless rebellion in Genoa in June, 1857, and in the general election in November, the first that had taken place since the legislation affecting the Church, the Clerical party obtained seventy seats out of a total of 200. Cavour was alarmed. "What," he said, "if eight years' labour were thrown away and the movement of the State turned backward?" Never would he advise a *coup d'état*, nor would his master consent to one; but, if the King abdicated, what then? Victor Emmanuel said to Cavour, "Let us do our duty, stand firm, and we shall see." The crisis was surmounted. Some elections in which the priests had exercised undue influence were declared null, and Ratazzi, who was a red rag to the Clericals, retired from office. Cavour found himself master of the Chamber.

Ratazzi retired from the Ministry on January 15th, 1858; but the night before a terrible event had taken place at Paris. As the Emperor and Empress were driving to the theatre, bombs were thrown at the carriage by Felix Orsini; they wounded 150 persons and killed eight. The Emperor's carriage was struck by 76 projectiles, one of the horses was killed, the other wounded. The Emperor and Empress escaped by a miracle, as the general who sat opposite them was wounded. Antonio Pieri, teacher of languages, was seized immediately, with a large bomb in his pocket. Other persons arrested were Gomez, a Neapolitan servant, young Count Rudio of Belluno, and Orsini, who

was wounded in the head. The bombs, invented by Orsini, had been made by Bernard, a Frenchman, and filled by Orsini; one was thrown by Gomez, a second by Rudio, a third by Orsini.

Orsini wrote a letter from his prison to the Emperor, saying that on his will depended the happiness or misery of Italy, the life or death of a nation to which Europe owed a great part of its civilisation. "I conjure your Majesty to restore to Italy the independence which its sons lost in 1849 by the fault of the French. Remember that the Italians, amongst whom was my father, gave, with joy, their lives for Napoleon the Great, whenever he might please to lead them; remember that they were faithful to him to his fall; remember that the tranquillity of Europe and your own is a dream so long as Italy is not independent. Do not reject these last words of a patriot who is already on the steps of the scaffold; liberate my country, and the blessings of 25,000,000 people will follow you to posterity." There can be no doubt that the crime of Orsini stimulated the action of Napoleon with regard to the liberation of Italy.

It might have been thought that the deed would have alienated the Emperor and put an end to all hope of achieving the liberty of Italy by the help of France. But this was averted by the diplomatic skill of Cavour and the manly straightforwardness of the King; and in May, 1858, Cavour received from Paris a letter written by a friend who was intimate with Prince Napoleon, which proposed an alliance between France and Italy, and suggested the marriage of Prince Napoleon to the Princess Clothilde. After this, Cavour sent Nigra to Paris, and the diplomatist reported that the Emperor really had ideas of this kind in his head. In June M. Conneau, an intimate friend of Napoleon's, came to Turin to invite Cavour to visit the Emperor at Plombières, where he was taking the waters. This was communicated to the King and La Marmora alone. Cavour arrived at Plombières on June 20th, and saw the Emperor on that and the following day.

An account of what passed is contained in a letter from Cavour to the King, although it is believed that a more accurate narrative exists in a minute which has not seen the light. The Emperor began by saying that he had made up his mind to support Sardinia in a war with Austria, if a cause could be found which would satisfy the public opinion of Europe. He suggested that something might be made of the revolutionary movements in Massa and Carrara. As to the future of Italy, the Austrians were to be driven from the country entirely, not a foot of ground being left

to them. The north of Italy was to be formed into a kingdom of Alta Italia, under the House of Savoy; the Pope was to keep Rome and its environs; Naples was to be left as it was; and a kingdom of Central Italy was to be created. These four States were to form a confederacy under the presidency of the Pope. The Emperor said that he would like a Murat to reign at Naples, and Cavour proposed the Duchess of Parma for Tuscany. Napoleon then touched upon the cession of Savoy and Nice. Cavour made no difficulty about Savoy, but said that Nice was thoroughly Italian; but the Emperor remarked that this was a secondary consideration. The conversation lasted from eleven to three.

In the afternoon the Emperor took Cavour for a drive, himself holding the reins. He then suggested a marriage between Prince Napoleon and Princess Clothilde, but did not make it an absolute condition. At the same time, Cavour was convinced that the Emperor desired that Prince Napoleon should be sovereign of Central Italy.

It now remained to find a decent pretext for the war with Austria. Odo Russell has reported that Cavour said to him on this occasion, "I will compel Austria to declare war," and there is no doubt that the Minister brought the whole force of his mind to bring this about. He conceived the idea of sending Garibaldi to the Duchies to promote an insurrection which would force Austria to action. He considered whether something might not be made out of the capture of Cagliari, which was causing much excitement, but a more hopeful project was to be found in the Duchies of Massa and Carrara, which belonged to the Duke of Modena. Napoleon twice requested Austria to assist in urging the Pope to give a better government to his dominions, but she twice refused. Cavour, as we have seen, was much troubled by the success of the government of Maximilian at Milan, which led the Milanese to feel that they would be content to have him as an independent King or a Viceroy. If this spirit spread there would be an end to all his plans.

In October, 1858, Cavour had a long conference with La Farina to concert a plan for exciting a revolution in the spring of 1859 in Central Italy, Parma and Bologna, and if possible to force the Austrians to war. Massa and Carrara should begin; Garibaldi should go to Parma; a squadron should be sent to Leghorn, which would certainly drive away the Grand Duke of Tuscany. In December Garibaldi came from Caprera to Turin to confer with La Farina and Cavour.

These diplomatic movements were kept a secret till they were

revealed by the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon to the Austrian Ambassador on January 1st, 1859, which came like a thunderclap upon Europe. As he passed before Baron Hübner on that day he said, in the hearing of all the diplomatic body, "I regret the relations between us are bad; but, nevertheless, tell your Sovereign that my sentiments towards him are not changed." When, ten days afterwards, Victor Emmanuel opened the session of Parliament, he said: "The horizon in which the new year opens is not altogether serene. Strong in the experience of the past, we meet with resolution the eventualities of the future. This future will be happy if we rest our policy on justice, on love of liberty and of our country. Our country, small in territory, has acquired credit in the counsels of Europe, by the ideas which it represents and the sympathy which it inspires. This condition is not exempt from danger, but at the same time, whilst we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of pain which rises towards us from every part of Italy."

While these war cries were resounding, Great Britain and Austria were doing all they could to preserve peace. In Great Britain a Tory Government was in office, which was not so much in favour of Italy as a Liberal Ministry would have been. But Austria sent troops into Italy and Cavour recalled the Government from Sardinia to the capital.

On January 16th Prince Napoleon came to Turin to claim the hand of Princess Clothilde, and discuss the details of the alliance with Cavour. On January 18th the treaty was signed which bound Napoleon to assist Piedmont in case of an aggressive act on the part of Austria. If the war were successful an Italian kingdom was to be formed, consisting of 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 inhabitants, and Savoy was to be ceded to France, the question of Nice being left for future arrangements. It was also agreed that in case of war the Sardinian troops should abandon the territory between the Ticino and the Serio and concentrate in the defence of Alessandria and Casale, in order to protect the capital and assist the junction of the French forces which were to march by the Mont Cénis and Genoa.

On January 20th Prince Napoleon was married to the Princess Clothilde, the King accompanying the married pair as far as Genoa. He was received with enthusiasm, the first time that such feeling had been shown towards a King of Sardinia. Meanwhile, although Great Britain was opposed to an active policy, the stubbornness of Austria played into Cavour's hands. When Lord Malmesbury urged Austria to evacuate the Legations and use her

influence with the Italian princes to procure the concession of necessary reforms, Count Buol replied: "We do not intend to abdicate our right of intervention, and if we are called upon to protect the Italian Sovereigns with our arms we shall do so. We shall not recommend their Government to undertake any reforms. France plays the part of protectress of nationalities; we are, and shall be, protectors of national rights."

At the beginning of 1859 there appeared in Paris a pamphlet entitled *Napoleon III. et l'Italie*, which had been written by Vicomte la Guerrière in 1858, and expressed the views of the Emperor. It proposed to form Italy into a confederation, with the Pope at its head, but was opposed to Italian unity, considering the differences in the peninsula too serious to make this possible. These were not the views of Cavour, who steadily kept in view the formation of a united Italy, and knew it could only be brought about by a war with Austria. He therefore asked the Chambers for a loan of £2,000,000. This was carried in the Lower House by a majority of 116 votes to 35, and in the Upper by 59 votes against 7. Rothschild refused to finance it, and it was thrown open to public subscription at 79. It was subscribed for with enthusiasm, and especially remarkable was the number of people who took five-franc and twenty-franc shares.

In Paris the Chambers were opened on February 17th, and the Emperor declared war with Austria neither inevitable nor even probable. Indeed, the force of public opinion in France was against war. It was opposed by Walewski, Gortshakov, Lord Cowley, the newspapers, and the Empress. The Emperor was in favour of it, because it destroyed the treaties of 1815 and gratified the Italian sympathies of his youth. On February 23rd Lord Cowley was sent to Vienna to request the Austrians to evacuate the Papal dominions and to stop interference with Italian affairs.

But Cavour did not lose heart or hope. On March 8th he mobilised the army, in answer to Austria, which had massed troops on the Italian frontier, and on March 17th he formed the corps of the *Cacciatori delle Alpi*, to which volunteers flocked from every part of Italy—from Piedmont, Tuscany, the Duchies, Lombardy, and Venice.

When Lord Cowley returned from Vienna, without having effected his object, Russia proposed a congress, which was supported by Great Britain. This was accepted by Buol, on condition that Piedmont should not be admitted to it, and that Austria should not attend it till Piedmont had disarmed and disbanded her volunteers. The Powers agreed to the exclusion of Piedmont,

and the idea of a congress seemed to find favour with the Emperor. On March 23rd Cavour went to Paris and saw Walewski, who told him that the Emperor had determined to support the project of an Italian confederation in the congress, and not to interfere in the affairs of Italy, except by peaceful means. Cavour was overwhelmed; he saw the work of seven years rendered useless. He determined to go away, without seeing the Emperor, to resign, and make the King abdicate, and was pacified with difficulty. On March 26th he did see the Emperor, and refused positively to disarm. He reminded Napoleon of the engagements entered into at Plombières, which included the marriage of Princess Clothilde, which had already taken place, and threatened that, if war were not declared, he would go to America and publish their correspondence.

On April 10th the congress was accepted by France and Great Britain, but Austria would not agree to it, unless Piedmont previously disarmed. Cavour telegraphed to Prince Napoleon on April 18th, "We will not disarm. It is better to fall with arms in our hands than to ruin ourselves miserably in anarchy." On the night of April 18th Cavour was awakened from his slumbers by a telegram from Walewski, in the name of the Emperor, saying that France had accepted the British proposals for a congress, and that Cavour must telegraph his acceptance immediately. It was a terrible shock. "Nothing remains," he said, "but to blow my brains out." He was obliged, however, to reply in the affirmative, but a ray of hope came from the reflection that Austria had not accepted. Indeed, he heard on April 20th that Francis Joseph had determined on war. But these two days were periods of indescribable anguish, the saddest in his life, not excepting those which followed Villafranca. However, on April 26th, Cavour learned that Austria had declined the British proposal to admit the Italian States to the congress, and his anxieties were relieved. The fact was that war with Italy had been decided upon at Vienna on April 10th at a council at which all the Grand Dukes were present, and she now sent Italy an ultimatum to disarm. This was the *stellone*, the "great star," the prize in the lottery, which cheered the Liberal statesmen of Italy and set the seal to the efforts of so many years. On April 26th the French Ambassador at Vienna informed Count Buol that the violation of the Sardinian frontier by an Austrian army would be considered in the light of a declaration of war.

The Austrian army crossed the frontier on April 29th, about 200,000 strong, divided into two army corps, their object being

to crush the Sardinian army before the French could arrive. But the heads of the French columns had passed the frontiers of Savoy three days before, although the proclamation of the Emperor was not issued until May 3rd. The French army consisted of about 130,000 men and 330 guns, divided into five army corps, in addition to the Imperial Guard. Besides this, 8,700 men of the French troops landed at Genoa, and 4,000 went to the assistance of the Piedmontese in the Alpine valleys. Public opinion in France began to change in favour of the war, and this produced the enrolment of 30,000 volunteers.

The first French troops entered Turin on April 29th, and the Emperor Napoleon landed on May 12th at Genoa, where he was received by Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, and on May 14th he reached Alessandria. The French army might now be considered to have joined the Piedmontese, and the object of their strategical march had been attained. The Sardinian army numbered at this time 76,000 infantry, 5,400 cavalry, and 2,700 artillery, making a total of 84,000 men. But this force was not really present in the field, and after making the necessary reductions the forces of the sub-Alpine kingdom cannot be placed at more than 62,332 men with 90 guns. Besides these were the three regiments of Garibaldi, which did splendid service, and a National Guard of 26,000. Altogether, the forces of the Allies cannot be placed at less than 260,000 men, which was considerably more than the Austrians.

Military authorities almost unanimously blame the strategy of the Austrians at this time. Instead of attacking the right wing of the Sardinian army or hindering the march of the French, they confined themselves to threatening the left wing of the Sardinians, and consequently gave the attack to their opponents. If they had decided on a defensive policy, it would have been better not to cross the Ticino, but to complete their preparations. As it was, the only advantage they gained was that they were occupying the enemy's country and living at the enemy's expense.

On the other hand, the enemy had full knowledge of their movements, their own information about the Allies being so extremely defective that their headquarters were frequently better informed by the newspapers than by their own agents. At first they were able to spend their time in healthy exercises, but on the evening of May 14th it began to rain, and they were driven into their camp. As the Austrians were very badly informed as to the movements of the Allies, Stadion was sent to reconnoitre, with a force of 18,000 men.

This led to the first encounter between the two armies, on May 30th, an engagement generally known as the Battle of Montebello, a place distinguished in the wars of Napoleon I. The Austrians reached Casteggio about midday and found the place deserted, with windows and doors shut as if no one were living in it. The Austrian infantry took possession of it, and the hussars of the advanced guard went on to Genestrello. They reported that the village was held by the enemy's infantry, and Schaffgotsche determined to drive them out, although he had orders not to engage, that he might not be attacked himself. When Genestrello had been occupied without difficulty, Schaffgotsche observed that he had a strong body of the enemy in front of him, and therefore began a new attack about the middle of the day. This body was formed by the troops of Forey, who had marched up from Voghera to defend his outposts.

The first cannon-shot was fired at 1.15 p.m., and the Austrians, who were up to this time superior in numbers to the French, continued to advance, but by 2 p.m. the rest of Forey's division had arrived in the field and the conditions of the battle were changed. At 3 p.m. Schaffgotsche had been driven from Genestrello, and had taken up his position at Montebello, which is situated on a hill of considerable strength. The two armies were now about equal in numbers, but the Austrians were fresh and had plenty of cover. Forey, however, did not hesitate to attack. The cavalry, artillery, and two battalions of foot soldiers, advanced along the main road, while the bulk of the infantry, leaving their knapsacks behind them, climbed the precipitous wooded slope to the southern point of Montebello, from which the village descends in one long street towards the high road. The French were obliged to capture house after house, and fight hand to hand with great loss of life. The artillery took scarcely any part in the engagement. At last the village was won and the Austrians retreated to Casteggio. Forey had thus in four hours driven back, first a brigade of 3,000 and then one of 4,000 men. Stadion had now 18,000 men under him, and of these 4,000 or 5,000 were really in hand. But he did nothing, and the French were allowed to claim the victory undisturbed. The Austrians lost 1,293 men and the French 723.

Giulay had in the beginning confined his attention to the north side of the Po, but the affair of Montebello led him to suppose that the main attack of the French would be delivered towards the south, in the direction of Piacenza, and he made his preparations accordingly. This theory, however, was erroneous, because

Napoleon's plan was to march towards the north and attack the right wing of the Austrians and advance upon Milan. The orders for the French army to march on the left flank were issued on May 27th, but the movement was to be masked by the Sardinian army, which for this purpose was to push on towards Robbio, by way of Palestro. The ground through which the Sardinians advanced was of such a nature that the Austrians were unable to see what was going on, whereas, on their side, the infantry found it difficult, and indeed almost impossible, to cross the rice fields, cut up by ditches and canals. Palestro is about six miles distant from Vercelli, which is situated on the other side of the Serio. The Serio, which is usually dry, was at this time full of water, from the abundant rain which had fallen, and a bridge over it had to be constructed with some difficulty, across which the Sardinian army passed. The crossing occupied the whole morning, but did not apparently attract the attention of the Austrians, and shortly after midday Victor Emmanuel was able to make an attack upon Palestro. The Austrians, at first, managed to repel all assaults; but when the Sardinians were able, by building a bridge, to attack on the other side, they were obliged to retire. An attempt to retake Palestro was frustrated by Cialdini, who arrived with superior forces, and the Austrians retreated to Robbio. In this engagement the Austrians lost 460 men and the Sardinians 140.

Both sides were aware that Palestro was the key of the position, as it commanded the passage of the Serio. Victor Emmanuel, feeling insecure, asked for assistance from his allies, and Palestro was occupied by 14,000 men. The Austrians now made a serious effort to retake it and assaulted it with superior numbers. The first gun was fired at 10.30 a.m., and a battalion of jägers rushed to storm the village. Although the Sardinians had thrown up earthworks in the night, the Austrians penetrated to the first houses of the village, but were not able to hold their ground; they retreated, and the Sardinians pursued them as they fled. The left column met with no better success. Szabo attacked the French with his artillery, as they were crossing walls, and they suffered some loss. In another attack a number of Austrians were drowned in the canal and the Serio, and Szabo was compelled to retire with great loss. The result of the battle was entirely in favour of the Allies, the Austrians having lost more than 2,000 men in the two days.

In the meantime Garibaldi, who had been made a general in the Sardinian army, and was in command of the *Cacciatori delle*

Alpi, placed his headquarters at Varese. He repulsed an attack by General Urban, occupied Como, and threatened Monza, but failed to take the strong fortress of Laveno, on the shores of Lago Maggiore. The Austrians, however, were now in full retreat towards the Ticino. They were in worse condition than if they had never advanced but had waited to be attacked. In this case they might have met the Allies with seven complete army corps, and threatened the passage of the river with some hope of success. As it was, they were dispersed in a long line extending from Varese to Piacenza, the troops weary with marching, weakened by fighting, and disheartened by defeat.

The Battle of Magenta was fought on June 4th, the day on which the Emperor had determined to pass the Ticino. Magenta is a village of 400 inhabitants, situated on the high road between Novara and Milan, about four miles from the left bank of the Ticino. About halfway between it and the river runs the canal of the Naviglio Grande, which carries the waters of the Ticino to Milan. The canal is deep and lies between high banks, so that it is difficult to cross. In this part of its course it is crossed by six bridges—that of Benevento in the north, Buffalora about a mile below, Ponte Nuovo di Magenta on the high road, the railway bridge about a third of a mile below, and by Ponte Vecchio di Magenta and Robecco to the south. All these bridges had been manned and placed in a condition of defence by the Austrians, and a strong redoubt had been built at the railway bridge. The bridge of Buffalora and the Ponte Nuovo had also special defences. From the bridge which crosses the Ticino at San Martino four roads diverge—the main road to Milan, which passes by Magenta, in the middle; to the left the road to Buffalora; to the right the railway; and still farther to the right the roads to Ponte Vecchio and Robecco.

Magenta thus formed a formidable defensive position, and Giulay had intended to concentrate the whole of his forces there. But, owing to various circumstances, he could not get together more than a third of them, while the French were not able to dispose of more than a quarter of their strength for the attack. On the morning of June 4th the Austrians were not expecting an attack, and had just finished their food, when they heard that three heads of French columns were advancing upon Buffalora. A brigade was immediately sent to protect the two bridges which had not been destroyed—that over the high road and that over the railway, and the slowness of the French advance enabled them to do this.

The heads of the French columns advanced at 10.30 a.m. The first shots were fired on the roads which lead over the Ticino to the Naviglio. Wimpffen led his troops partly by the Buffalora road and partly by the railway; while the Zouaves, with two pieces of artillery, marched along the central causeway. The Austrians fired at the advancing troops, gradually retiring on the railway. The French skirmishers were stopped by a heavy fire, and Wimpffen found the Naviglio well defended. But Canrobert had not arrived, and nothing had been heard of MacMahon, so the Emperor suspended his attack and withdrew Wimpffen to a position 400 yards in advance of the Ticino. At midday the fire of MacMahon was heard on the left, and Wimpffen resumed his advance. He was, however, driven back over the Buffalora bridge.

Attacks on other quarters were repelled by the arrival of Austrian reinforcements; the battle swayed backwards and forwards, as the forces were relatively greater in number on either side. At 2 p.m. two points on the Naviglio were in possession of Mellinet's division, which, however, consisted of only 5,000 men, and had no reserve to support it. Nothing had been heard of Canrobert and Niel, and the advance of MacMahon had been arrested. The position was very critical, but just at this moment Picard's brigade, which formed part of Canrobert's division, arrived. They reached the bridge of San Martino at 2 p.m., and were able to support Wimpffen, who was in difficulties. They gained possession of the village of Ponte Vecchio and made numerous prisoners, but could not get any farther. However, at 3.30 p.m. the position of affairs was decidedly more favourable for the French.

At the same time the position of the Emperor was very serious. When asked for reinforcements, he replied, like Napoleon at Waterloo, that he had none to send. The French columns on the Ponte Nuovo were visibly thinned; they could not advance, and they would not retreat. For hours nothing had been heard of MacMahon on the left, and the enemy were beginning to press with terrible force on the right. Just at this moment MacMahon's cannon were again heard, and Canrobert came up in person to announce that reinforcements were at hand. MacMahon had crossed both the Ticino and the Naviglio at Turbigo, far away to the left, to attack the right flank of the Austrians, but had met with unexpected difficulties. Leaving Turbigo at 9.30 a.m., he advanced towards Buffalora and Magenta in two columns; but they were stoutly resisted by the Austrian reserves. The result

was that his advance was delayed for two hours, and that he was unable to rejoin the Emperor. He and his staff remained in a condition of feverish impatience, whilst the musketry and cannon fire sounded fiercely from the Naviglio, and the south wind brought the smell of powder to their nostrils. At last Espinasse and La Motterouge were able to advance to Magenta and, after heavy fighting and considerable loss, the junction of the two columns was effected about five in the afternoon.

At last MacMahon was able to re-form his lines and order the advance from all sides on the bell tower of Magenta. His troops marched forward, with drums beating and colours flying, and they found little resistance until Magenta was reached. Here every house was pierced for musketry, the streets were blocked with barricades, the gardens turned into redoubts, the churchyard and even the bell tower armed with artillery and riflemen. The battle raged with especial fury at the open space of the railway station, and here the gallant Espinasse was killed. No essential progress was made till the arrival of Trochu at the Ponte Vecchio at 7 p.m., and it was not till 9 that the field of battle was entirely in possession of the French. In the battle the Allies lost 4,500 men, of whom 100 were taken prisoners; the Austrians lost 10,000, of whom 5,000 were prisoners. MacMahon received the title of Duke of Magenta, which he had won by his successful exertions in marching the two divisions, and his wisdom in attacking the right and the reserve of the Austrians, by which many prisoners were made. After all, Magenta was very much a drawn battle. It was expected that the Austrians would renew the attack, but on June 5th Giulay ordered the retreat, the last order which he had the opportunity of giving, as he was immediately afterwards deprived of his command.

At midday on June 5th the Milanese discovered that there were no more Austrians in the city, and the municipality sent the keys of the town to Victor Emmanuel. On June 7th MacMahon's corps began to march down the street, and on the following day the King and the Emperor made their entry in a delirium of enthusiasm. Napoleon exclaimed, "How much the people must have suffered!" On the same day he issued a proclamation to the Italian people, in which he said: "Providence sometimes favours nations as it does individuals, giving them the opportunity of becoming great in a single day; but only on the condition that they know how to profit by it. Your desire for independence, so long expressed, so often disappointed, will be fulfilled if you know how to show yourselves worthy of it. Let

all of you unite in one sole desire, the liberation of your country. Organise your military arrangements. Fly to the banner of Victor Emmanuel, who has so nobly prepared for you the way of honour. Remember that there can be no army without discipline, and burning with the sacred fire of patriotism, be soldiers to-day that to-morrow you may become the free citizens of a great country."

In fact, the liberation of Italy was progressing well, with greater rapidity than Napoleon III. either expected or desired. Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, had left his country on April 29th. It was at this time ruled by Ricasoli, assisted by the baker Giuseppe Dolfi, of whom it was said that he could any day collect in the Piazza della Signoria 10,000 men who would do whatever he told them. The Duke went from Modena and the Duchess Regent from Parma as soon as the protecting Austrians were withdrawn and the Romagna demanded to be annexed to Piedmont. Farina was sent to administer Modena and Parma, and Massimo d'Azeglio the Romagna. Ferdinand II. of Naples—generally known as "Bomba"—died rather suddenly on May 22nd, and was succeeded by his youthful son. If he had joined Sardinia in the war against Austria he might have kept his throne, but his refusal rendered its forfeiture inevitable.

It was now evident that the Austrians intended to withdraw to the Mincio, where they would be defended by the famous Quadrilateral of Mantua, Verona, Peschiera and Legnago. The Emperor attempted to impede this movement by dispatching troops to Lodi, hoping they would reach the Adda before the rearguard of the enemy, and be able to divide his forces. The movement failed, for the rearguard reached Lembo a few hours before the French. Except a brush with Benedek at Melegnano, no engagement of any importance took place until the Battle of Solferino, fought on June 24th, 1859, which put an end to the war. This was fought in a space bounded to the north by Lago di Garda and the railway, on the south by the Oglio, on the west by the Chiese, and on the east by the Mincio, being about twenty miles long and twelve miles broad.

This historic area contains some of the most beautiful scenery in Europe. It is traversed by three ranges of hills, one below the other, each of which played a part in the battle, the most important being the southernmost range, which overlooks the Italian plain. On the northern range lie the villages of San Martino, Ostiglio and Feniletta, which lay within the operations of the Sardinian army; on the central range were Castelvenzago

and La Madonna della Scoperta, and on the southern Vilsana, Fenile, Solferino and Cavriana. High in the midst rises the watch-tower of Solferino, which from its commanding view had obtained the name of La Spia d'Italia.

The plain below the hills is traversed by the high road leading from Castiglione to Mantua, on which lie Guidizzolo and Goito. The traveller proceeding along this road sees first the hamlet of La Fontana, then the village of Le Grote, half hidden under a fold of Monte Fenile, then some of the houses of Cavriana in the mountains, and then, at some distance, Volta with its conspicuous campanile. The fields are planted with rice, mulberries and maize. The wayfarer then reaches Guidizzolo, a large village, from which issue three carriageable roads, one to Volta, one to Cavriana, and one to Cenesara in the south. To the right of this great high road lie the villages of Carpenedolo, south-west of Castiglione, and Medole, to the west of Guidizzolo and Cenesara. The ground between Guidizzolo and Medole is covered with many houses, whose red-tiled roofs are visible through the trees, the hamlet of Rebecco forming the principal group. Still farther on the right are situated Acqua Fredda, the walls and towers of Castel Goffredo, and other villages.

The French army consisted of five army corps and five Sardinian divisions, bringing up the strength of the Allies to seventeen divisions of infantry, five of cavalry, and a number of cannon, making a total of 160,000 men. The Austrian army had eight army corps of infantry and one corps of cavalry, making 124 battalions of infantry and sixty squadrons of cavalry, amounting altogether to about the same number of 160,000 men, under the personal command of the Emperor Francis Joseph. On the morning of June 23rd the headquarters of the Emperor of Austria were at Villafranca; those of the first army corps, under Stadion, were at Mantua; those of the second army corps, under Schlick, were at Custozza. The eighth army corps, under Benedek, forming the extreme right, was at Peschiera; the second, forming the extreme left, under Lichtenstein, at Mantua. The plan was that, on the morning of June 23rd the Austrians should advance from their positions to surprise the enemy, falling on their right flank and driving them towards the Alps, the decisive battle being left to the following day. According to this plan, they crossed the Mincio at six points and occupied, before the evening, a number of the villages already enumerated, Pozzolengo, Solferino, Cavriana, Guidizzolo, Rebecco and Medole, their advance posts being at Madonna della Scoperta, Le Grote and Castel Goffredo. It was

intended that the army should advance to the Chiese at 9 on the morning of June 24th.

Before this could be done the bulk of the allied army had crossed the Chiese, the intention of the French being to occupy the hilly country and to force a passage across the Mincio. On June 23rd the headquarters of the Emperor were at Montechiaro, and it was heard that on the following day the army would reach the Mincio, the headquarters being at Castiglione. The army was to begin its march at 2 p.m., in order to avoid the great heat of the sun. It thus happened that the two armies came into collision while they were preparing to make an offensive attack in opposite directions, neither being prepared to fight an immediate battle. The problem before both was to transform a line of march most rapidly into a line of battle.

Accordingly the Battle of Solferino may be divided into two periods, the first resulting from the fortuitous shock of the two hosts, neither of whom had expected to meet the other, the orders given for the march on either side having not yet been modified; the second period, beginning when the action became general, may be divided into two smaller sections, the attack of the French on the centre, and that of the Austrians on the left. The Sardinians and the eighth army corps under Benedek had, as it were, a battle to themselves. It will thus be seen that two armies, nearly equal in strength, marching towards each other in a front of equal length, without knowing each other's positions, met in the line marked by the villages of San Martino, Solferino, Guidizzolo and Medole.

The Austrian army tried at first to execute its original plan of turning the French right, and driving it towards the Alps, while the army of the Allies concentrated towards its centre. In this manner the positions of Solferino and San Casciano were attacked by three French corps and defended by three Austrian corps. The French succeeded in piercing the centre of the Austrian army, because their three corps attacked simultaneously, whereas the Austrian corps only came up one after the other. At the same time, the Austrian corps which had been intended to turn the French right were defeated by two French corps, because they could not succeed in acting together, and one corps, which was intended to strike a decisive blow, was never engaged at all. On the Austrian right the eighth corps succeeded in holding back the Sardinians till nightfall, but could not redeem disaster in other parts of the field. The capture of Cavriana finally put an end to the battle, and the Austrians retired behind the Mincio.

THE BATTLE OF SOLFERINO

Let us now describe the battle more in detail. By orders issued the night before the Sardinians were to march on Pozzolengo, Baraguay d'Hilliers on Solferino, MacMahon on Cavriana, Niel on Guidizzolo, Canrobert on Medole, and the Imperial Guard on Castiglione, the cavalry marching in the plain between Solferino and Medole. Setting out at 3 a.m., the French encountered no serious opposition till 5 a.m., when MacMahon perceived that the situation was becoming dangerous. He halted and remained inactive for two hours. About 7 a.m. MacMahon was informed that Niel had arrived before Medole, that as soon as he had taken that village he would concentrate on his left, and that Canrobert would do the same. MacMahon, therefore, at 8.30 a.m. took possession of Casa Marino, commanding the lower ground of Guidizzolo. He was opposed by a strong Austrian force coming from that place, which did not drive him back, but caused him considerable loss. He did not hear that Niel's corps was in a position to join him till 11 a.m., and he was then able to advance towards Solferino, where a vigorous battle had been proceeding for some time. It had thus taken six hours for the French right to change an order of march into an order of battle.

Early in the day the Emperor discerned from a height in the neighbourhood of Castiglione that a serious battle was proceeding. He determined to concentrate on his centre, and directed his attack on Solferino and Cavriana, giving orders to Niel and Canrobert to move towards their left, and to the Sardinians to move towards their right. Baraguay d'Hilliers was now assaulting the strong position of Solferino, held by Stadion, the hill covered with cypresses, the graveyard and the castle dominated by the well-known tower, " The Spy of Italy." The place was in excellent condition for defence, and well supplied with artillery. The walls of the cemetery, defended by a flank of the cypress-covered hill, defied all efforts, and the Austrians were able to act energetically on the offensive. The struggle was terrific, and it was not till 3 in the afternoon that the French could hoist their victorious flags on the tower and the cypress hills. At last the Austrians were driven from Solferino, and an important point had been gained. Cavriana still remained to be taken—a village strengthened by ancient walls and by a castle. This was attacked at 4 in the afternoon after Solferino had been taken. MacMahon was able to assault the strong position from the other side and, in consequence of this double attack, the place fell about 4.30 p.m. Two hours later the Austrians began to retreat in all directions, and their centre was entirely in the hands of the French.

Notwithstanding this success, Niel was not able to take Guidizzolo, which the Austrians held till 7 in the evening, and Victor Emmanuel could not capture San Martino till sunset, when the capture of Solferino and Cavriana was already known. The Sardinians were able to hold the high ground they had captured, but lost 6,000 men, considerably more than their adversaries. At the battle the Emperor of the French occupied the quarters which the Emperor of Austria had occupied the night before. But there was no pursuit. On June 25th the headquarters of Francis Joseph were at Villafranca, and on June 27th at Verona, and on this day the French occupied the line of the Mincio. It is reckoned that in the battle the Austrians lost 21,500 men and the Allies 18,500, of whom 13,000 were French.

Two great battles had been won by the French, but it was not possible to march on to Vienna, nor even to storm the Quadrilateral. It would be necessary to blockade the four fortresses one by one. The French army rested from June 25th to July 5th, and on July 6th, without consulting the King of Italy, Napoleon sent Fleury to Francis Joseph, proposing a meeting of the two Emperors at Villafranca, and early in the morning of July 7th the offer was accepted. On July 8th an armistice was arranged at Villafranca to last till August 15th, and La Marmora telegraphed to Cavour the suspension of arms. Cavour hurried to the headquarters of the King on July 10th.

On the following day the interview between the two Emperors took place at Villafranca. Francis Joseph spontaneously offered the cession of Lombardy, without Mantua or Peschiera, and was also willing to cede Parma, provided that the sovereigns of Modena and Tuscany were allowed to keep their dominions. Napoleon proposed a confederation of Italian States under the presidency of the Pope. The interview lasted an hour; no one was present at it, and it is probable that nothing was committed to writing. The Emperor communicated the results of the interview to the King in the presence of Prince Napoleon. It is not precisely known how Victor Emmanuel received the news. There is no doubt that he was disappointed, that he knew he could not persuade the Emperor to further exertions, and that he expressed his gratitude for the acquisition of Lombardy, which was a solid gain.

By the preliminaries of the Peace of Villafranca the Emperor of Austria ceded Lombardy to the Emperor of the French, who transferred it to the King of Italy. An Italian confederation, including Venetia, to which liberal institutions were promised, was to be formed, with the Pope at its head; Tuscany and Modena

were to return to their Dukes with a general amnesty; Parma was surrendered, but was afterwards retained on the recommendation of Russia. The Papal States were to have reforms, the Legations a separate administration. The articles were communicated to the King, who consented to them because he could not do otherwise.

It is easy to blame Napoleon. There is no doubt he eagerly desired that Italy should possess Venetia and the Quadrilateral, but circumstances were too strong for him, and it was impossible to continue the war. How did Cavour receive the news? We will use the narrative of the Countess Martinengo Cesaresco, who was probably well informed, and is certainly wise and temperate.

"Cavour," she wrote, "rushed from Turin to Desenzano, where he arrived the day before the final meeting between Napoleon and Francis Joseph. He waited for a carriage in the little café in the piazza. No one guessed who it was, and conversation went on uninterrupted; it was full of sneers at the French Emperor. Mazzini, someone said, was right; this was the way the war was sure to end. When a shabby conveyance had at length been found, the great statesman drove to Monzambano. There, of course, his arrival did not escape notice, and all who saw him were horrified at the change that had come over his face. Instead of the jovial, witty smile, there was a look of frantic rage and desperation.

"What passed between him and his Sovereign is partly a matter of conjecture; the exact sense of the violent words into which grief betrayed him is lost, in spite of the categorical versions of the interview which have been printed. Even in a fit of madness he can hardly have spoken some of the words attributed to him. That he advised the King to withdraw his army and abdicate rather than agree to the treason which was being plotted behind his back seems past doubting. It is said that, after attempting in vain to calm him, Victor Emmanuel brought the interview to a sudden close.

"Cavour came out of the house flushed and exhausted, and drove back to Desenzano: he had resigned office. Kossuth relates that on July 14th Cavour said in his presence, to Pietri, the private secretary of Napoleon, that there was one thing in which a man can never compromise, and that was honour. 'Your Emperor has dishonoured me; he gave me his word that he would not desist till he had driven the Austrians out of Italy, and he took Savoy and Nice as a recompense. I persuaded my King to consent, to make the sacrifice, for Italy. My King, a good and honest man, consented, trusting to my word, and now the Emperor

carries off the recompense and leaves us in the lurch. Certainly—I say it not before you, but before God—this peace shall never be concluded, this treaty shall never be executed. I will make myself a conspirator, a revolutionary. No, this treaty shall never be executed. No, a thousand times no! Never, never!' "

After all, what happened was probably for the best. Another Solferino might have driven the Austrians from Italy and established a powerful kingdom in northern Italy; but it would have left the rest of the peninsula under the virtual government of the Dukes and established a confederation, which would have made the unity of Italy difficult. The Peace of Villafranca was really the salvation of Italy. Otherwise Italy would have remained under the influence of France, and the other Powers of Europe would have looked upon the new kingdom as the creation of that country. As it was, both Prussia and Great Britain began to consider the unity of Italy as coming within the range of practical politics. The restoration of Italy—advanced a step further in 1866, completed in 1870—was to await the consecration of other efforts, if it should become a fabric resting on natural forces, and of such a character as to endure the shocks of circumstance and time.

CHAPTER II

THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA

THE Civil War in America between the Northern and Southern States arose out of the question of slavery. It will, therefore, be well to give a short history of this question from the time at which our narrative opens—the year 1815. At that date all the Eastern Middle States, excepting Delaware, were non-Slavery, or, as they were called in America, Free Soil. Slavery was prohibited in the North-West Territory, American citizens were forbidden to engage in the slave trade of foreign countries, subjects of foreign countries were prohibited from engaging in the American slave trade, and the importation of slaves into the United States was forbidden by law. Of the twenty-two States which, before 1820, composed the Union, eleven were slave-holding and eleven free, so that the two principles were equally represented in the Senate. In 1821 the State of Missouri was created, lying west of Mississippi, and being part of the Louisiana Reserve, in which slavery had been left an open question. Missouri had wished to be a slave State, but the Anti-Slavery party were determined that it should not be. A fierce struggle went on, and in 1820 the famous Missouri Compromise was effected, by which Missouri was admitted to be known as a slave-holding State, but in all the rest of the Louisiana Reserve slavery was "for ever prohibited." A few months previously Maine had been admitted as a free State, so that the balance in the Senate was preserved.

Hostility to slavery as a moral and political wrong now spread widely and grew in intensity. A paper, called the *Liberator*, urging the abolition of slavery, was established at Boston by William Lloyd Garrison. Although violently attacked by the slave-holding States, Garrison gathered round him a band of abolitionists, and in 1832 founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society. The dissensions between the slave-holders and the abolitionists came to a head about the admission of Texas to the Union, which was finally settled in December, 1845. Texas, a slave-holding State, had been, first, part of the Mexican Confederation and then independent, and by its adherence to the Union slavery became illegal. The admission of Texas also led to a war

with Mexico. At last, in 1850, feeling rose so high that there was grave danger that the Union would be broken up; and Henry Clay, who, after an absence of eight years, had come back to the Senate, bent all his talents and energies to the effecting of a compromise.

Gold had been discovered in California, and it became necessary to admit that territory to the Union. Should it be slave or free? If it were free it would destroy the balance in the Senate, making sixteen free to fifteen slave-holding States. A similar difficulty arose about the admission of the Mormon State of Deseret or Utah, which had formed part of Mexico. The Wilmot Proviso, discussed in 1848, laid down that any State formed out of territory acquired from Mexico should be Free Soil. The South threatened secession if this were applied to New Mexico and Utah. The South, further, demanded more stringent legislation for the capture and return of fugitive slaves, and the North insisted on the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

Clay proposed, as a compromise, that California should be admitted as a free State, that New Mexico and Utah should be made Territories without restriction of slavery, that the boundary between Texas and New Mexico should be settled, that slavery should not be abolished in the District of Columbia without the consent of the inhabitants or without compensation, and that more effectual provision should be made by law for the return of fugitive slaves. These resolutions were referred to a committee of thirteen, and eventually, after much discussion and some amendments, were adopted.

If the cause of abolition were growing in the North, the South had good reason for resisting it. The possession of slaves gave her leisure, as it gave leisure to the Greeks, and fostered the growth of a ruling class, so that the Southern half of the Union was regarded as the mother of statesmen, born with the instinct for and the habit of leadership. The makers of America—Madison, Washington and Jefferson—came from the South. Virginian statesmen had held the Presidency for thirty-two out of the first forty years of the existence of the Union. Throughout American history the South had played a part, in the contest of parties, out of proportion to her importance in wealth and population.

Now the South was losing her pre-eminence. She had no manufactures and few immigrants, while the growth of industries and the influence of foreign immigrants were enhancing, every

year, the power and prosperity of the North. As time went on, the pressure of these forces became more intense. The population of the United States increased everywhere else by leaps and bounds, but in the South remained stationary. While the rest of the country gained each year new sources of wealth and power, none came to the South. Even her own population left her for the West and North. In obedience to such forces, the conditions of political parties began to change.

From the Presidency of Washington to that of Monroe the country had been governed, much as Great Britain was governed, by the advice of a few distinguished leaders and conference between the most prominent members of the two Houses of Congress. A change set in on the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828, and the old order disappeared for ever. The nominating convention by which Presidents are still virtually elected dates from 1832, and was finally consolidated during the next twenty years. The effect of this change upon the question of slavery was very serious. A strong feeling against slavery grew up. There was no desire to abolish it in the States where it was already established, for it was admitted that this would be a violation of the Constitution, but there was an extension of the Free Soil feeling, a determination that slavery should hold no part in any new additions to the United States. In every extension towards the west this question had to be fought out. It was always open, and could never be closed so long as there was new land to be occupied.

The Democrats succeeded the Whigs as leaders of the South, as the champions of wise compromise and progressive Conservatism, and it took some time to form a party which could effectually oppose them. The Whigs had been defeated by the election of Franklin Pierce to the Presidency in 1852, and the American Party, or "Know-Nothings," took their place. For the next eight critical years politics were in a very confused condition, but the Anti-Slavery cause steadily gained in power. Its supporters were irritated by the purchase by Pierce of a territory in Mexico which it would be difficult to rescue from the grasp of slavery. The creation of the new Territories of Kansas and Nebraska led to a serious conflict. Should the new territories be Free Soil, in accordance with the Missouri Compromise, or decide for themselves whether they should hold slaves or not? This was, and remained, the burning question, even after the Nebraska Territory had been opened conditionally to slavery by the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854.

In 1856 the Republican party was formed in opposition to the Democrats; it united the men of very different opinions, but was essentially Anti-Slavery. It had a majority in fifteen States, eleven votes in the Senate, and 117 members in the House of Representatives. The Presidential election of 1856 was a contest between the Democrats and the Republicans. The Democrats elected James Buchanan, a strong supporter of the South, who remained President till 1861. The irritation of the Republicans against Democratic supremacy was stimulated by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott, which was decidedly favourable to slavery, and by opening the Nebraska Territories unconditionally to slavery, knocked the bottom out of the Missouri Compromise.

The contest of the two parties came to a head in Illinois, when Douglas, the advocate of State rights with regard to slavery, and father of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, was standing against Abraham Lincoln for election to the Senate. Lincoln stated the issue with his usual force and acuteness: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. . . . . I do not expect the house will fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." Douglas was victorious, but the moral victory was on the side of Lincoln. He had become known all over the country and was in the running for the Presidency.

Still Buchanan continued the struggle, strongly advocating the acquisition of Cuba, which would mean an extension of slave territory, and desiring acquisitions in Mexico and in the Isthmus of Panama. The South began to threaten disruption, while the North opposed even more passionately the predominance of slavery. On October 16th, 1859, took place the raid of John Brown at Harper's Ferry in Virginia, for the purpose of liberating the slaves and bringing about a servile insurrection. Though he was hanged, he was a noble and courageous enthusiast, and the flame he kindled spread until it set the whole country in a blaze.

In these circumstances came the Presidential election of 1860. The Democrats were divided against themselves; one section nominated Stephen A. Douglas as candidate, another section John C. Breckinridge. The Republicans voted solid for Lincoln, who was elected President by 180 votes; while his three opponents, —for John Bell, of Tennessee, had been added to the other two— only claimed 103 among them. At the same time, the popular vote, when analysed, showed that it was a narrow victory; indeed, the actual votes supporting Lincoln were nearly 1,000,000 less

than those cast for his opponents. Nevertheless, the South felt the defeat to be irreparable, and determined to sever their connection with the Northern States.

The Legislature of South Carolina had remained in session to hear the results of the election. When it knew that Lincoln was certain to be elected it summoned a constitutional Convention and renounced the Union, and before Lincoln was inaugurated in his office six other States had followed its example—namely, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas. On December 14th a number of the slave State senators and representatives in Congress issued a manifesto from Washington calling on their constituents to organise a Southern Confederacy and asking each slave-holding State to separate from the Union. President Buchanan, it must be added, made no attempt to prevent the secession of the States. The next step was to seize the forts, arsenals, and custom houses belonging to the Federal or central Government. However, Major Anderson, who commanded a garrison of about sixty men in Fort Moultrie on the mainland, and was not able to hold it, transferred his force by a sudden movement to Fort Sumter, which was situated in the middle of Charleston Harbour, and could not be approached except by water. The capture of Fort Sumter was the first action of the Civil War. As it refused to surrender, the Confederate batteries opened fire upon it on April 12th, 1861, and on April 14th the fort surrendered and the garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, no life having been lost on either side.

Although Lincoln was chosen President in November, 1860, he did not enter upon his office till March 4th, 1861, and during this period Buchanan was responsible for the maintenance of the Government and Constitution of the country. He was quite unequal to the emergency. He denied the right of the South to secede, but also declared his inability to coerce, and continued to offend both sides equally. The South, in the meantime, had not been idle, and her representatives gradually withdrew from the Senate and Congress. On February 14th they formed a provisional Government under the title of the Confederate States of America, and on March 11th adopted a permanent Constitution under the same name, Jefferson Davis being chosen President.

Lincoln was inaugurated as President on March 4th, 1861. In his address he declared the Union was perpetual and unbroken, and that the ordinances and resolutions of the secession Government were void in law, and promised to execute the law in all the

States. He concluded with an appeal to the South, saying: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, is the momentous issue of Civil War. You can have no conflict without yourselves being the aggressors." They shortly afterwards became the aggressors, as we have seen, by the attack on Fort Sumter.

On April 15th the President issued a proclamation calling out 75,000 militia for the service of the United States, and two days later Jefferson Davis, in a proclamation, offered to issue letters of marque and reprisal against Federal commerce. This was met by a counter-proclamation of Lincoln, declaring that the Southern States were in a state of revolution, and that privateers would be subject to the laws against piracy. The response to Lincoln's appeal for volunteers was much larger and more unanimous than could have been expected. Recruiting offices were opened in every town, men of all sorts and conditions left their businesses to step into the ranks, and in a few days there were placed at the disposal of the Government several times as many troops as had been called for. All kinds of buildings, even churches, were turned into temporary barracks; village greens and city squares were occupied by drilling soldiers; but there was a great scarcity of arms.

The first blood was shed at Baltimore, where four companies of a Massachusetts regiment, who were attempting to march across the city, met a riotous procession carrying a Confederate flag. Some provocation being given, orders were issued to fire into the mob, and many fell. Three militiamen were killed, and their bodies were sent home to their native State, the firstfruits of a prolonged service of sacrifice. On the night of May 24th four regiments of Northern troops crossed the Potomac and took possession of Arlington Heights, which commanded Washington. One regiment, commanded by Ellsworth, who had distinguished himself by teaching a Chicago company the Zouave drill, marched to Alexandria, where a Secessional flag was flying over the principal hotel. Accompanied by two soldiers, he went to the top of the house and seized the flag, but as he was returning with it he was shot by the hotel-keeper on the stairs. Ellsworth became a hero of the national movement.

The militia called out by President Lincoln were at first to serve only three months; but on May 3rd, by another proclamation, 42,000 volunteers were summoned for three years. He also took power to raise ten new regiments for the regular army and 18,000 volunteer seamen for the navy. These steps involved a stretch of Presidential authority, but when Congress met on July

4th the President's action was confirmed. He then asked Congress for 400,000 men and 400,000,000 dollars, and received 500,000 men and 500,000,000. At the same time, the Confederates had established their capital at Richmond in Virginia. The Federal army became anxious for a forward movement, and a cry was raised, "On to Richmond!" Some experienced officers, such as General Scott, were opposed to undertaking an offensive movement with raw troops, and advised that operations should for the moment be confined to the protection of Washington, the capital, and the retention of Maryland. However, the three months' term of the seventy-five militia regiments was rapidly running out, and political considerations seemed to require vigorous military action.

The Confederate army under Beauregard had been sent to occupy Manassas Junction, which was the railway centre of Northern Virginia. His army was 22,000 strong, and McDowell was sent to attack it with a force of 30,000 men. He started on his expedition on July 16th. The Southern army had some field works at Manassas, armed with fifteen heavy guns and garrisoned with 2,000 men; but Beauregard's main strength was posted along the south side of a stream called Bull Run, flowing in a south-easterly direction, about three miles east of Manassas. On July 17th the Confederate army was distributed along this space, seven or eight miles in extent, a brigade being posted at each passage of the river, two brigades being held behind in reserve. The Federal army in the field was commanded by McDowell, and his plan was to turn Beauregard's right flank, to seize the railway in the rear of his position, and so to defeat him. It was important that Beauregard should not be assisted by Joseph E. Johnston, who had an army of 9,000 men in the Shenandoah Valley, and Patterson had been told off to prevent this junction.

McDowell reached Bull Run on July 18th, and the first engagement took place at Blackburn's Ford with the loss of about sixty men on each side. McDowell then determined to attack on the left wing, partly because he wished to secure the Manassas Gap railway, so as to prevent the junction of Johnston and Beauregard. Two days were spent in seeking for a passage higher up the river, and such a passage was found at a place called Sudley's Ford. The battle took place on Sunday, July 21st, the Federal army advancing three divisions, towards Mitchell's Ford on the right, Stone Bridge in the centre, and Sudley's Ford on the left, the reserve remaining at Centreville. McDowell, unaware that Johnston had succeeded in evading Patterson and had joined

Beauregard with part of his forces on the previous day, made a feint upon Stone Bridge; but the bulk of his force marched to Sudley's Ford, which was two miles and a half distant. He passed the river without opposition, but was soon met by the Confederates coming from Stone Bridge. The rest of the Federal army remained on the left bank of the stream. The Confederates fell back and established themselves on better ground, more capable of defence, and also received reinforcements from the right, whereas the Federal army became separated and fought in detachments.

In the early afternoon a brigade, 5,000 strong, arrived by rail, formed at right angles to the Federal right, and fell upon it at about 4 in the afternoon. The Federals broke and fled over the Bull Run, but the Confederate reserves, crossing the river, advanced upon Centreville and threatened the reserves posted there and the line of retreat, so that the retreat degenerated into a rout and a race for Washington. Arms and accoutrements were thrown away, drivers of army wagons cut the traces, leaped upon the backs of horses, and rode through the crowd of fugitives, abandoning guns and trains. The loss of the Confederates was about 1,900, that of the Federals 1,500 killed and wounded and as many more taken prisoners. The Confederates remained in possession of the battlefield for weeks. The Confederates were as much surprised as the Federals themselves at their sudden victory, and there was little pursuit. Sherman, who commanded a brigade in the Federal Army, said, "It was one of the best planned battles in the war, but one of the worst fought"; while Johnston declared, "If the tactics of the Federals had been equal to their strategy we should have been beaten."

The victory of Bull Run produced a feeling of wild excitement in the South, and helped to cherish the confidence that it would eventually lead to independence. On the other hand, it was a bitter disappointment and profound humiliation to the North. Lincoln and Congress had not expected anything of the kind. Scott, their general, had confidently looked forward to victory. Indeed, the result would have been different if Patterson had succeeded in holding back Johnston at Winchester. Several members of Congress had gone to the front, to be present at the battle, and one of them was taken prisoner and kept for several months in confinement at Richmond. But in spite of the sense of chagrin the defeat at Bull Run had the effect of deepening the zeal, courage and determination of the Government, Congress, the army, and the nation at large.

McCLELLAN TAKES COMMAND

General McClellan was now summoned to Washington, owing to the retirement of Scott through age and infirmity, and in a short time formed what was afterwards known as the Army of the Potomac out of the new regiments of three-year volunteers who were passing into the capital. McClellan had gained a brilliant success in West Virginia, having captured seven guns, the greater part of the camp equipment and baggage of the Confederates, together with nearly 1,000 men, his own loss having been under fifty. His arrival at Washington roused warm enthusiasm. He had in his favour youth, industry, and a winning personality. He wrote, "By some strange operation of magic I seem to have become the power of the land. They give me my way in everything, full swing, and unbounded confidence." Unfortunately this too sympathetic treatment engendered an exaggerated self-esteem which did not escape the notice of Lincoln; but, for the moment, his countrymen regarded him as a young Napoleon. He succeeded Scott as Commander-in-Chief, and thus had control over all the forces of the Union, with an army of nearly 125,000 effective soldiers under his personal command, thoroughly organised, drilled, and armed.

The popular hero, however, remained in irritating inactivity. The only serious force opposed to him was the Confederate army of less than 50,000 men, under Johnston, who had planned several offensive movements, but had not been able to carry them out for want of troops. Although McClellan was superior to the enemy immediately in front of him by three to one, the best season for operations was allowed to pass away. At the end of October, 1861, he determined to send a strong reconnaissance to Leesburg, to gain the position of the enemy and cross the Potomac into Maryland. The expedition ended in complete disaster. The Federal troops gave way before their opponents, broke, and ran towards the river, swarmed down the steep bluff, pursued by the Confederates, who shot and bayoneted them as they ran. They crowded along the bank of the river, throwing away arms, accoutrements, and clothing; indeed, nearly half the force engaged was either killed or captured.

Such was the disaster of Ball's Bluff, and it had an exasperating effect on public opinion. When Congress met in December, it created a Joint War Committee of the two Houses, which played an important part throughout the whole war by its examination into and criticism of military affairs. In the meantime, the Confederates established batteries on the Virginian side of the Potomac, thus creating an almost complete blockade of the river.

Finally, McClellan's army went into winter quarters, and the general himself fell ill. In January, 1862, Lincoln said that if something were not done soon the bottom would be out of the whole affair, and that if General McClellan did not want to use the army he would like to borrow it, provided he could see how it could be made to do something.

At this time an event occurred which, while it relieved the tension in the North, threatened to disturb the peaceful relations with Great Britain. When the war broke out Great Britain determined to take up a position of strict neutrality, and recognised the Southern States as belligerent. The popular feeling in Great Britain probably favoured the South, although the more intellectual and more cultivated part of the nation espoused the cause of the North. This support of the Confederates was partly due to the fact that the blockade of the Southern ports deprived Lancashire of the cotton which was the foundation of its prosperity.

The Federals were naturally annoyed at this attitude. Knowing the passionate hatred which Great Britain had always shown towards slavery, and the sacrifices she had made for the extermination of the trade in slaves and for the abolition of slavery in her colonies, they thought that she would take the side of those who were contending against slavery, and would not have recognised a slave-holding power as belligerent. The North naturally complained that this action had converted civil into international war. Towards the close of 1861, Captain Wilkes, an officer of the United States Navy, stopped a Royal Mail steamer, called the *Trent*, on her voyage from Havana to England, and arrested two Southerners, Mason and Slidell, who were on their way to represent the Confederate States at London and Paris. The Cabinet at once decided that this insult to the British flag must be made good, and sent a large expedition to Canada. There was considerable danger of a war, which, however, was averted by moderation on both sides of the Atlantic. In England, at a Privy Council, held at Windsor just before his death, the Prince Consort suggested a modification of a dispatch, by the insertion in it of the belief that the action of Captain Wilkes had neither been directed, nor approved of, by his Government, and in this view Lincoln had the wisdom to acquiesce.

Before we proceed to narrate the further events of the war, it will be well to give a sketch of the geographical areas in which the principal struggles took place. For this purpose we may divide the territory of the United States into three great sections, the first extending from the eastern coast to the Alleghany Mountains,

the second from these mountains to the Mississippi, and the third from the Mississippi to the western coast. But besides the battles fought in these regions, a most important incident in the war was the strict blockade of the eastern coast, which extended from Chesapeake Bay to the mouth of the Rio Grande, on the western shore of the Gulf of Mexico. This not only prevented foreign ships from landing arms or munitions of war for the South, but also prevented Confederate vessels from carrying cotton for sale to Europe. It had a serious effect on the social and political life of the South, which was deprived of the enjoyment of foreign products and lost its credit in the world.

Of the three geographical sections mentioned, the first was the most important. The two capitals of the belligerent Powers were Washington on the Potomac and Richmond on the James River in Virginia, only 115 miles from each other. It was the business of the Federals to defend the one and capture the other, their efforts to effect the latter object leading to the most important battles of the war, the action of the Federals, in consequence of their superior numbers, being almost always aggressive.

The determining influence in the other two sections was the Mississippi, which divided them. On this river were situated the two great commercial cities of the west—St. Louis, which belonged to the Federals, and New Orleans, which belonged to the Confederates. There was, therefore, a constant struggle for the possession of the Mississippi. The Confederates, who had the advantage of possession, did their best to fortify the waterway at the best available points; but the Federals had the advantage that the State of Illinois, which was part of their territory, reached down between the Ohio and the Mississippi to their junction at Cairo, which was farther south than any other part of the Northern dominions. Moreover, the Northern States in this region were especially populous and energetic. It follows, therefore, that the operations of the war after 1861 were devoted to three main objects—the maintenance of the blockade, the capture of Richmond, and the conquest of the Mississippi.

In our narrative we shall pursue mainly a chronological order and begin with the events which led to the Battle of Shiloh. The command in the west was now held by Halleck, who had succeeded Fremont. He had been ordered by McClellan to concentrate the mass of the troops on or near the Mississippi, in order to undertake operations from Cairo to the Gulf of Mexico. From Cairo to the sea the Mississippi pursues a winding course of nearly 1,100 miles, in which it only falls 322 feet. It flows through an alluviae

valley enclosed on each side by bluffs or hills, which approach the river only at a few points, and therefore afford only occasional opportunities for fortification. In order to capture the upper reaches of the river, the Confederates had advanced into Kentucky to seize and fortify the Heights of Columbus, twenty miles below Cairo, which they did so effectually that it became known as "the Gibraltar of the West." Buell commanded in Kentucky, but did not get on with Halleck. On January 7th, 1862, Lincoln was obliged to interfere, and sent an identical despatch to both, ordering them to act together and to name a day when they would be able to march southwards in concert, as delay was ruining the cause and it was indispensable to secure definite results.

On the previous day Halleck had ordered Ulysses S. Grant, a subordinate general, posted at Cairo, to make a demonstration with land forces and gunboats against Columbus, and also to examine Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. Observation convinced Grant that it was possible to break through the Confederate lines on the Tennessee. After obtaining permission with difficulty, he captured Fort Henry after an hour's bombardment on February 6th, and assaulted Fort Donelson on February 15th. Next morning Buckner, who was in command, proposed an armistice to arrange terms of capitulation. To this Grant replied, "No terms other than an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately on your works." Buckner at once surrendered the fort with its garrison of 14,000 men. This led to the evacuation of Columbus.

In March there took place the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. The latter vessel was really a steamer that had been sunk at Norfolk and been raised by the Confederates, who had transformed it into an ironclad. The *Monitor* was altogether novel in design, Southern officers describing her as "a tin can on a raft." When fighting she showed nothing above water but a low hull, well protected by armour, a circular turret plated with iron and carrying two heavy smooth-bore guns, and a low conning-tower in front—of course, a dangerous type in an open sea. The *Merrimac* had four rifled and six smooth-bore guns of heavy calibre. She had attacked the Northern fleet and done considerable damage to the wooden vessels; but on March 9th her career was effectually checked by the *Monitor*. The duel, indeed, was indecisive; but the further destruction of the fleet was stopped. The *Merrimac* was destroyed by the Confederates in May, and the *Monitor* foundered in December, with the loss of some of her men;

but she had done her work by preventing the breaking of the blockade. The battle is important in history as the first action fought between armoured steamships.

Two days later, on March 11th, Lincoln issued his War Office Order No. 9, relieving McClellan from the command, entrusting him with the campaign against Richmond, and forming the Department of the Mississippi, which was placed under Halleck. The latter now undertook an expedition into Tennessee, which led to the Battle of Shiloh, one of the bloodiest of the war, called after a little log church in the south-west of that State. The Confederate general, Albert S. Johnston, was at this time posted at Corinth with a large force. This place, situated in Northern Mississippi, had been fortified as a position of great importance, being the point where the Memphis and Charleston Railway is crossed by the Mobile and Ohio Railway.

Grant moved forward to attack Corinth, with 40,000 men, expecting to be joined by a similar force from Nashville. On April 6th he had reached Pittsburg Landing, on the west bank of the broad Tennessee river, about twenty miles north of Corinth. One portion of his army was at Crump's Landing, about five miles to the north, and the force expected from Nashville had just reached the shore of this river opposite to the landing. All Grant's troops were comparatively raw, two divisions having never been under fire. They possessed courage enough, but had not learnt the necessity of precaution. They were so intent upon an advance that they had made no preparations for defence. Sherman wrote, "At a later period of the war we should have made this position impregnable in one night." On the morning of Sunday, April 6th, they were suddenly attacked by 40,000 troops under Johnston, who had, during the last two days, marched from Corinth. The battle lasted the whole day, and the field was hotly contested; but, on the whole, the Confederates steadily gained ground. One Federal division was captured, but Johnston himself was killed. When the battle ended the Federal line had been driven back two miles. Grant said of the battlefield, "It was so covered with dead that it would have been possible to walk across the clearing in any direction, stepping on dead bodies, without a foot touching the ground." On one side of it Federal and Confederate troops were mingled together in nearly equal proportions, but on the rest of the field nearly all were Confederates.

During the night the Nashville contingent, commanded by Buell, crossed the river, and at daylight Grant renewed the attack. Beauregard, who had replaced Johnston, must have known that

resistance was hopeless, but did his best to hold the road which passes by Shiloh Church in order to secure his retreat. Sherman advanced and recaptured his camp, which had been taken on the previous day, and around Shiloh Church the battle raged with the greatest fury. At last Beauregard withdrew, leaving his dead on the field, and there was no attempt at pursuit. In the battle Sherman, commanding a division, especially distinguished himself. The losses were large: the number of killed and wounded was about the same on either side, the Federal loss being, if anything, the heavier, while they also had 2,000 more men missing than the Confederates. After the battle Halleck laid siege to Corinth, which was defended by Beauregard and not evacuated till May 29th. By some authorities the Battle of Shiloh has been thought to be the turning point of the war, as it opened for the Federals the way to the sea, and an army could not be prevented now from marching to the rear of the Confederates and cutting off the supplies of the troops who held Richmond, thus compelling their surrender. The loss of Johnston was very serious; had he survived he might have turned the fortune of the war.

Nor was Shiloh the sole success of the Federals at this period, for Admiral Farragut succeeded in capturing New Orleans, by far the largest and most influential city in the Confederacy, and a point of the highest strategical importance. Farragut was a Southerner by birth, but from conscientious reasons had taken the side of the North. He opened the bombardment from his fleet on April 18th, and continued it for six days and nights. Six thousand shells fell in and near the forts, St. Philip and Jackson, which, garrisoned by 1,500 Confederate soldiers, defended the city towards the sea. A shell fell about every minute and a half, but the forts were not rendered untenable, nor their guns silenced, although more than fifty of the defenders were killed and wounded. In the meantime the Confederates had prepared fireships, flat-bottomed boats loaded with dry wood and turpentine, which they lighted and sent down the stream. Farragut, however, intercepted them and disposed of them without suffering damage.

He now formed the plan of running by the forts, destroying and capturing the Confederate fleet and bringing the city within range of his guns. He started on April 24th, just before sunrise, an opening being made in the chain which closed the harbour to let him through. Three of the ships in the rear failed to make the passage, but those that got through began at once to destroy the enemy's flotilla and then pushed on and took possession of New Orleans. The two forts, being isolated, surrendered to Farragut,

as he expected, on April 28th. The victory was one of first-rate consequence politically, as we are told by the envoy of the South in Paris that if New Orleans had not fallen the recognition of the Confederacy by France could not have been much longer delayed. This great feat, which sets the name of Farragut beside that of Grant, was accomplished with a loss to the fleet of only 37 killed, 147 wounded, and one small ship rammed and sunk.

We must now consider the operations against Richmond. On March 13th, 1862, it had been determined to attack the city by way of Fort Monroe. This plan was accepted by Lincoln on condition that Manassas were permanently occupied and the city of Washington made perfectly secure. The forces went down the Potomac in boats, and on April 5th there were concentrated at Monroe 121,500 men, with arsenals, wagons, batteries, pontoon bridges, and other requisites. McClellan arrived there on April 2nd, with the intention of leading the army up the peninsula between the York and James rivers. Had he moved at once he might possibly have taken Richmond without difficulty, but circumstances caused delay. On April 4th he marched with 50,000 men against Yorktown, which was defended by a comparatively small force. McClellan, instead of storming the place, laid regular siege to it, and on May 3rd, when he was ready to open the bombardment, Joseph Johnston, who was in command, stole away, leaving dummy guns in the embrasures. Johnston said that this delay not only saved Richmond, but gave the Confederates time to convert a handful of troops into an army. On May 5th McClellan fought another battle at Williamsburg, twelve miles distant. Both sides claimed the victory, but the loss of the Federals was greater than that of the Confederates, who retired without hindrance.

The Confederate army now went into camp about three miles from Richmond, and McClellan, advancing, placed his forces as a line about thirteen miles in length on the left bank of the Chickahominy. On May 31st he commanded 127,000 men; and Johnston, who opposed him, only 62,000. However, a violent storm gave the Confederates an opportunity of attacking a portion of the Federal army which was separated from the rest by water; but the ensuing battle at Fair Oaks was without decisive results, the Federals losing 5,000 and the Confederates 6,000 men. Late in the evening Johnston was seriously wounded, and his place as commander of the armies around Richmond was taken by Robert E. Lee in June, 1862. Lee was a Virginian, and had been marked out by Scott as a possible commander of the Federal

army; but on April 20th, 1861, he tendered his resignation and was placed in command of the Virginian troops who were fighting for the South. In course of time he became General-in-Chief of the Confederate armies. His ablest lieutenant was "Stonewall" Jackson, so called from an incident in the battle of Bull Run, where General Bee, of South Carolina, who was killed later in the day, rallied his wavering men by appealing to them to follow the example of Jackson's brigade, standing there "like a stone wall." Lee repeatedly astonished his adversaries by his marvellous rapidity and his appearances in unexpected places.

The beautiful valley of the Shenandoah, which lies between the Blue Mountains and the Alleghany Mountains, was favourable to an army threatening Washington, and unfavourable to one attacking Richmond; for the Confederates, as they marched down the valley, came at every step nearer to the Federal capital, whereas a Federal army marching up the valley was gradually carried farther and farther from Richmond. In the valley McDowell was opposed to Jackson, and there was a chance of Jackson being overwhelmed, but he contrived to escape and joined Lee at Richmond. Lee was making preparations for driving McClellan from the peninsula, and wrote to Jackson that unless McClellan could be driven out of his entrenchments he could come so near to Richmond that he would be able to bombard it. Pains were taken to conceal from the Federals the fact that Jackson's army was to join Lee's. The result of Lee's arrangements was the seven days' battle, which lasted from June 25th to July 1st, and ended in the retreat of McClellan from Richmond. As a preliminary, Lee, leaving about 30,000 men to defend Richmond, crossed the Chickahominy with 35,000, intending to join Jackson, who had 25,000, and with this overwhelming force suddenly attack the 20,000 men who were posted on the north side of the river, and, after destroying them, ere reinforcements could come up, capture McClellan's base. Jackson, for once in his life, was late, so that the plan failed, Lee losing 3,000 men.

Next day followed the Battle of Gaines Mills, also called the Battle of Chickahominy, or the first Battle of Cold Harbour, in which the Federal line was broken. After Jackson's arrival on the field, two Federal regiments were made prisoners and two guns were taken. McClellan now changed his base from the Chickahominy to the James River, where he was attacked by Magruder, who had been left behind at Richmond. The attack failed and the Federals were able to defend the road which led through White Oak Swamp. Jackson now crossed the Chicka-

hominy, and attempted to follow McClellan's rearguard through White Oak Swamp, but was unable to do so. Hill and Longstreet, however, had crossed the river, farther up the stream, and marched round the swamp, striking the retreating army near Charles City Cross Roads on June 30th. There was terrific fighting all the afternoon, but the Federal army held their ground. MacCall, however, was captured and carried off to Richmond. Darkness put an end to the fighting, and McClellan retreated to Malvern Hill, having lost two guns and suffered severely in other ways.

The last battle of the series was fought at Malvern Hill, where McClellan made his final stand. It is a plateau on the side of the James, about 80 feet high, a mile and a half long, and a mile broad, and can only be approached by the north-western face. McClellan's army was arranged in a semicircle, with the right wing thrown back so as to reach Harrison's Landing on the James. His position was strongly defended by artillery. Lee was not able to make the assault till July 1st. The battle began by an artillery duel, which was not very effective on the Confederate side. The infantry attack was made with too little regard for concentration, and, although fighting continued till 3 p.m., the line was never shaken nor were the guns in danger. The battle had cost Lee 5,000 men, and he desisted from the pursuit of the Northern army. McClellan retired during the night to Harrison's Landing, where he was protected by gunboats and had collected his supplies. The losses during the seven days' fighting were estimated at 15,000 on the Federal and over 19,000 on the Confederate side.

Lincoln now saw that nothing substantial could be effected unless the Northern army were very considerably increased, and he appealed to the Governors of the States for 300,000 volunteers. He also issued an order on July 11th constituting Halleck Commander-in-Chief of the land forces. The Army of the Potomac was withdrawn from Harrison's Landing and united with the Army of Virginia under Pope; while Lee, relieved from all fears about the safety of Richmond, assumed the offensive and marched against Pope.

From July 11th to November 7th numerous engagements took place between the two forces, one side eager to reach Richmond, the other Washington. Generally the advantage was with the Confederates, who had superior skill and dash but inferior numbers, yet Washington was never really in danger, and on several occasions greater energy on the part of the Federals might have achieved the entire defeat of the South.

McClellan's conduct of this campaign has been much discussed. It is alleged that he was dilatory, and that he overrated the strength of his adversaries and underrated his own, and later information seems to have strengthened the case against him. But it must be remembered that the Southern troops were, in the first place, more fit for war than the Northern. The position, indeed, resembled that of the Cavaliers and the Puritans in the Civil War in England. The South were mainly gentlemen, " men of a spirit," to use the expression of Cromwell, whereas the North needed much training and consolidation to bring them up to their level. McClellan's hesitation and delay may therefore have been justified; but Lincoln, having borne long with him and shown tenderness and patience towards him, at last gave way and put Burnside in his place. Nevertheless, whatever changes were made in the personnel of command, many engagements had to be fought—long, stubborn and bloody—ere the miserable struggle reached its end. One of the most important of them was the Second Battle of Bull Run. In the middle of August, 1862, Lee and Jackson had together a force of 70,000 men, whereas Pope, having only 50,000, retired beyond the Rappahannock. On August 25th, Jackson, with 18,000 men, moved up the Rappahannock and completed a circle round Pope's right. He then passed over the Bull Run Mountains and destroyed a railway station in the rear of the Federals. Pope marched against him and Jackson retired to Manassas Junction, where he took a number of prisoners and destroyed a quantity of commissariat stores. Pope, being reinforced by some of McClellan's army, sent McDowell, with 40,000 men, to intercept Lee, who was marching to join Jackson, and himself advanced against Jackson. This gave Lee the opportunity of meeting Jackson, which McDowell had been powerless to prevent. The consequence was that, on August 30th, Lee was able to attack Pope and inflict a severe defeat upon him, causing him heavy loss. After this battle Pope's army crossed the Bull Run at Stone Bridge and encamped upon the heights round Centreville, but afterwards fell back still farther and occupied Fairfax Court House and Germantown. Lee now attempted to cut Pope off from Washington, and the latter was forced to withdraw to the fortifications of Washington, where his army became merged in that of the Potomac. Lee claimed that in these operations he had captured 9,000 prisoners and 30 guns, and Pope's killed and wounded could not have fallen short of 10,000 men.

Lee now crossed the Potomac and marched into Maryland, by way of Leesburg and Frederick, issuing a proclamation to the

inhabitants to join the Confederacy; but the appeal was without result, as all Marylanders who intended to join the South had already done so. He also hoped he might gain a decisive battle over McClellan, advance into Pennsylvania, occupy Philadelphia, and dictate peace in Independence Hall. McClellan arrived at Frederick on September 12th, two days after Lee had left it. Here he found a sketch of the campaign which Lee had drawn up, from which he learned that Lee had divided his forces, leaving some in Maryland and sending others across the Potomac to capture Harper's Ferry, which was effected by Jackson. Eleven thousand men were taken in the capitulation, with 73 guns and much camp equipage.

The Battle of Antietam was fought on September 17th, 1862. Lee's forces numbered 40,000 men. He occupied a strong position, both wings resting on the Potomac and the Antietam Creek flowed in front. The creek was passable by four stone bridges and a ford, all, except the most northerly bridge, strongly guarded. McClellan determined to throw his right wing over the unguarded bridge, assail the Confederate left, and then force the remaining bridges with his left and centre. The struggle went on all day without any very definite results. About noon Burnside carried the bridge opposite to him, and attacked the Confederate right, taking a battery on the ridge. Lee, however, came up with fresh forces, drove Burnside from his position, and retook the battery. The Battle of Antietam was at first regarded as a Federal victory, and it certainly caused the Confederates heavy losses and stopped all ideas of invading Maryland and Pennsylvania; but, in reality, it was a drawn battle, both sides having suffered equally, and neither being able to resume the struggle.

Lee withdrew to Winchester, and McClellan took up his position on the Potomac. Here, at the beginning of October, he was visited by Lincoln, who urged him to cross the Potomac, give battle to the enemy, and drive him south. Lincoln said, "Your army must move now, while the roads are good. If you cross the river between the enemy and Washington, and cover the capital with your operations, you can be reinforced with 30,000 men." McClellan, however, remained inactive, saying that his army was in need of shoes and clothing. At last, on October 26th, he did cross the Potomac, and marched southwards, on the eastern side of the Blue Mountains, while Lee moved parallel with him on the western side. But nothing decisive was done, and on November 7th, the President, as we have seen, relieved McClellan and put Burnside in his place.

Burnside was a graduate of the West Point Academy, and had at first devoted himself to civil pursuits, but had re-entered the army at the beginning of the war. Besides his military training, he had a handsome person and winning disposition. He undertook the command of the Army of the Potomac reluctantly, as he doubted his ability to perform the duty, and it was only when urged by McClellan, who was a valued friend, that he consented. Burnside, after reorganising his army into three great divisions, under Sumner, Hooker and Franklin, aimed straight at Richmond and set out for that place by the north bank of the Rappahannock and the city of Fredericksburg. Lee immediately marched to cover the Confederate capital, and stationed his army on the heights south and west of Fredericksburg, which he strongly fortified. His line was 5½ miles long, but it was very strongly defended.

Burnside did not succeed in crossing the Rappahannock till December 12th, being much impeded by Lee's fire, and next day proceeded to attack the heights on which the whole of the Confederate army was concentrated, Longstreet being on the right and Jackson on the left, with every gun in position. The attack, which was not delivered at the right place, was a complete failure. At one spot the advance was made along a road with a wall on one side, and the Confederate army was so numerous that each man posted at the wall had two or three men behind him to load his muskets, and all he had to do was to lay them in turn upon the wall and fire them rapidly without exposing himself. At last nearly half the attacking force was shot down and the rest retired. Burnside, in great wrath at his ill success, ordered Hooker to advance with the reserve. He reluctantly obeyed after a remonstrance, and lost 1,700 dead and wounded out of 4,000. After he had been completely defeated, Burnside was anxious to make another attack next day, but was dissuaded by Sumner. He recrossed the Rappahannock in the night of December 15th during a storm, and the campaign was at an end. In the attack on Fredericksburg the Federals had lost 12,353 men and the Confederates 4,201.

This defeat was so disastrous and so discreditable to Burnside's military capacity that Lincoln ordered him to make no other move without his knowledge. However, on January 21st, 1863, he started his army on what was afterwards known as "the Mud March," because it was cut short by a rain-storm which rendered the roads impassable. The soldiers blessed an intervention of Nature for saving them from massacre. Burnside quarrelled with his officers and sent in his resignation, and Lincoln, seeing that

reconciliation was hopeless, relieved him and appointed Hooker in his place.

He did this in a most characteristic letter: "I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appear to me sufficient reasons, and yet I think it right for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which, of course, I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not indispensable, quality. You are ambitious, which within reasonable bounds does rather good than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honourable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the Government needed a dictator. Of course, it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up as dictators. What I ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The Government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for its commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have assisted to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you, as far as I can, to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now, beware of rashness. Beware of rashness. But with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories."

Hooker was not a much greater success in the field than Burnside had been. It is said he planned well but fought badly. After spending some time in restoring the relaxed discipline of the Army of the Potomac, he opened the spring campaign with every prospect of success. Lee remained entrenched at Fredericksburg, and Hooker, by April 30th, 1863, had collected four army corps at Chancellorsville, eleven miles distant, to attack his rear. Lee, however, brought his troops up from Fredericksburg and extended them in front of Hooker. He then organised a flanking movement under Stonewall Jackson, which surrounded the Federal right and, by a furious attack, threw it into great disorder. After a series of battles which lasted four days Hooker was entirely

defeated; but in one of the battles, which were called by the collective name of Chancellorsville, Stonewall Jackson was killed. Riding forward in front of his troops, he came between the fire of both sides, and was shot by accident by his own troops. He was carried into the hospital and his arm amputated, but he died within the week.

After these successes public opinion in the South began to demand that Lee should invade the North, or at least threaten Washington. His army had been reinforced by Longstreet; losses had been supplied by a levy of conscripts, which called even boys of sixteen from school; and the army had unbounded confidence in itself. Vicksburg, on the Mississippi, was being besieged by Grant, and its fall would deal a severe blow to the Confederacy unless it were neutralised by a victory in the east. There was, moreover, the hope that, if a great battle were won by the Confederates they would receive recognition, if not active assistance, from Great Britain and France. For these reasons Lee began his northward march in the beginning of June and invaded Pennsylvania.

Hooker at first thought that this would be a good opportunity for a dash at Richmond, but Lincoln disapproved of the plan and advised Hooker, in case he found Lee moving to the north of the Rappahannock, not to cross to the south of it. "I would not take any risk," he wrote, "of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence, and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other. I think Lee's army, and not Richmond, is the best objective point." Hooker took the President's advice and began well, but after a time dissensions between the commanders broke out and Hooker asked to be relieved of his command. Lincoln, knowing that harmony and effective co-operation were of final importance, appointed Meade in his stead.

Lee continuing his advance, a contest took place at Gettysburg on July 3rd. Both armies were in full force, and both felt that the impending struggle would be not only of a decisive character, but probably determine the result of the war. The forces were posted on opposite elevations—the Federals on the Cemetery Ridge, the Confederates on the Seminary Ridge. The early part of the day was spent in ominous silence, and the battle did not begin till 1 o'clock. For two hours there was a furious cannonade from ridge to ridge, the continuous and deafening roar being audible fifty miles away. The shot and shell tore up the ground and shattered gravestones, the fragments of

which, flying among the troops, exploded caissons and dismounted guns.

Lee now organised his attack and, forming 15,000 of his best troops in long columns, moved forward to the charge. They had to cross a mile of open ground, but before they had got halfway over the Federal artillery ploughed through and through the ranks; the gaps were filled up and the columns did not halt. As they drew nearer the batteries used grape and canister, and some infantry poured volleys of musketry into their right flank. The principal attack was directed towards the now famous "clump of trees" in a depression in Cemetery Ridge, and it was here that "Pickett's Charge" was made—a brave but ill-judged onslaught against superior odds that resulted in fearful loss.

The result of this battle was the entire defeat of the Confederates. Of the magnificent columns which left the Seminary Ridge, only a broken fragment returned, nearly every officer, excepting Pickett, having been killed or wounded. Lee gave orders for a retreat during the night, and next day the Confederates retired, first to Hagerstown and then across the Potomac. The retreat was very pitiful, as the roads were in a bad condition. Few of the wounded had been properly cared for, and, as they were jolted along in agony, they groaned, cursed, babbled of their homes, and called upon their mates to put them out of their misery, while there was also constant apprehension of an attack in the rear. The loss of the Confederates was 36,000 killed, wounded, and missing; that of the Federals 23,000. Lee left 7,000 of his wounded amongst the unburied dead, and 37,000 muskets were picked up on the field.

On the very day of Lee's retreat, July 4th, Vicksburg, on the Mississippi, the largest town in the State of Mississippi, surrendered. It is situated on a high bluff, overlooking the river, whence it makes a sharp bend, ending in a long, narrow peninsula. Farragut, after he had captured New Orleans in April, 1862, went up the river in May and demanded its surrender, but the demand was refused and the town could not be captured without a land force. The attack was renewed at the end of 1862 by Grant and Sherman, but serious operations were not begun till the spring of 1863.

Grant then undertook a new plan. Porter, who commanded the fleet, ran past the Vicksburg batteries with a number of his vessels, and Grant marched his army by a very circuitous route of seventy miles down the western bank of the river. At last he reached a place where he could cross, and on April 30th his army

of 33,000 men reached high land on the eastern side of the Mississippi. Shortly after this Grant proceeded to attack the Confederate army, defeating it at Raymond and Jackson, the capital of the State, and then moved on to Vicksburg.

On May 16th he encountered the bulk of the Confederate forces, 20,000 strong, under Pemberton, at Champion's Hill, about halfway between Jackson and Vicksburg. Here he fought the severest battle of the campaign, in which the Confederates were defeated with heavy loss. They retreated towards Vicksburg, the Federals in quick pursuit, and on May 18th Pemberton shut himself up in the town, which Grant, with a force of 30,000 men, invested next day, Sherman being placed on the right at Haines's Bluff. The line of attack was eight miles long, and there was danger of Grant being assailed in his rear. He, therefore, ordered an assault on May 22nd, but the result was disastrous, and he settled down to a regular siege. Thousands of shells were thrown into the town, the inhabitants finding refuge in caves. Provisions became scarce and mules were eaten for food. At last the besiegers brought their trenches so close to the defences that the soldiers bandied jests with each other across the narrow space. After forty-seven days spent in this manner, when a grand assault was imminent, Pemberton surrendered unconditionally with his army of 31,600 men, 172 guns, and 60,000 muskets. By the capture of Vicksburg the Mississippi was open to the Federals, and the forces of the Confederates were cut completely in two.

The dead and wounded of the Federal army at Gettysburg, as well as those abandoned by Lee, were humanely cared for. A portion of the battlefield was transformed into a National Cemetery, in which the fallen soldiers found orderly burial. It was dedicated for this purpose on November 19th, 1863, and President Lincoln delivered on this occasion an address, which is one of the masterpieces of literature, strongly resembling the famous speech of Pericles at Athens, delivered in the Ceramicus on a similar occasion, which in all probability Lincoln had never read, and perhaps never heard of. He said: "Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth in this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that

nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated to this imperishable work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be dedicated to this great task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion, that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The vicissitudes of the war now carry us into another region. Chattanooga is in Tennessee, not far from the borders of Alabama and Georgia, and Rosecrans, opposed by the Confederate General Bragg, was manœuvring to get possession of it. He succeeded in capturing the town, and proceeded in pursuit of Bragg. In the course of a week the two armies came up with each other, and there was fought, on September 19th and 20th, 1863, a great battle on the bank of Chickamauga Creek, one of the most murderous of the war, Bragg having 71,500 men and Rosecrans 57,000. Bragg took the offensive, and his plan was to make a feigned attack on the Federal right, while he directed his main strength towards the left, with the intention of crushing it and seizing the roads which led to Chattanooga.

On the first day the battle began at 10 a.m. and lasted until the evening. The projected attack on the left failed, and, although the Federal positions were for a time forced back, they were resumed before night, and at the end of the day's fighting the situation was unchanged. The night was spent by both sides in preparing for a renewal of the struggle on the morrow, Bragg's design being to carry out the plan of the day before; but the fighting did not begin until the day was well advanced and the Confederates could make no permanent impression. However, through a mistake or a misunderstanding of orders, a gap of two brigades was made in Rosecrans's line. The Confederates discovered this gap, and poured through it with an energy before which the whole Federal right and part of the centre

crumbled away and were dispersed in flight towards Chattanooga.

Rosecrans retired, under the impression that the day was hopelessly lost, and, on reaching Chattanooga, telegraphed the disaster to Washington. He was, however, mistaken. Thomas, who commanded the centre, had, in the manœuvring, been sent to the extreme left, where he found a strong position on the head of a ridge, around which he posted his own command of seven divisions in a flattened semicircle, and thus formed a nucleus for all the reserves who had not been under fire, with such portions of the brigades and regiments as had not been wholly destroyed by the defeat on the right. In this manner he got together about half of what remained of Rosecrans's force and held his position against Bragg's army, flushed as it was with victory. Bragg repeated his assaults throughout the whole of the day, but could not shake the lines or the courage of Thomas, who received the name of the "Rock of Chattanooga" from his devoted troops. At night Thomas began his retreat, and continued it without opposition, so that, on the morning of September 22nd, the Federal army was protected by the fortifications of Chattanooga, which had not been destroyed by Bragg when he evacuated it. The losses were very severe, those of the Federals being 16,179 men, those of the Confederates 17,804.

The army of Rosecrans was not destroyed, but it was still in danger, as Bragg's army was blockading it with greatly superior numbers. The Confederates were able to cut off Rosecrans's supplies, both by rail and river, so that he depended upon a difficult road sixty miles long. Provisions and forage were soon exhausted, horses and mules perished by thousands, and the garrison began to feel the effects of famine. By October 19th, a month after Chickamauga, the situation had become so strained that Rosecrans was relieved and Thomas put in his place, while Grant was given the command of the three departments in the West and ordered personally to Chattanooga, where he arrived on October 22nd. With the help of his chief engineer, Smith, Grant arranged for a better system of supply, and, when reinforcements arrived under Hooker and Sherman, the Federals were superior in numbers and the Confederates were obliged to act on the defensive.

Eventually the great Battle of Chattanooga took place on November 24th–25th, 1863, one of the most important of the war. In order to understand it, it is necessary to give some account of the ground. The valleys of the Chickamauga and the

Chattanooga are parallel to each other, and also to the general course of the Tennessee River. They are divided by Missionary Ridge, fourteen miles long and 500 feet high, ending in Lookout Mountain, over 1,000 feet in height. This mountain is three miles south of Chattanooga, and on the other side of it is Lookout Valley, watered by Lookout Creek. Grant had under him about 100,000 effective soldiers, under the commands of Thomas, Hooker and Sherman. Thomas was in Chattanooga, Hooker in Lookout Valley, and Sherman in the hills on the other side of the Tennessee.

On the morning of November 24th Sherman crossed the Tennessee, three miles north of Chattanooga, and attacked the northern end of Missionary Ridge, with the intention of moving southwards along the top of it, to take the entrenchments of the enemy in flank. But his progress was barred by a deep depression, of the existence of which he was unaware, and he was obliged to stop and entrench himself. On the following day he endeavoured to carry out his plan, but made little headway. In the meantime, Hooker, from Lookout Valley, had crossed Lookout Creek and climbed Lookout Mountain. He drove the Confederates into Chattanooga Valley and planted the Federal flag on the top of the mountain amid the cheers of the whole army.

Grant was watching the operations from the top of Orchard Knob, and in the afternoon of November 25th ordered Thomas to advance along the western base of Missionary Ridge. His army, starting with alacrity, formed a line a mile in length with such order as if they were going on parade. They found in front of them a steep and rocky ridge, defended by thirty cannon and two lines of rifle pits. However, they dashed forward and, without command, to the dismay of Grant, viewing them from his point of vantage, stormed the hill. Fighting in small parties, clambering up the rocks and over the fallen timber, undeterred by the rifle-pits, they drove the enemy steadily before them, until, after an hour's fighting, they reached the summit of the crest and captured the batteries. Bragg, Breckinridge, and other Confederate generals were amazed and nearly captured. The loss of the Federals was terrible, but they had performed one of the finest exploits recorded in military history. They next descended into Chickamauga Valley and captured another ridge which was defended by eight Confederate guns. On November 26th Bragg's army was in full retreat, defeated and demoralised. The Federals pursued them, taking 6,000 prisoners, 46 guns, and 7,000 stand of small arms. They had, however, lost 5,824 men and the

Confederates 6,687. After the battle Grant sent Sherman to relieve Burnside, who was being besieged by Longstreet at Kingsville, eighty-four miles distant. But before he reached the place Longstreet had been driven back and forced to take refuge with Bragg's retreating army.

In February, 1864, a new complexion was given to the war, when Grant was placed in command of all the Federal armies, with the title of Lieutenant-General, under the supreme command of the President, a position which had previously been held only by Washington and Scott. Grant took up his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, which he considered as his centre. He placed Butler in command of the Army of the James River on his left wing, and the Western armies under Sherman as his right wing, Banks's army in Louisiana being designed to act against the Confederates in the rear. Grant intended that all the armies should move simultaneously—Butler to Petersburg to cut off the communications of Richmond with the south; Sherman against Johnston's army in Georgia, with the view of capturing Atlanta; Banks to take Mobile and to close its harbour to blockade runners. Sigel was to drive back the Confederates from the Shenandoah Valley, and the Army of the Potomac was to follow Lee and fight him whenever it had an opportunity. The principal scenes of conflict were now laid in the Wilderness, a district of about ten or fifteen miles square, south of the Rapidan. It had formerly been the site of numerous ironworks, mines having been opened to dig the ore and the woods cut down to supply fuel for smelting. After the mines were abandoned a tangled growth of underwood grew up, and the whole region was deserted, except for a few open spots and a few roadside taverns.

In the east the armies lay opposite to each other, north and south of the Rapidan, near Fredericksburg, a little south of the ground on which the first Battle of Bull Run had been fought nearly three years before. On April 30th, 1864, Grant's army numbered 122,146 men, veterans thoroughly well armed and equipped. Lee's army was estimated by Grant at 80,000. Lee had the advantage of conducting a defensive campaign upon interior lines, among a population every man of which was on his side. Grant crossed the Rapidan on May 4th, and by the evening of next day his whole army, including a train of 4,000 wagons, was across the stream. Through the forest of the Wilderness two roads run north and south, which are crossed by two other roads running east and west—the Orange Turnpike and the Orange Plank Road. There are also numerous cross-roads and wood-

paths. Grant slept on May 4th at a Wilderness tavern, situated at the junction of the Germania Plank Road and the Orange Plank Road.

As Lee had not disputed the passage of the Rapidan, Grant debated whether he would fight in the Wilderness at all. However, on the morning of May 5th Grant found himself attacked, and it was obvious that Lee designed to send his whole army down the two parallel roads and fight Grant on this difficult ground. Grant recalled Hancock's corps from the front and hurried up Burnside from the rear. The battle inevitably assumed the character of a hand-to-hand engagement, and when night fell no decisive advantage had been gained by either side. Lee had succeeded better on the left than on the right, and Longstreet's command had not arrived in time to take part in the engagement. The night was spent in cutting down trees, collecting logs for breastworks, and digging trenches. On the following day Hancock attacked the Confederates; but, Longstreet coming up, he was compelled to retire. Longstreet, however, had to leave the field through a similar accident to that which had happened to Jackson a year before. As he was riding through the trees, some of his own men mistook the party for Federal troops and fired upon them, and he was wounded in the head and neck. The conflict continued all day with no very definite results, the losses on each side being not fewer than 15,000 men.

On May 7th Grant moved his army forwards to Spotsylvania, wishing to place it between Lee and the capital. The courthouse of Spotsylvania is about fifteen miles south-east of the ground on which the Battle of the Wilderness was fought, and some twelve miles south-west of Fredericksburg. On the morning of Sunday, May 8th, the Federal cavalry reached the courthouse, but discovered that the Confederates had arrived first and had posted themselves on very favourable ground, lying in an irregular semicircle about three miles across, with a salient jutting out towards the north, nearly a mile long and about half a mile wide. With his wonted diligence Lee had formed a vast fortified camp of great strength. This was attacked by Grant on May 10th, but he suffered a defeat. He wrote, however, to Washington that after six days' very hard fighting and heavy losses the result had been on the whole favourable to the Federals, and he added, "I purpose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer." He made another assault on May 12th in very wet weather, a fierce struggle taking place for the possession of the salient, known afterwards as the "Bloody Angle." Eventu-

ally the Federals succeeded in capturing the salient, together with 3,000 prisoners and 20 guns. But they were still not able to attack Lee's line in front. Grant continued to advance southwards, but Lee was always before him, seizing favourable points for defence and blocking his pathway. The two antagonists were equally matched, and the strategy of both was of the highest merit.

On May 8th Grant dispatched Sheridan with his cavalry to ride round the Confederate army, to tear up railways, destroy bridges and depots, and capture trains. He succeeded in demolishing ten miles of railway and several trains, cutting all the telegraph wires, and recovering 400 Federal prisoners who were being taken to Richmond. The last engagement took place at Yellow Tavern, seven miles north of Richmond. He even broke into the defences of Richmond and captured some prisoners. He then crossed the Chickahominy and rejoined the main army on May 25th.

Grant now moved towards the North Anna River, hoping to engage Lee before he had time to entrench himself. For this purpose he sent Hancock to Richmond, on the chance that Lee might fall on him with his whole army, upon which Grant would attack him undefended by earthworks. The Confederates, however, had the advantage of a shorter line, and saved their capital. Having effected this, Lee took up a very strong position, his line extending from Little River, by North Anna River, to Hanover Junction. Burnside assailed this position, but could do nothing. The two armies then came face to face at Cold Harbour, about eight or ten miles from Richmond, but the Federals were held back by the threatening position of the Confederate artillery. The assault was delivered at half-past four o'clock in the morning of June 3rd, and in a single hour 4,000 veterans lay dead or wounded under the fire of the skilfully-constructed Confederate batteries, raising the casualties of the first twelve days of June to nearly 10,000.

Grant was obliged to report that it was the only general attack made from the Rapidan to the James which did not inflict upon the enemy losses which compensated for his own. He wrote to the Government after this that he had discovered in thirty days' experience that the enemy had determined to run no risks, but to act purely on the defensive, and, therefore, he could not carry out the plans he had formed without a greater sacrifice of life than he felt justified in risking. Accordingly, he determined to cross the James River and invest Richmond from the south. He carried out this difficult manœuvre with masterly skill, having to

withdraw his army from the front of the enemy, march fifty miles, cross two rivers, and bring it into a new position. He accomplished this design during the following week. He left Cold Harbour on June 12th, threw a pontoon bridge across the Chickahominy, by which Wilson's cavalry crossed, and reached the James on June 14th. Between afternoon and midnight on that day a bridge, 3,580 feet long, was laid across the James, and before daybreak on June 17th the whole army was on the south side of the stream, in immediate junction with Butler. The united armies of Grant and Butler amounted to 150,000 men, and Lee, with his 70,000, withdrew into the defences of Richmond. Thus an army of more than 100,000 men, with all its baggage, had been moved from trenches which were only a few yards from the enemy, and placed in a position to threaten the enemy's capital, without any mishap. After this feat of generalship and the substantial advantage gained by it, the Confederate cause might well seem hopeless.

When he assumed command of the United States Army it was part of Grant's plan that Sherman should move southwards from Chattanooga and capture Atlanta, thus attacking the Confederates in an entirely new place and securing a city which was useful as a railway centre and as a manufacturing place of military stores. The distance between Chattanooga and Atlanta in a straight line is about 100 miles. The road was defended by Johnston, stationed at Dalton with a force of 43,150 cavalry, artillery and infantry, while Sherman's attacking force numbered 100,000 with 254 guns. They were the flower of the Western soldiers, seasoned men, commanded by officers of sound judgment and trained courage. They had carefully prepared for the work they had to do, and realised Sherman's own description, that they were a mobile machine, willing and able to start at a minute's notice and submit to the scantiest food.

Sherman left Chattanooga on May 5th, the day that Grant entered the Wilderness, and followed the line of railway to Atlanta. Johnston had fortified a position on the railway called Tunnel Hill, which prevented Sherman from continuing his march to Dalton, so he was obliged to pass through the hills and strike at Resaca. McPherson, who commanded this detachment, found Resaca fortified, and when Sherman came up he learned that Johnston himself had retreated from Dalton to Resaca, and had made the position very strong. Sherman eventually gained possession of Resaca without a battle, and five days later reached Kingston. Here he halted to consolidate his army, supply it with

provisions, and repair the railway in his rear. After this he came into conflict with Johnston at New Hope Church, and fought in that neighbourhood for six continuous days, gradually gaining the advantage. At the end of the month of May it was found that with the loss of 10,000 men on each side Sherman had successfully taken strong positions in which Johnston had entrenched himself, and was gradually approaching Atlanta.

For the first half of June the two armies remained opposite to each other at Pine Mountain. On June 27th, however, Sherman made a vigorous attempt to capture Johnston's position in the Battle of Kenesaw, but it ended with failure and with great loss. He therefore determined to recross the railway and move his army to the south, by which he compelled Johnston either to retire to Atlanta or come out to fight him. Johnston was superseded by Hood, who, however, did not prove a success. Eventually, on September 2nd, 1864, Sherman became master of Atlanta, after four months' hard fighting and clever strategy. During his stay at Atlanta the Presidential election took place, and Lincoln was re-elected by a large majority, being opposed by McClellan. Lincoln remarked with regard to his own candidature that " it was best not to swop horses when crossing a stream."

By the end of October Sherman had, in counsel with the President and Grant, determined upon his march through Georgia from Atlanta to Savannah upon the sea, which eventually put an end to the war. He made careful preparations for his enterprise, sending away all his sick and disabled men, and reducing his baggage to a minimum. He left Atlanta on November 2nd, 1865, and nothing was heard of him for six weeks. He had with him 55,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 68 guns. Besides these, there was an enormous number of ambulances and wagons. The army was principally composed of veteran soldiers, all of whom had unbounded confidence in " Uncle Billy," as they called their leader. The distance to be covered was 300 miles. The army was divided into two wings, marching by parallel routes, generally a few miles apart, each wing having its own proportion of cavalry and trains.

It is important to pay attention to the instructions issued for the conduct of the march, as they have been frequently referred to when similar circumstances have arisen elsewhere. The columns were to start at 7 in the morning and march about fifteen miles a day. The artillery and wagons were to keep the road, the troops marching at the side. The troops were permitted to forage so as to keep the wagons supplied with provisions for ten days. The

soldiers were not allowed to enter dwellings or commit any trespass, but during a halt they were permitted to gather turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables, and drive in stock in sight of their camp. The power of destroying houses or mills was permitted to the commanders of corps alone, and this right of destruction was only allowed when the march was molested by irregular troops, or if the inhabitants burned bridges or obstructed roads. In these cases the commanders were to enforce a devastation more or less relentless, according to the measure of hostility shown. Horses, mules, and wagons might be appropriated freely, a distinction, however, being made between the rich and the poor. In all foraging the parties engaged were to leave behind a reasonable portion for the maintenance of the family.

Sherman's army marched in accordance with these instructions, occupying a space from forty to sixty miles wide. The wealthier inhabitants, as a rule, made their escape, but the negroes followed the army. There was scarcely any fighting excepting within a few miles of Savannah and at the city itself. Savannah was occupied on December 21st, and Sherman wrote to the President, " I beg to present to you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, also about 25,000 bales of cotton." His entire loss during the march was only 764 men.

This successful march was the beginning of the end, if it were not the end itself; but Sherman had still work of a similar kind to do. On February 1st, 1865, he began a march northwards, through Columbia, which was more difficult and more dangerous than the previous journey and required more military skill. Columbia was captured on February 17th, without opposition, and Charleston was evacuated on the following day. Leaving Columbia on February 20th, Sherman reached Fayetteville on March 11th. After this he fought a victorious battle, which enabled him to reach Goldsboro, on the direct road to Petersburg and Richmond. In the latter part of February Sheridan moved up the Shenandoah Valley with 10,000 cavalry, defeated Early with heavy loss, and joined Grant on the James River. At the beginning of April Sheridan gained a battle at Five Forks, which enabled him to render effective assistance to Grant, and at the same time the latter broke through the Confederate lines, while Sheridan moved up on the left, so that Petersburg, which is only twenty-three miles from Richmond, was completely surrounded.

Lee telegraphed to his Government that both Petersburg and Richmond must be evacuated, and next morning the Confederate

capital was taken possession of by a detachment of the Federal army. The end came at Appomattox Courthouse, where, on April 9th, 1865, Grant and Lee arranged the surrender of the Army of Virginia. The men were allowed to lay down their arms and return to their homes without molestation, provided that they did not take up arms against the United States. On the same terms Johnston surrendered to Sherman in North Carolina, and by the end of May all the Confederate armies had surrendered, while Jefferson Davis, who had been President of the Confederate Republic, was taken prisoner on May 10th.

The war was virtually at an end, but ere its conclusion the man who had done more than anyone else to secure the victory was treacherously murdered in Washington. On the evening of April 4th the President and Mrs. Lincoln, along with friends, went to Ford's Theatre to see a play called *Our American Cousin*. About 10 o'clock, while Lincoln was seated in an arm-chair watching the play, a young actor, John Wilkes Booth, a fanatical Secessionist, opened the door of the box and, holding a pistol in one hand and a knife in the other, put the pistol to the President's head and fired. Major Rathbone, who was in the box, tried to seize him; but Booth jumped on to the stage and, turning to the audience, uttered the motto of Virginia, "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" He then moved to the stage door, mounted a horse, and rode away, but did not escape punishment for his crime. The ball had entered the back of Lincoln's head and, passing through the brain, had lodged behind his left eye. He was carried, alive but unconscious, to a house across the street and, after lingering all night, watched by his family and members of his Cabinet, expired on the following morning, at about half-past seven. Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, assumed the Presidential office, and Lincoln—one of the greatest and most typical men the United States has yet produced—was buried on May 4th, amid profound public mourning.

CHAPTER III

GERMANY: THE MAN OF BLOOD AND IRON

ON October 7th, 1858, Prince William of Prussia was made Regent of that country in the place of King Frederick William IV., who was in bad health. He had, in fact, exercised these functions for nearly a year without having been formally appointed; Prince Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen became his Prime Minister. In his first official speech the Prince declared that the welfare of the Crown and country was inseparable and depended on the maintenance of sound, strong, Conservative principles. After some words in favour of toleration in religion, he said that the army had created the greatness of Prussia and had won its territory; the army of Prussia must, therefore, be powerful and conspicuous, if Prussia were to possess political influence in international affairs. The world must learn that Prussia was prepared to stand everywhere as an upholder of justice.

On April 14th, 1859, Archduke Albert of Austria appeared in Berlin to announce the policy of his country with regard to the war in Italy, which was just beginning, and to ask for the co-operation of Prussia. He said that Austria was about to send an ultimatum to Turin, and that if this were refused Piedmont would be immediately occupied and Austria would also direct her arms against France. He was ready to devote to a campaign on the Rhine 260,000 Austrian troops, who would be united with the federal army of Germany. Then the South Germans should unite with Austria under his command, and the North Germans should attack the Lower Rhine under the leadership of Prussia. This meant that Prussia and Germany should throw themselves into the quarrel, and shed their blood for the preservation of Austrian dominion in Italy and her headship of the German Confederation.

This offer was definitely refused by the Prince Regent, who determined, however, to strengthen his army in order to be able to speak with authority when the time came. Therefore, on April 20th he mobilised three army corps, on April 29th six more, and on June 14th, ten days after the Battle of Magenta, he mobilised six divisions of the Guards, and on July 6th sent three of them to garrison Cologne, Coblenz and Treves. The Peace of

Villafranca, concluded suddenly on July 11th, as we have already narrated, put an end to further extension of this policy for the present, but what had been already done had produced a certain amount of irritation in Austria.

The Regent, however, pursued his reconstruction of the Prussian army, and in his speech from the throne on January 12th, 1860, accentuated his policy. He said that Prussia must not break with the tradition of a glorious past, and that in the future, as well as in these days, the Prussian army must be a Prussian nation in arms. This duty must be fulfilled so far as the finances of the kingdom would allow. A new effort must be made for the protection and development of the Fatherland; it must be protected against all the chances which Fortune might have in store for it. To carry this out a law of compulsory military training was proposed on February 10th, similar to that which had been passed in September, 1814.

This project has not received the attention which it deserved in the light of after events. The then existing law of military service dated from 1820, when Prussia had a population of 11,000,000. From these 40,788 recruits were raised by ballot and kept for two years under the colours. Although the population had increased to 18,000,000, the number of recruits continued nearly the same; indeed, in 1858, the number was only 40,537—that is, fewer than in 1820. It was believed, on good evidence, that the number of recruits could be raised to 63,000 without impairing their efficiency. But further alterations were necessary. The law imposing the duty of service up to the age of thirty-nine affected only 26 per cent. of those who were liable to serve. They served two years under the colours, then ten years with the reserve, then seven years in the first division of the *Landwehr* and four in the second. Consequently, during the last eleven years those who served had not only to perform their ordinary civic duties, but to remain subject to constant interference from military superiors, so long as they continued in the first division of the *Landwehr;* and if they were mobilised their condition became far worse. In short, the larger part of the population available for service did not serve at all, and those who did were oppressed by an intolerable burden. The number of those who had, by lot, become subject to military service was diminished every year, between their entry into the reserve and their liberation from the *Landwehr*, by death, illness or emigration, so that a heavier burden lay upon those who remained. The drainage from these causes was estimated at not less than 26 per cent. per annum. It was therefore

determined that all the infantry should serve for three years, which corresponded with the arrangement made in September, 1814, and that the cavalry should serve for four years. The Regent was strongly in favour of this change, and he was supported by Albert von Roon, who in 1859 took the place of Bonin as Minister of War. These proposals were strongly opposed, but were eventually carried, with some alterations in form, in May, 1860.

King Frederick William IV. died at Sans Souci on New Year's Day, 1861, and the Regent became King William I. of Prussia. In his first speech he declared that Prussia ought not to be contented merely with what she possessed. She could only maintain her position among European Powers by the energetic exercise of spiritual and moral forces, sincere devotion to religion, the union of obedience and freedom, and by strengthening her army. In the *Landtag*, the lower house of the Prussian Parliament, a vote for the expenses necessary for the reorganisation of the army was only carried by eleven votes, and the election of a new House, which followed in the summer, saw the foundation of the so-called *Fortschrittspartei*, that is, Progressive Party, which was opposed to spending more money on the army and to the increase of the term of military service. In the elections this party won a hundred seats, and in the debate on the budget, which took place on March 6th, 1862, it gained a signal victory. Accordingly, the House was dissolved in the hope that new elections would give the military party a majority. Prince Hohenlohe Ingelfingen was made Prime Minister, and the Liberal members of the Cabinet resigned their portfolios.

But the elections of May showed a complete victory for the party of progress, which in September passed a motion that all the expenditure necessary for the reconstruction of the army on its new footing should be annulled. It was impossible to carry this out, because the money had been already spent. They, therefore, fell back upon the dismissal of the Ministers and the return to the system of two years' service. The King found himself at war with his Chambers, and strong measures were necessary if the policy on which he had set his heart were to be maintained. In pursuance of this, on September 23rd, 1862, the King appointed Bismarck-Schönhausen Prime Minister, who, he knew, would support at all costs and without flinching the policy he favoured. The rise of Bismarck to the first place in the counsels of his Sovereign was the opening of a new phase in the history of Prussia.

Bismarck began his Ministry with the determination to place Prussia instead of Austria at the head of Germany. For this purpose political power must lie in the hands of the King, as no Parliament, divided by party, would be strong enough to carry an enterprise of this kind to a successful issue. Finding, therefore, that the King and the Parliament were in hopeless disagreement about the organisation of the army, he determined that Parliament must give way, and advised his Sovereign to continue the struggle. The King was so disheartened by the opposition with which he was met that he thought seriously of abdication, but Bismarck appealed successfully to his feelings of honour as a soldier to maintain his post. He attempted at first to effect a reconciliation with the Liberals, and offered to include their leaders in the Ministry if they would support the new military arrangements. But they clung to the two years' military service, which the King would not accept.

Bismarck therefore prorogued the Chambers before they had passed the army estimates, or even voted a budget for 1863, and governed without a budget and, indeed, without Parliamentary sanction, pursuing a course which in England in Charles I.'s time had cost Strafford his head, but which in the Germany of William I. was to have a very different result. He broke with the Liberals and gave all his confidence to the Conservatives. He appointed them to important military and administrative posts, and lost no opportunity of showing his dislike and distrust of his opponents. He kept a tight hand on the Press and gradually established an autocratic authority. He had no fear of revolution, as he could depend on the army, and the mass of the people took no interest in constitutional politics. He had the middle classes on his side, as he knew that they would appreciate his foreign policy and profit by the exaltation of Germany. The Conservatives on whom he depended in the House only numbered eleven votes.

Meeting the House in the autumn of 1862, Bismarck began by stating that the budget for 1863 would be withdrawn, and that a new budget for the year would be laid before them as soon as possible. This statement was not well received, as it was regarded as a return to the practice of not settling the budget until the beginning of the year to which it applied. Bismarck then had to face the budget committee, the members of which were for the most part opposed to his policy. The committee passed a resolution that the budget for 1863 should be immediately laid before them, and that it was contrary to the

Constitution to spend any money which had been refused by the House of Representatives. The committee consisted of about thirty members, and the speeches were largely of the nature of conversations; and of these there were no verbatim reports, but, as the sittings were public, what passed could be remembered by many who heard what had been said.

Bismarck warned the committee not to exaggerate their powers, as the right of settling the budget did not rest with the House of Representatives alone, but was shared with the Upper House and the Crown, so that difference of opinion must be settled by compromise and not by forcing the vote on either side; and, after all, patriotism and devotion to the interests of their common country were the most important things. He then proceeded to give his views of the Prussian character and to show how difficult it was for Prussia to adopt a constitutional form of government. Prussia was too educated, too critical; the habit of discussing public affairs was too universal; there were in the country too many Catilinians who had an interest in revolution. If Prussia were to have a predominating influence in Germany, this would be due, not to its Liberalism, but to its power. The territory of Prussia, as fixed by the Treaty of Vienna, was not favourable to a limited monarchy. The great questions of the age were not to be settled, as was attempted to be done in 1848 and 1849, by speeches and divisions in Parliament, but by "blood and iron." He begged them to have confidence in the Ministry, and not to force a quarrel, so that their devotion to their country and their fundamental honesty might be implicitly trusted.

The first attempt at conciliation failed. The report of the committee was adopted, and an amendment proposed by Winckler, which Bismarck was willing to accept, was rejected. Bismarck warned them not to push the conflict too far; if they did, a peaceful solution would be impossible. He showed the President of the House a twig of olive, which he said he had gathered at Avignon on his way up from Toulouse to present to the House, but the time for doing this did not seem to have arrived.

Fortunately for Bismarck, the Prussian Constitution provided that all taxes and other imposts should remain in force until they were abrogated or altered by law. If a proposed budget failed to pass the Chambers the Government were justified in having recourse to this provision. It is true that the Constitution declared that the budget must be passed in anticipation of each year. But it is also declared that the budget must be established by law. A law must be agreed to by three authorities to make it valid—the

Lower House, the Upper House, and the Sovereign. If the Lower House refused to agree to a new budget, that did not prevent the other two bodies from providing for the necessities of the country. Bismarck said: "We will give you what the Constitution entitles you to; we will not allow you anything which conflicts with the prerogative of the Crown. The Prussian monarchy has not yet fulfilled its mission; the time has not yet come for making it a superfluous detail in the parliamentary machine."

The attention of the political world was now turned to a new quarter. In the night of January 22nd, 1863, the Russian garrisons of fourteen towns in Poland were attacked by the inhabitants, and many soldiers murdered in their sleep. This led to a general insurrection in Poland, which established a provisional Government and nominated Mieroslavski as Dictator. Bismarck immediately perceived the danger of the situation. He said, "The Polish question is to us a matter of life or death." The insurgents, to whichever party they belonged, would not be contented with liberating Russian Poland alone; they would liberate Posen, and would not rest until they had gained the coast of the Baltic and deprived Prussia of her Eastern Provinces. If the Poles became reconciled to the Russians the danger to Prussia would be greater. Russia and Poland might join together on the common basis of a Slav nationality, but there never could be peace between the Slav and the Teuton.

King William sent Alvensleben to St. Petersburg with an autograph letter to the Tsar proposing that the two Governments should take steps to meet the common danger, and it was agreed to prevent assistance from Posen from being given to the insurgents, and to allow Russian troops to cross the Prussian frontiers in pursuit of the rebels; four army corps were also mobilised so as to be able to guard the frontier. The Emperor Napoleon proposed that Austria, Great Britain and France should send identical notes to Prussia remonstrating on her conduct towards the Poles and threatening active measures. Great Britain, led by Lord Russell—Lord John had been ennobled in 1861—refused to take part in this action; but, at the same time, Buchanan, the British Minister at Berlin, was instructed to moderate the action of Prussia as far as possible.

There is no doubt that Bismarck's policy enabled Gortshakov to suppress the Polish insurrection, and also established a close alliance between Russia and Germany, which subsisted for a considerable time. It required great boldness to take this line. If war actually broke out, Prussia would bear the brunt of it,

because Russia could have procured little assistance against France and Austria. Bismarck did not believe in the likelihood of war; but he had, nevertheless, placed his country in a critical condition, and the Prussian Liberals resented his alliance with Russia. Prussia was becoming unpopular in Europe, whilst Austria was gaining fresh sympathy in consequence of her defence of Poland.

In July, 1863, the Emperor of Austria convened at Frankfort a meeting of all the German Princes to obtain their consent to a scheme of federal reform, which should place the central authority of the Federation in the hands of Austria and the Southern German States, her allies. No sovereign was obliged to attend the meeting unless he wished to do so. The Emperor did his best to persuade the King of Prussia to take part in the congress, on the ground that it offered the best mode of reforming the Confederation on conservative lines and preventing revolution, and William was on the point of yielding to these representations. Bismarck, however, saw that the success of the congress would strengthen the position of Austria, and persuaded the King with considerable difficulty to have nothing to do with it. Bismarck even threatened to resign unless his wishes were yielded to, and William knew that the assistance of the Minister was indispensable in the struggle with the Parliament. In the absence of Prussia nothing could be accomplished at the congress, and the Southern States, jealous for their independence, rejected the proposal of Austria, as they had before rejected the proposals of Prussia for a closer union. Austria, finding that she could not obtain the assistance of the smaller German States in her rivalry with Prussia, was driven to make terms with her antagonist. Bismarck had, therefore, succeeded in improving the position of Prussia both with regard to Russia and to Austria.

Napoleon proposed, on November 5th, that a congress of all the Powers should be held in Paris to discuss the condition of Europe. This was directed against Austria, which formed an obstacle in the settlement of the Italian Question. He took steps to secure the friendship of Prussia, which might help him against Austria. Austria was naturally opposed to this congress, but did not like to refuse it, as she was already on bad terms with Russia over the Polish Question. So Rechberg, the Austrian Minister, had recourse to Prussia, to frustrate the congress with her help. Prussia, therefore, found herself approached by the two rival Powers, Austria and France, and in the position of a mediator.

At this moment the Schleswig-Holstein Question entered into a new phase. The relations between Denmark and the Duchies had been settled by the London Protocol of 1852, but Denmark had refused to carry its provisions into effect. She trusted to the antagonism between Austria and Prussia, and the Polish insurrection, which seemed likely to lead to a European war, also favoured her plans. On March 30th, 1863, a new Constitution was proclaimed in Denmark on the authority of the Crown, by which Schleswig became a Danish Province, Holstein retaining to some extent an independent position. In doing this Denmark had acted with gross illegality. She had forced the new Constitution on Holstein without asking her consent, and, by annexing Schleswig, had disobeyed the conditions of the London Protocol and disregarded the rights of the German Confederation.

This event caused intense excitement in Germany. The only way to carry out the agreement of 1852 was to separate the united Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark and establish them as an independent territory under the Duke of Augustenburg, and public opinion strongly urged that this should be done. Such a course could have been supported at the Federal Diet by most of the German States. But Austria and Prussia followed a policy that was in accordance with their own views and interests. Austria had no special reason to desire the emancipation of the Duchies. She knew by experience that the Schleswig-Holstein Question was one of the most difficult in Europe, and was likely to cause trouble and embarrassment to anyone who meddled with it. As she was at present engaged in the settlement of the Polish Question with Russia, she was not anxious to have other quarrels on her hands. At the same time she could not allow such a matter to be adjusted without her co-operation, nor, having urged the adoption of a scheme of Federal reform which should place her at the head of Germany, could she afford to neglect a subject which the smaller States considered to be of vital importance. She therefore proposed that the German Confederation should demand the withdrawal of the Charter of March 30th, under penalty of federal execution, on the ground that the rights of Holstein were violated by it.

Bismarck had no reason to desire the establishment of a separate sovereignty of the two Duchies under the House of Augustenburg, as such a course would be opposed to the unity of Germany and the supremacy of Prussia. A small State of this kind would be driven to lean upon the protection of Austria, in order to escape absorption by Prussia. His real desire was, what

he eventually achieved, the union of both Duchies with a German Confederation of which Prussia should be the head. This, however, could not be effected without war with Denmark, since that proud, though tiny, State would not give up Schleswig without a struggle, and the Great Powers would not view the dismemberment of Denmark with indifference.

Moreover, Prussia was unpopular with most of the German States and, if she went to war, would in all probability be attacked by them, supported by Austria. It was necessary, therefore, to gain time. The Austrian proposal of a federal execution would at least give Bismarck breathing space for the making of his plans, as it could not be carried out without some delay, and in the interval fresh circumstances might arise and place Prussia in a more favourable position. For these diverse reasons, therefore, Austria and Prussia, in spite of their bitter disagreement about the Polish Question, joined in carrying a resolution in the Federal Diet on July 9th, 1863, that Denmark should be ordered to annul the Charter issued in March and comply with the provisions of 1852. If she refused, Holstein would be immediately occupied by the troops of the Confederation.

The Danish Government met this by repudiating every kind of compromise, and announced on September 28th that a Constitution would be proclaimed to act according to the provisions of the Charter, and twelve days later the German Confederates determined, amidst great enthusiasm, to take immediate action. This decision was embarrassing both to Austria and Prussia. They could not stand aloof, yet were not prepared to enter into a war with Denmark, as she was almost certain to be supported by Great Britain. Bismarck was approached by Blixen, the head of the Moderate Party in Denmark, and by Sir Andrew Buchanan, acting under the instructions of Lord Russell, to delay the execution, which he was very willing to do. He was assisted by the fact that Napoleon was renewing his favourite proposal of a congress in Paris to settle disputed European questions, and this circumstance also disposed Austria to delay. In the midst of these complications King Frederick VII. of Denmark, the last of an ancient line, was suddenly seized with erysipelas and died after a short illness on November 15th, so that the whole question assumed an entirely different aspect.

Napoleon said, in his Speech from the Throne on November 5th, 1863: "The treaties of 1815 have ceased to exist; what is more reasonable than to summon the European Powers to a congress which should form a high court of arbitration for all

questions in dispute?" On the same day invitations to attend such a congress in Paris were issued to all European sovereigns. The tidings came like a thunderclap upon Europe. The suggested congress was welcomed by the smaller and weaker Powers, but it would throw the Frankfort Congress into the shade, while Great Britain and Russia regarded it as an act of impertinence. The consequence was a change of alliances. Hitherto France and Austria had been opposed on the Polish Question to Prussia and Russia; now Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Great Britain were formed into a combination against France.

In Denmark Prince Christian had been designated as sovereign by the protocol of 1852, but he was obliged, in deference to Danish opinion, to accept the Constitution, and thus broke with Germany. On the other hand, Prince Frederick of Augustenburg laid claim to Schleswig-Holstein by hereditary right. His father, indeed, had renounced his claim in 1852, but the Germans ignored this in their desire to liberate the Duchies from the detested Danish yoke. The Confederation seemed to support his claims, and he was acknowledged by some of its members, such as Baden and Coburg; but Austria and Prussia were bound by the protocol which they had both signed, and, therefore, were obliged to acknowledge King Christian IX. as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein.

At the same time, Bismarck saw that the dispute had not been entirely disposed of. It was true that the protocol settled the question of the sovereignty of the Duchies, but the Constitution of November went farther than this, and violated the protocol by incorporating the northern Duchy with Denmark. If King Christian sided with the Eider-Danes, that is, with the party which desired the Eider to be the southern boundary of Denmark, and confirmed the Constitution, the Germans could take their stand upon the protocol and make it difficult for Great Britain and other friendly Powers to interfere on behalf of the Danes. If a war broke out Prussia would play a leading part in it and be able to dispose of the spoils of victory as she pleased. The Austrian Government was inclined to follow a similar line and to base its policy on the solid ground of the London Protocol and the resolution of the Bund. But, in doing this, it did not, like Bismarck, hope for war, but looked forward to a peaceful conclusion. The two Powers having thus come to agreement, Holstein was occupied in December, 1863, by Hanoverian and Saxon troops, the armies of Austria and Prussia being at their back. The Danes retired from the southern Duchy without a blow, but were prepared to defend Schleswig by a stubborn resistance.

BISMARCK'S ASTUTENESS

It was hardly to be expected that the astute and foreseeing policy of Bismarck would be understood and recognised by public opinion in Prussia or even in the rest of Germany. The predominant desire in Germany was that the Duchies should not be Danish, and the London Protocol seemed to hand them over to King Christian. But a policy bound upon the observance of the protocol was not in accordance with German feeling; the best way of securing the independence of the Duchies was to hand them over to Frederick, Duke of Augustenburg. This feeling found expression in the Prussian Parliament and, on December 2nd, 1863, the Lower House, by a large majority, demanded the immediate acceptance of Duke Frederick, in opposition to the policy of Bismarck. A similar revulsion of opinion showed itself in the Bund. The Federal Diet, in a resolution of January 16th, 1864, refused to continue the execution, thus declining to acknowledge the right of King Christian to the Duchies, and breaking with the provisions of the London Protocol.

This action was turned to good account by Bismarck, for it exactly suited his policy. He could now disregard the Confederation and act independently, as representing one of the great European Powers who had signed the London Protocol. Austria, in her dread of Napoleon, afraid to sacrifice the friendship of Prussia, adopted a similar policy, and on January 16th, 1864, agreed to send a joint ultimatum to Denmark, demanding the repeal of the Constitution. If Denmark refused, Schleswig would immediately be occupied by 60,000 Austrians. This arrangement was so hastily concluded that there was no time to consider what should be the result of this action, or what should be done with the Duchies in the future. This was left to mutual agreement. Bismarck had thus secured the co-operation of Austria in the conquest of the Duchies, without binding himself in any way not eventually to attach them to his own kingdom. Rechberg asked for the laying down of some principles on which future agreements would be based, but it was easy for Bismarck to turn a deaf ear to these representations and as time pressed they remained unanswered. Things turned out as Bismarck had suspected. Denmark rejected the ultimatum, war was declared, and Schleswig was attacked.

Some years afterwards Count Beust asked Bismarck how he had persuaded the Danes to fight, seeing that they were certain to be beaten, and he replied that he contrived to assure them that they were certain to receive assistance from Great Britain. At this time the future Lord Lytton was Chargé d'Affaires at

Copenhagen, in the absence of the Ambassador, Sir Arthur Paget. One day he received a dispatch from Lord Russell, promising British assistance to the Danes against the attacks of Austria and Prussia. This dispatch was so important and so certain to bring about a European war that Lytton put it, for the moment, into his pocket and said nothing about it, waiting for further information. Russell had sent this dispatch without the knowledge of the Queen, who was at the time in the Isle of Wight, much withdrawn from public affairs in the early years of her widowhood. When it came to her knowledge she refused to give her adhesion to the policy, unless it were endorsed by all the members of the Cabinet, expressed in public. She knew well that this consent could not be given, and, in fact, a week later a dispatch was sent of a very different character, which was not likely to lead to extreme measures. Lytton was able to congratulate himself upon his foresight, but Bismarck had probably become acquainted with the purport of the first dispatch and had based upon it the information given to the Danes, although he must have known that it was extremely unlikely that Great Britain would risk a war on their behalf.

Bismarck had to pursue an isolated policy without sympathy or support, against the opposition of his country and the Court which he served. On January 22nd, 1864, the Lower House of the Prussian Parliament refused supplies for the war and, what was worse, the King began to waver. The Duke of Augustenburg was a favourite at the Prussian Court, and an intimate friend of the Crown Prince, and when he came to Berlin he was well received by the King. The Crown Prince Frederick had no great sympathy with the general policy of Bismarck, either then or afterwards. He considered that, by weakening the position of the smaller German States, he was impairing his own future authority as King of Prussia. Roon, also, the Minister of War, was in favour of the claims of Augustenburg. Bismarck, however, clearly saw that the recognition of the claims of Duke Frederick and the creation of the two Duchies into an independent sovereignty would be hostile to the interests of Prussia. Among other things, it was important to secure Kiel for the creation of the German fleet, which was one of his favourite plans. Besides, to desert the firm ground of the protocol might give other Powers a pretext for supporting Denmark. To gain his way, therefore, Bismarck was driven to adopt his usual expedient of threatening resignation, and the King could not dispense with the Minister who alone could support him against the unfriendly

Chambers. He therefore accepted the line of foreign policy upon which Bismarck insisted.

The troops destined for the invasion of Schleswig were collected at the Eider at the beginning of January, 1864. They consisted of three army corps, the first under the command of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, known as "the Red Prince," the Austrians under Gablentz, the third a division of the Prussian Guard under von der Mülbe. The whole army, 57,000 strong, was commanded by Wrangel, a vigorous man of eighty, but too old for the work. To these forces the Danes opposed an army of 55,000 men under the command of de Meza, but of these only 40,000 were available in Schleswig. The Danes were inferior in numbers, but trusted to the difficulties of the country, the deep sea-inlets, the swamps, the hedge-divided fields, and, above all, to their fleet. North of the Eider the threatened Duchy was defended by the Dannewerk, an ancient earthwork, protected by deep morasses, stretching between the town of Schleswig and the sources of the river Rheide, and also by the broad fiord of the Schlei. The Dannewerk was garrisoned by 22,000 infantry and artillery, with a reserve of 5,000, and 2,000 dragoons. This defence was regarded as impregnable, and the Emperor Napoleon expressed the opinion that it would keep the Germans back for at least two years.

Mülbe said that the war was easy to begin but difficult to end. He was opposed to direct attacks. He recommended the passing of the Lower Schlei and the capture of Flensborg rather than the storming of the Dannewerk; the occupation of Jutland rather than the attack on Düppel; if this did not bring peace the seizure of Fünen would end the war. Unfortunately Wrangel did not follow these instructions. The Eider was crossed on February 1st. The Danes retired without resistance, and the first conflict took place next day at the trenches of Missund. In the following days the Prussians crossed the Schlei, and the Austrians attacked the Dannewerk. To the joy of the Germans and the dismay of the Danes, it was found that the morasses were hard frozen and offered no obstruction to the enemy. Nothing was left for the Danes but to evacuate the position, and the Dannewerk was occupied by the Germans five days after the beginning of operations. The effect of this sudden surprise caused the greatest consternation. De Meza, who had saved the Danish army, was driven from his post, and in Paris the startling news was declared to be a fabric of falsehood. Palmerston threatened to assist the Danes materially in the spring, a step which public opinion in

Great Britain rendered impossible. In Germany the opponents of war were divided in opinion, but suffered a common disappointment. The smaller States were especially sorry that Schleswig should be occupied by the Prussians, who, they thought, were not likely to surrender what they had once conquered. To calm this excitement Manteuffel was sent to Hanover and Dresden, and the fears of King George and King John were quieted by his assurances.

The allies had now the alternative of storming Düppel or occupying Jutland. After deliberation it was agreed that Prince Frederick Charles should remain before Düppel, and that Gablentz should enter the Northern Province. The Austrians, however, objected, and Mülbe hastened to Berlin to persuade the Emperor and Bismarck that his plan of campaign must be carried out. Operations were hindered for nearly a month, during which time France and Great Britain had a fair opportunity to devise expedients to put an end to the war. At last the Austrians gave way, and the march into Jutland began on March 6th, and by March 20th the greater part of the province was in German hands. Now began the attack on Düppel, which opened on March 15th. An attack on Alsen was prevented by bad weather, and the forces of the Allies were concentrated in Düppel. At the end of March it had become necessary that the position of Prussia with regard to Europe should be strengthened by the gaining of a decisive victory.

The Danes were averse to the British proposal to call a conference in London to reconsider the protocol of 1852, because they believed that not only would the Powers intervene on their behalf, but that it was possible civil war might break out in Germany. The Danish Ministers adhered strongly to the incorporation of Schleswig, and were opposed to the union of the two Duchies as a separate State. But the occupation of Jutland had produced the effect Mülbe had expected, as Denmark was deprived of the income and the profits she derived from that province. In the meantime Bismarck replied to the British invitation to attend a conference on April 12th, that it was impossible for Austria and Prussia to make any decision without the consent of the Bund, and when this body took the matter into consideration on March 26th they determined to send Beust to represent them.

With great exertions the Prussians were able to open the bombardment of Düppel at the beginning of April; but it was impossible to effect its capture before the opening of the conference. The date of the assault was eventually fixed by Prince Frederick

Charles for April 18th. The whole of the preceding day was occupied by a murderous fire from the Prussian batteries, and at two in the morning the columns advanced to the attack. At daybreak the cannonade began again and, as the clock struck 10, the cannonade ceased and the storm columns advanced from the parallels. In a few minutes the ditches were occupied, all obstacles overcome, and in less than half an hour the six batteries were conquered, the defenders were killed or made prisoners, and the Prussian flag was planted on the parapet. The capture of the second line of defence succeeded that of the first, and in three hours everything was over. The Danes had suffered such losses and were so entirely broken that Gerlach could no longer hold the bridge-head, but led his troops across the Alsen and destroyed the bridge. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Düppel, and with it the whole of Schleswig, was in the hands of the conquerors. The Prussian loss was 1,100 killed and wounded out of a total force of 16,000. The Danish loss was about the same out of 11,000, but 3,600 were taken prisoners and 118 guns and 4,000 rifles were lost.

News of the victory roused Berlin to enthusiasm. The King received the telegram announcing it just as he had finished a review of the Guard. Hurrying back to the review ground, he communicated the tidings to the troops and sent his thanks to Prince Frederick Charles and the victorious army. He went himself to Schleswig and reviewed his conquering troops on April 21st. He was soon followed by Moltke, head of the general staff. Jutland was overrun, but the Danish Government, determining to continue the war, transferred the garrison of Fredericia to the Island of Fünen and gave up the place to the Austrians.

The victory of Düppel did not put a stop to the strife of parties in Germany, though it produced a profound effect in Europe. Clermont Tonnère informed his Government that it was impossible to maintain the union of the Duchies with Denmark, and the correspondent of *The Times* expressed the same opinion. In Paris Lord Cowley told Goltz that it was obvious that the Duchies desired to be free from Denmark, and that it would be un-English to keep them under Danish rule. King Leopold compared the union of the Duchies with Denmark to that of Belgium with Holland, to the division of which he owed his crown, and Queen Victoria came over at last to the same view. Palmerston, however, still remained obstinate, but it now appeared that Bismarck had been right in his forecast that no intervention would be undertaken by the Powers. Great Britain had to content itself with

summoning the signatories of the protocol of 1852 to a conference in London. Immediately after the fall of Düppel a truce was arranged at the conference, which met in London on April 25th.

It is interesting to trace the skill with which Bismarck, who had steadily set before himself the object of uniting the two Duchies to Germany, gradually gained his end; he was the only one among the negotiators who knew his own mind and had a clear and settled policy. To assist his projects public opinion began to turn in favour of the Prussian annexation of the Duchies. France, embittered with Great Britain for many reasons, among them the persistence of plots against the Emperor's life and the visit of Garibaldi, came round to the side of Prussia and secretly offered her the possession of the Duchies. A popular agitation in the Duchies themselves favoured annexation, and, despite Bismarck's contempt for popular opinion, he carefully fostered it. In England sympathies in favour of Denmark were once more aroused by the appearance of Tegethoff's fleet in the English Channel, and an Austrian victory over some Danish ships made the Germans afraid that if Austria gained the upper hand she might assume a preponderating position in the settlement of the question. This inclined public opinion in Prussia to Bismarck's views, while the agitation in Germany in favour of some practical result from the war might, if not satisfied, cause a revolution, and fear of this brought Austria over to her side.

In the conference Rechberg declared that the provisions of 1852 were at an end, and Bismarck made a formal demand for the separation of the Duchies from Denmark. The Danes refused all compromise, and on June 25th the conference broke up without result. The resumption of the war was inevitable, but Prussia was now in a more favourable position than before. Russia was on her side, and France was her friend, while Great Britain found that an understanding with Austria and Prussia was the best safeguard against the dangers of Napoleon's restlessness. The Great Powers, therefore, left Denmark to her fate, and she could expect no assistance from Sweden.

There remained the difficulty of Augustenburg. If the Duchies were separated from Denmark and made into a separate State, this would be naturally governed by Duke Frederick, and this would not be in accordance with Bismarck's views. He therefore set himself to get rid of these obstacles. King William being still in favour of Augustenburg, Bismarck affected to support his claims, but demanded certain guarantees for the security of Prussia. For instance, the army, the post office, and the railways must be under

Prussian control. Austria did not like this, and under her influence the Duke refused any conditions which might limit his independence. This made his cause hopeless. At the beginning of June Bismarck published his offers to Augustenburg and the Duke's refusal of them, and this convinced the King and a large portion of the Prussian people that the accession of Augustenburg would be inopportune. Bismarck now began to reap the fruit of his labours. His policy was generally approved by the country, and some members of the Opposition came over to his side. Indeed, both parties in the Prussian Parliament became convinced that to establish a Sovereign in the Duchies who would be in league with Austria would be a serious danger to Prussian interests and the future of German unity, and they set themselves to discover means by which the Duchies could be annexed to Prussia or a Protectorate established over them.

Before the conference actually closed, Prince Frederick Charles prepared for an attack upon Alsen. He collected, in advance, as many pontoons and boats as he could lay his hands on, so as to throw a force of 2,500 men into the island, who were to be reinforced at intervals of half an hour. On June 21st he was able to inform King William and Bismarck, who were at Carlsbad, that everything was ready, and he heard with joy that on June 26th the armistice would be at an end. The expedition set out in the early morning of June 29th. The Danes made what resistance they could, but by 9 everything was over, and on July 1st not a single Dane was left in the island. The loss of the Danes had been twice that of the Prussians, half of their army had been made prisoners, and the spoil of the conquerors included two gunboats, 108 guns, 200 rifles, and a large quantity of munitions of war. The defeat fell like a bolt from the blue on Copenhagen. The Eider-Danes were in despair; the expected assistance from Great Britain was not likely to be forthcoming, and the defeated army threatened the war party with an attack unless they concluded peace.

After the occupation of Alsen King Christian ordered his ambassador in Paris to ask the Emperor categorically whether assistance might be expected from him. The answer came in the early morning of July 8th: "All is lost; the Emperor will do nothing for us." The King did not wait for his Privy Council. He sent for Monrad, the head of the Eider-Danes, who immediately resigned his post and was succeeded by Bluhne, who, on July 12th, made proposals for an armistice and peace to Berlin and Vienna. In the meantime the Allies continued their opera-

tions. On July 14th Prince Albert and Falkenstein rode with their staffs to the Skaw, the northern extremity of Jutland, where the waters of the North Sea and the Baltic meet. As they gazed over the expanse of the stormy sea, they saw some Danish transports on the waters, and hoisted the allied flags of Prussia and Austria in their sight. The whole of Schleswig and Jutland was now in the possession of the allies. The armistice began on July 30th.

It was now necessary to determine the terms of peace. Bismarck proposed to Rechberg that King Christian should surrender his rights over all territory south of the King's Island, and recognise any arrangements which the Allies might make about the three Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenberg. Some settlement must also be made with regard to the public debt and the costs of the war. He thought the idea of including Denmark in the German Bund impracticable and undesirable. He made preparations during the armistice for an attack on Fünen, notwithstanding the opposition of Austria. He then had an interview with Prince Gortshakov at Carlsbad, in which he secured the adhesion of Russia to his plans for peace. When King William departed for his cure at Gastein, Bismarck persuaded him to confer with Rechberg at Vienna. Here Bismarck personally conducted the negotiations for peace, the conditions of which, naturally, seemed hard to the Danes; but preliminaries were eventually signed on August 1st, 1864.

Schleswig-Holstein was now free from Danish rule, and the German language and German education were to prevail undisturbed from the King's Island to the Eider. After signing the preliminaries, Bismarck left Vienna and joined King William at Gastein, committing the conclusion of the definite treaty to other hands. A long correspondence took place between Rechberg and Bismarck, which ended in the retirement of the Austrian Minister on October 27th, and three days later the Peace of Vienna was signed. The differences of opinion between Austria and Prussia had nearly brought about a war, but, for the moment, peace was assured and Francis Joseph and William remained on the most friendly terms.

The Duchies were now subjected to a joint administration of the two allied Powers, and the differences of opinion which arose out of this situation eventually led to the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. It is, therefore, worth while to consider how these differences came into existence, and what was their nature. The moment the war was concluded the divergence between the

policies of Austria and Prussia became evident. Austria, anxious that Prussia should not obtain a large accession of territory in consequence of the war, wished the Duchies to be handed over to Augustenburg. She would thus be relieved of the duty of garrisoning Schleswig and would secure the favour of the smaller German States. Bismarck was, of course, opposed to this, but saw clearly that the end he was aiming at could only be accomplished by war, and afterwards expressed the opinion that it would have been better if war had come at that moment. But King William had made up his mind that he would not draw the sword against Austria unless it were clear that she was attacking the honour and welfare of his country. Besides, it would not be wise to make war with Austria if there were any likelihood of France interfering on her behalf. Bismarck therefore rejected the Austrian proposal on the ground that the titles of all claimants, including that of Oldenburg, must first be examined; and Austria, however much she might have considered war inevitable, did not desire it at present, especially as she was being threatened in her Italian dominions by France.

Austria also suffered a defeat in her commercial policy. The Prussian Zollverein, or Customs Union, was renewed in October, 1864, for another period of twelve years. Austria would have been glad to form a similar combination of her own with the South German States; but as this was not done, no alternative was left them excepting to join Prussia. From the victories of Federal Reform, the Danish War, and the Customs Union it was obvious that Prussia represented German feeling far more than Austria did, and that the supremacy would gradually fall into Prussian hands. This led to an attack upon Rechberg, who was accused of offending both the smaller States and the great Powers of Europe, and of pursuing a policy which would inevitably lead to the domination of Prussia. The supporters of the Anti-Prussian policy were Schmerling, the Home Secretary, and Biegeleben, a Privy Councillor. Rechberg foresaw what would happen—that Bismarck would never yield to threats, that war was inevitable, and that the consequence would be the loss of Venice. It was, therefore, better to remain on good terms with Prussia, even at the cost of sacrifices in Schleswig-Holstein. But he was not a Bismarck, and as the Emperor could not spare Schmerling from the Home Department, Rechberg resigned. He was succeeded by Count Mensdorff, a Conservative and a strong supporter of the alliance with Prussia. But he was too much under the influence of Biegeleben, who made it his policy to consolidate the smaller

German States and settle as soon as possible the question of Schleswig-Holstein.

Whilst Prussia had reached the first stage in the unification of Germany by the liberation of Schleswig-Holstein, the Emperor Napoleon took an important step towards his favourite project of the independence of Italy. French troops still formed the garrison of Rome, as the Emperor found the support of the Clerical party necessary to the security of his throne. Yet the presence of the French garrison was a continual grievance to Italy, and many representations were made to the Emperor for its removal. At length it was suggested that the removal of the capital of Italy from Turin to Florence might tend to produce the impression that the Italians had surrendered the idea of claiming Rome, and pave the way for the withdrawal of the French garrison.

There were, indeed, many reasons why Florence should make a more fitting capital for Italy than Rome. She was the spiritual head of the Italian peninsula. The mighty dead whose monuments adorn the walls of Sante Croce—Dante, Michael Angelo, Machiavelli, and others—were the real source of Italian greatness in the modern age, and the intellect of Europe turned to Italy with passionate devotion. Every street in Florence throbbed with the Italian spirit. The majestic pile of the Palazzo Vecchio, the sacred gloom of the Duomo, the gay elegance of Giotto's Campanile, the alabaster windows of San Miniato, the sculptured doors of San Giovanni, spoke to the Italians of the glory of their country. On the other hand, Rome, by the influence of the Jesuits and the presence of the Papacy, had become almost a non-Italian city. It contained nothing of the Republic, little of the Empire, much of foreign influence and domination. Florence recalled a glorious past and stimulated a prosperous future. Rome might be the capital of an organised Church; Florence was the source of a spiritual Italy which based its aspirations for the future on the intellectual triumphs of the past. At the same time it was a hard task for Victor Emmanuel to depose the city of his birth. He had surrendered to the French the cradle of his race, and was now asked to reduce the capital of his kingdom to the level of a provincial town.

Eventually a treaty providing that the French garrison should evacuate Rome within two years was signed on September 15th; of course, with the condition that the capital should be transferred to Florence. The change was resented by riots in Turin, and these could not be put down without bloodshed. The King, whose

real sympathies lay with the rioters, dismissed the Minghetti Ministry on September 23rd, 1864, and summoned La Marmora to his counsels. He formed a Ministry which consisted almost entirely of Piedmontese, who quieted the apprehension of the people, secured the approval in both Chambers of the Convention with France, and transferred the Government to Florence, the King taking up his residence in the Palazzo Pitti. But such a change could not be effected without symptoms of disintegration. There was now a violent Piedmontese party, over which Mazzini was able to exercise considerable influence, in opposition to the Government. The Ministry had a large majority in Parliament, but the existence of discontent amongst those holding extreme opinions on either side deprived it of the homogeneous authority it had before possessed.

The differences between Austria and Prussia with regard to Schleswig-Holstein still continued acute. Bismarck had his mind fixed firmly on the acquisition of the Duchies, but was reluctant to break with Austria. Mensdorff, on the other hand, was persuaded by Biegeleben that he might force Bismarck to give way by an attitude of firmness, and he wrote three dispatches to Berlin on the subject, the result of which was to dismiss the claims of Oldenburg and to revive those of Augustenburg, in order that the Duchies might not fall into Prussian hands. Bismarck saw that the first step was to get the troops of the Bund out of the Duchies, and, with that object, he made an application to Hanover and Saxony, who supplied them. But these smaller States were also jealous of Prussia, and supported Austria in her reluctance to see the federal occupation come to an end. Eventually the Bund decided by a majority that the occupation should cease, whereupon the administration of Holstein should be undertaken jointly by Austria and Prussia, as that of Schleswig had already been.

The condition of affairs was now as follows. The Bund held firmly to the rights of Augustenburg, but they had no authority to enforce their opinions. Bismarck, on the other hand, recognised that Christian IX. was the only legal sovereign of the Duchies, but he denied his right to the incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark. Austria oscillated between these two views. She had begun by recognising the rights of Christian IX., but when she feared that this might lead to a Prussian occupation and annexation of the Duchies, she leaned to the side of Augustenburg; yet she would have sacrificed the Duchies could she have obtained adequate compensation for herself. Eventually she concluded that

her only safeguard against Prussia lay in supporting the authority of the Bund; and Bismarck, on his side, was convinced that his only chance of realising his policy lay in getting rid of that authority. Eventually Bismarck informed Mensdorff, in February, 1865, that he would admit the claim of Augustenburg, on condition that the Duchies should enter into the Zollverein and adopt the Prussian system of customs, that the posts and telegraphs should belong to Prussia, that the control of the North Sea and Baltic Canal, which was soon to be constructed, should remain in her hands, that Friedrichstadt, Düppel and the mouth of the canal should be surrendered to her. He asked further that the army and fleet of the Duchies should be under Prussian control, that Rendsburg should receive a Prussian garrison, that the Duchies should be subject to Prussian military law, that the recruiting system for the army and navy should be in Prussian hands, and that the troops of the Duchies should take the oath of allegiance to the King of Prussia and be under his orders.

To this Austria replied that they had always opposed the formation of Schleswig-Holstein as a half-Sovereign State, and that if it were admitted into the Confederation it must be on the same footing as other members. Austria was ready to concede to Prussia all the advantages which were reasonably demanded by her sacrifices, her expenses, and her geographical position. It was right that Rendsburg should be made a federal fortress, that Kiel should be a harbour for the Prussian navy, that the canal should be made between the North Sea and the Baltic, that Schleswig-Holstein should enter the Zollverein; but, when Prussia made demands which were inconsistent with the existence of the Bund, Austria must protect her own interests and those of Germany and decline to enter upon negotiations on such a basis. Nothing, therefore, remained but a continuance of the joint occupation, to the delight of Bismarck and the distress of Mensdorff. At the same time the tone of Austria in this answer made Bismarck cautious, and induced him to ask Moltke to make a report on the strength of the Austrian army. For the time the world had peace. On February 27th a commercial treaty was concluded between the two rival States, with as much unanimity as if a difference between them had never existed.

Bismarck had good reason to hope that the annexation of the Duchies to Prussia would eventually be accomplished. Their financial position was not such as to render their separate existence possible. The income of the united Duchies was 6,500,000 thalers, but the cost of collection, together with the expenses of

local government, was 4,500,000, and their share of the Danish debt was 1,000,000; there remained, therefore, only 1,000,000 for the civil list, the army, the fortresses, the navy, and the charge of the central Government. Nothing was left for the future development of the country or the creation of a German fleet, and the only advantage would be that Germany would possess thirty sovereigns instead of twenty-nine. On the other hand, annexation with Prussia would extinguish the expense of the civil list, diminish that of the central Government, give Germany additional 10,000 combatants in peace and 30,000 in war from every million of inhabitants, and make it possible to lay the foundations of a German fleet. For these reasons annexation would further the interests of the Duchies, of Prussia, and of Germany.

Unfortunately, these facts were unknown or unrecognised by the population. They had sworn allegiance to the Duke of Augustenburg, whom they regarded as their protector from the hated domination of the Danes, were satisfied with their local independence, and had no desire to become part of a great nation. An address in favour of annexation to Prussia slowly obtained 200 signatures, but a similar address in favour of Augustenburg was speedily signed by 50,000 persons, of whom four-fifths came from Holstein. His Highness Duke Frederick VIII. was the darling of the people. Austria took advantage of this feeling by encouraging the Augustenburg agitation in the Duchies, and endeavoured to induce the smaller German States, who were, naturally, in favour of it, to bring about a division of the Bund in the same sense. This step was contrary to the agreement of January 16th, 1864, and it became necessary for Prussia to do something. Therefore, on March 24th, 1865, King William ordered the naval station of Prussia to be transferred from Dantzig to Kiel.

Austria, however, pursued her course in spite of the warning of Bismarck that they were following gradually diverging lines. The Bund passed a resolution in favour of Augustenburg, and Austria protested against the establishment of the naval station at Kiel. Bismarck replied, somewhat ungraciously, that there was no reason why Austria should not follow the Prussians' example and transfer their station from Pola to Kiel if it pleased them. Bismarck now proposed that the local parliament of Schleswig-Holstein should be summoned to discuss the situation, but Austria imposed conditions for its meeting which could not be accepted. Excitement in the Duchies became more intense,

and at last Bismarck found himself obliged to face the question of a war with Austria. A Council to discuss the question was summoned at Berlin on May 29th, at which the Crown Prince Frederick and Moltke were present. The alternative was the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, which would certainly bring about a war with Austria, or the recognition of Augustenburg, who was known to be friendly to Prussia and would accept the conditions which she proposed. The King was in favour of the first course, the Crown Prince of the second. Bismarck was convinced that war was inevitable, but did not wish it to take place immediately. Ultimately it was decided that no steps should be taken likely to provoke war, and that another attempt should be made to arrive at an understanding. Austria was not anxious for war, and she knew that France was well disposed to Prussia.

Accordingly, prolonged discussions took place in which the differences between the two Powers became more and more accentuated, until at last a compromise was arrived at by the Convention of Gastein on August 14th, 1865. This stipulated that the territory in dispute should be jointly administered, Austria being responsible for Holstein and Prussia for Schleswig, Lauenburg being surrendered to Prussia on the payment of a sum of money to Austria, while the rights of Augustenburg were left undecided. Bismarck was certain that war would eventually break out, but accepted the compromise as a temporary expedient. He wished, before war broke out, to secure the alliance of Italy and the neutrality of France. Prussia lost nothing by this arrangement, and Austria gained nothing. On the whole, the Convention was regarded as a triumph for Bismarck, and it brought him some friends in his own country, where the opposition to his policy gradually declined. The South German democrats called a meeting at Frankfort in October to insist upon the investiture of Augustenburg, but it proved a complete failure and very few Prussians attended it. Bismarck appeared to have the Prussian nation at his back.

The arrangements come to at Gastein were known in Paris some days before their ratification. Mensdorff had given the information to Metternich, and Metternich had communicated it to Drouyn de l'Huys. Public opinion in France was not favourable to what had been done. Austria and Prussia were accused, on the pretext of safeguarding the rights of the population of Schleswig-Holstein, of having forcibly wrested the Duchies from Denmark and of violating the ancient right of the Duchies to

personal union. The whole of the Parisian press echoed these sentiments, the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for once agreeing with the *Revue Contemporaine.*

Goltz, under instructions from Bismarck, did his best to remove these feelings, and succeeded so far that the French Minister spoke of a possible understanding between France and Prussia in case of war, and of the possible compensation which France might receive for the aggrandisement of Prussia. There can be little doubt that Luxemburg was hinted at. At the same time France joined Great Britain in a public denunciation of the Convention.

Bismarck thought it well to have a personal interview with the Emperor, and for this purpose travelled to Biarritz on September 30th and stayed there till October 12th. The day after his arrival he was received in audience by the Emperor, who asked him whether he had given Austria any securities with regard to Venice, and Bismarck said decidedly not. He declared he was opposed to any step which might bring about a European war, and that we must not make opportunities, but let them open of themselves. Napoleon then asked how Bismarck proposed to arrange the question of the Duchies with Austria; he replied that he would give Austria pecuniary compensation for Holstein, to which the Emperor made no objection. With regard to France receiving a compensation for the increase of Prussian territory through the annexation of the Duchies, Bismarck avowed that the addition of a million inhabitants to the existing population of Prussia was of no moment, and must rather be regarded as a pledge for the fulfilment of the mission which events had imposed upon the Prussian State. A strong Prussia would be an assistance to a friendly France, but a weak Prussia would always be seeking for alliances to defend herself against a France of whom she was afraid. For further compensation the Emperor expressed his conviction that they must await the development of events. He hoped the King of Prussia would write to him if any new circumstances should arise, and said it was impossible that France should ever ally herself with Austria against Prussia. When Bismarck returned to Berlin on November 7th he had the firm conviction that France would look upon the aggrandisement of Prussia with no unfriendly eye, and that no difficulties in the development of Prussian policy were to be apprehended from that quarter.

Such is the account of the interview at Biarritz given by Sybel in his famous *History of the Founding of the German Empire*

under William I., but a different story is told by Roloff in the *Cambridge Modern History*. He says that Napoleon encouraged Bismarck to proceed against Austria, signifying a wish for compensation should Prussia gain fresh acquisitions from the war. In answer to this Bismarck made no promise, but seemed to imply that if Prussia improved her position in Germany there would be no objection to France's acquiring new territory, obviously either in Belgium or on the Rhine. Roloff avers that the Emperor was strongly in favour of the alliance between Prussia and Italy, and promised to recommend it in Florence.

Both statesmen parted on excellent terms. Napoleon counted on war in Germany, with France, as arbiter, receiving a share of the spoils. Bismarck was confident of vanquishing Austria with the help of Italy and of then evading the necessity of compensation to France. Henceforth Bismarck and Napoleon are the two protagonists in all European struggles, and a contest, at first secret and then open, began between them which finally ended at Sedan.

CHAPTER IV

THE HEGEMONY OF PRUSSIA

WE have seen how Bismarck, by his visit to Biarritz, had assured the neutrality of France in the event of war between Prussia and Austria. We must now consider how he obtained the alliance of Italy. Whilst he was still in France the Court of Vienna was surprised by a diplomatic offer from La Marmora. As no regular diplomatic relations had existed between Austria and Italy since 1859, La Marmora sent Count Malaguizzi of Modena as his envoy. He offered to purchase Venetia from the Austrians at the price of 2,000,000,000 lire, or £80,000,000, to make a favourable commercial treaty with Austria, and to treat the Pope with consideration. Malaguizzi spent two months in Vienna and found that his proposals met with favourable consideration. Statesmen doubted whether, in view of the hostility of Prussia, Venetia could remain long in their possession, and merchants rubbed their hands at the proposal of Free Trade with Italy. The Prime Minister liked the prospect of two milliards to restore their shattered finances.

On the other hand, the clergy were unwilling to have anything to do with an excommunicated sovereign. Austrian officers regretted the loss of a pleasant Italian sojourn, and the Emperor was personally opposed to this scheme. But how was the Austrian deficit to be met? Count Larisch sought for a loan in Paris, but Rothschild positively refused to lend anything, and eventually the promise of a large sum was obtained at ruinous interest. The offer of Bismarck to purchase the Duchies put an end to the matter. Austria had already sold Lauenburg, and the proud old Empire was not prepared to barter away one by one the pearls of its diadem. The Emperor gave a decided negative to both propositions. If Italy desired Venetia, she must fight for it. Austria, however, was disposed to treat Italy with consideration and to prefer her friendship to that of Prussia, when suddenly Prussia acknowledged Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy, a step in which she was followed by the whole of the Zollverein, excepting Hanover and Baden, always devoted to the interests of Austria.

In the meantime, friction arose between Gablentz, who represented Austria and Holstein, and Manteuffel, who was

Prussian Viceroy in Schleswig. During a journey from Altona to Kiel the Princess of Augustenburg was received everywhere with delirious enthusiasm, Gablentz preserving a friendly neutrality. Manteuffel could not put up with this, and remonstrated with Gablentz. Bismarck threw himself into the quarrel, and it was felt there would be no peace unless Augustenburg left the Duchies.

Now came the crisis of Bismarck's career. He had long ago determined upon creating a new Prussia and a new Germany, but how was this to be done? Should he march hand in hand with Austria with a common policy, or should Austria be driven from the Bund, which would thus remain under the hegemony of Prussia? He could not but recognise the dangers of the second course—the indignation against Prussia as the destroyer of the peace of Europe and the possibility of a European war. He was willing to pursue peaceful methods so long as they were feasible, and share with Austria the command of military strength, which should direct the destinies of the German Federation to beneficent ends. But this course had proved impracticable before, and it was impracticable now. The attempt to carry it out in the two Duchies had failed, and brought the two Powers to the verge of war. To his mind it was plain that he must either submit or conquer, and if his ideals were to be realised Austria must be crushed. On January 13th, 1866, he wrote to Usedom, in Florence, that the arrangements of Gastein had proved unworkable, and that, if a new policy were adopted, he would like to know what would be the attitude of Italy.

Meanwhile, matters continued to grow worse in the Duchies. A demonstration in favour of Augustenburg, arranged to take place at Altona on January 23rd, was not prevented by Gablentz. Four thousand people, including delegates from South Germany, met and gave three cheers for their rightful, beloved Prince, Duke Frederick. Bismarck and the King were deeply stirred. On January 26th Bismarck wrote to Werther, in Vienna, to complain of the aggressive policy of Austria, and to inform Mensdorff in the clearest language that, unless Austria proposed to maintain, in every respect, the principles of their common action, Prussia must choose by herself the path most conducive to her own interests. Mensdorff appreciated the significance of this language, but his reply of February 7th was couched in somewhat cold and haughty tones, and he denied the right of Prussia to interfere in the administration of Holstein, which had been committed to Austrian hands. On receipt of this letter Bismarck expressed his regret to Karolyi that the relations of Prussia and Austria were

no longer of that intimate nature which had previously characterised them. It was clear that the alliance between Prussia and Austria was at an end.

If war with Austria were inevitable after the dispatch of February 7th, how was it to be brought about? The sooner it was begun and over the better for Prussia; in this Moltke, Roon and Manteuffel were agreed. The King was also convinced that war was the only way out of the difficulty, but he felt the full responsibility of the decision. All his private relations disposed him against a breach with Austria, and equally against an alliance with France. But the Court influences in Berlin were not entirely on the side of Bismarck, and his conversations with his Sovereign must have caused them both very anxious moments. Napoleon preserved absolute neutrality in the event of a war, but he said that Prussia was more likely than Austria to consider general interests in the case of a change in the political condition of Europe. He laughed at the idea of compensating Austria for the loss of Venice by giving her the Danubian Principalities. Roumania would not like to be absorbed by Austria, and Russia would certainly object.

Although Austria was determined not to surrender Venetia, her growing dislike of Prussia made her better disposed towards Italy. At the beginning of January she granted an amnesty to the political exiles from Venetia and gave the country a more liberal government. Mensdorff told Grammont that Austria was ready to extend to the rest of Italy the commercial advantages she had already granted to Sardinia, provided France had no objection, and Drouyn de l'Huys willingly gave his consent. But La Marmora was, for many reasons, not very anxious to accept the offer. Indeed, the policy of La Marmora at this time struck an uncertain note, and Bismarck began to have doubts how far he could be depended upon.

In these circumstances King William summoned a council on February 28th, at which, besides Bismarck and the other members of the Ministry, the Crown Prince, Goltz, Moltke, Manteuffel and Alvensleben were present. The final conclusion was not to hurry on a war, but to try once more the effect of diplomatic negotiations. The King closed the conference by saying that he wished for peace; but that, if war must come, he would not shirk it, as he was sure that his cause was righteous.

It was now necessary to come to terms with France and Italy. Goltz went to Paris to discuss matters with Drouyn de l'Huys and the Emperor. The first question was that of compensation.

Napoleon would not expect anything from the annexation of the Duchies, but France would require an equivalent for any further extension of Prussian territory, either in Belgium or on the Rhine. Bismarck firmly declared that under no consideration would German territory be ceded to France, and the matter remained undecided, it being understood that France was to preserve a friendly neutrality if war should ensue. Goltz, however, learnt the welcome news that Napoleon had agreed with Victor Emmanuel to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with each other.

On February 24th, 1866, Prince Cusa had been compelled to resign the throne of Roumania, and his place was taken by a provisional Government. This gave an opportunity for compensating Austria and obtaining Venetia without war. La Marmora was rather in favour of this project, and Govone was sent to Berlin with the object of urging the Prussians to declare war in order that Austria might be frightened into concluding some arrangement of this kind. The project, however, ended in smoke, as Great Britain and other European Powers were decidedly opposed to it. Austria began to be seriously alarmed, and an Imperial Council, held at Vienna between March 7th and 18th, was in favour of mobilisation and of placing a northern army on the frontiers of Prussia and a southern army on the frontiers of Italy. Mensdorff was opposed to any active measures for the present, but his anxiety was not relieved by the following news from Berlin.

Countess Hohenthal, while sitting next to Bismarck at dinner with the Saxon Ambassador at Berlin, said to him, "Is it really true, Excellency, that you are intending to go to war with Austria and conquer Saxony?"

Bismarck answered, "It is quite true, dearest Countess; I have had no other idea since the first days of my Ministry. Our cannon are cast, and you will soon see how superior they are to the Austrian artillery."

"Horrible!" said the Countess; "but tell me, I have two estates, one in Bohemia, the other in Saxony, near Leipzig; in which would you advise me to take refuge?"

"I would advise you not to go to Bohemia," replied Bismarck; "for we shall beat the Austrians just in the neighbourhood of your property, and you might have some terrible experiences. Go quickly to Saxony; nothing will happen at Leipzig. You will even be secure against billeting, for your house at Knauthagen is not on the line of march."

Bismarck afterwards tried to laugh this away, but Beust took it very seriously, and it is well known how the great Chancellor embarrassed his secretaries by talking openly about the most important secrets.

At any rate, steps were taken to strengthen the Austrian garrisons in Bohemia and Moravia. Further, on March 16th, Mensdorff asked Bismarck whether he really intended to break the Convention of Gastein; and on the same day a circular was sent by Austria to the German Governments, telling them what had happened, and saying that, if Bismarck gave an unsatisfactory answer, the Diet would be asked to decide about Schleswig-Holstein, and, if Prussia resisted, the forces of the Bund would be mobilised, excepting the three army corps which belonged to Prussia. Bismarck replied that, if an answer were expected, he must have the question in writing, for to a verbal question he could only reply in the negative, as he had received no orders from his Sovereign to say anything else. It was also remarked that, while Prussia was not arming at all, Austria was massing troops on the frontier, which might lead to war, as it had led before. The real answer was given by a circular letter on March 24th, in which Prussia asked whether she could depend on the assistance of her allies in the event of her being attacked by Austria.

Eventually a treaty of alliance between Prussia and Italy was signed on April 8th. Its provisions were that, if the negotiations which the King of Prussia was conducting with regard to the reform of the German Federation should come to nothing and he were compelled to have recourse to arms, Italy should immediately declare war against Austria; that the war once begun should be carried on with energy, and that neither Power should make peace without the consent of the other; that the consent must be given if Austria surrendered to Italy the Lombardy Venetian kingdom, and to Prussia corresponding territories of similar importance; that the alliance was made for three months, and should not come into effect if Prussia had not declared war against Austria within that period. Moreover, if the Austrian fleet left the Adriatic before the declaration of war, Italy was to send a portion of her fleet to the Baltic to act in conjunction with that of Prussia. Bismarck thus obtained the assistance of Italy, which Moltke, who had been sent to Florence at the beginning of March, thought absolutely necessary, and the neutrality of France and the protection of Italy had been secured. Italy did not enter into the alliance without great searchings of heart, and was only induced to do so by the consideration that its execution depended

on the declaration of war by Prussia, a prerogative which the King would never let pass out of his hands.

The alliance with Italy laid upon Bismarck the necessity of bringing about war with Austria within three months. Two roads lay open to him for this purpose—a project for the reform of the Federation, and defence against the military preparations of Austria, preparations which could only be met by similar action on the part of Prussia. Bismarck's whole action was that of a subtle conspirator, which cannot be justified on any abstract principle of morality, and can only be defended by overmastering considerations of expediency. He had made up his mind, as he had told the Countess Hohenthal, that the only solution of imminent difficulties was to secure the unity of Germany with Prussia at its head, and that this could not be effected except by a war with Austria.

Bismarck now had to devote the whole force of his intellect and character to the task of goading Austria to war, much as the picador in the bullfight goads the reluctant animal to resistance, and to persuade his Sovereign, the soul of honour and the possessor of a tender conscience, to consent to the means his Minister was employing to achieve his ends. Besides this, he had to assure Italy of the honesty and straightforwardness of his intentions, to prevent her from joining Austria in an attack upon Prussia, after the three months were over, if war had not been declared; to preserve the goodwill of France, and yet prevent Napoleon from urging his favourite device of a European congress—which would spoil the whole of Bismarck's plans—and amuse him with dreams of compensation, without committing himself to any promise; to keep the smaller German States quiet, and prevent them from a sudden warlike union with Austria; to justify his policy for the union of Germany and the aggrandisement of his country—first, to the public opinion of that country itself, which was by no means friendly, and then to the public tribunal of Europe.

The fulfilment of such a task might seem to transcend human powers, and Bismarck had to strain his physical energies to breaking point. Indeed, some calm and unprejudiced observers have condemned Bismarck's action, even after its triumphant conclusion, as the act of an unprincipled and reckless filibuster, who embroiled Europe and set the whole fortunes of his country upon a stake which he might lose and could only win by an extraordinary combination of good fortune. King William was determined not to subject himself to blame of this kind; it should never be said of him that he had forced the hand of Austria by premature

armament; and public opinion was on his side. Even those who were most opposed to Austria and most in sympathy with the objects for which Bismarck was contending were anxious for a peaceful solution of the question and afraid of some evil stroke from the side of France. At the same time the suspicions of Italy were aroused by the backwardness of Prussia in arming herself, which was really due to the hesitation of the King. Fortunately, Austria, becoming weary, like the baited bull, of the maddening ambitions of her neighbours, began to move troops in Moravia and Venetia. This induced the King, at the end of March, to make some military preparations, but not yet to mobilise his army.

Bismarck's attempt to bring about war by a proposal to reconstruct the German Federation proved an entire failure. On April 9th he brought forward, before the Diet at Frankfort, a motion advocating the creation of a strong central authority and the representation of the people by universal suffrage. His object was to rouse the opposition of Austria, and make himself popular in his own country. But it had the opposite effect. The Prussian nation refused to support him, because they knew that the Minister who was governing without parliamentary control over the finances could be no true democrat. Bavaria also was opposed to him, Great Britain was hostile, France unsympathetic. Indeed, the hollowness of the proposal was generally seen through, and Bismarck was compelled to retrace his steps and have recourse to other methods.

At this time mobilisation in Austria would require seven weeks, in Prussia three, which would give Prussia the advantage of four weeks in beginning a war. On March 31st Mensdorff wrote to Berlin that nothing was further from his mind than an attack upon Prussia, both on personal and on public grounds. Bismarck replied, on April 4th, that the concentration of troops by Austria on the frontier of Prussia had compelled him to make corresponding preparations for defence. This produced an uncomfortable feeling in Vienna, and on April 8th a military conference determined on the raising of 85,000 troops. The proposal of Prussia for the reform of the Bund, which we have already mentioned, increased the feeling of uneasiness, and the pressure of the Austrian generals became more intense and the resistance of Mensdorff weaker. On April 13th Austria armed her northern fortresses, next day recalled her reservists and the soldiers on leave and purchased horses, and on April 15th mobilised a northern and a southern army. Then followed proposals for mutual disarmament,

and the friends of peace hoped that before the end of April all danger would have passed away. At this very moment news arrived at Vienna that Italy was arming, and had mobilised a force of 100,000 men. This was entirely without foundation, as all that had been done was in accordance with the usual practice; indeed, La Marmora was much disturbed by the apparent quiescence of Prussia, and determined to take no steps for mobilisation a day before his ally.

However, the war party had gained the ascendancy. On April 21st a council of war decided to mobilise the Austrian army on a large scale. Archduke Albert was given command of the southern and Benedek of the northern army. The Finance Minister, although at his wits' end for money, contracted a new loan for £60,000,000, and unnegotiable paper money was created to the extent of £115,000,000. The financial pressure became so great that Austria could not wait for peace; it was necessary she should force a definite declaration of Prussian policy with respect to the Duchies and Venetia. On April 26th Austria proposed that the question of Schleswig-Holstein should be left to the decision of the Bund, and Mensdorff wrote on the same day to France that he would surrender Venetia to Italy if France and Italy remained neutral while the Austrians reconquered Schleswig. The answer to this was the mobilisation of the whole Italian army, to the inexpressible joy of the nation. Party conflicts were forgotten, and the enthusiasm of the people flowed out in a united stream towards war with the hated Austrians for the liberation of Venice.

Prussia, however, still held back, and it was not until the beginning of May that the complete mobilisation of the army was decided upon at Berlin. This was followed by the smaller German States, first Saxony, then Bavaria, and then Würtemberg, Darmstadt and Nassau. The delay in the mobilisation of the Prussian army arose from two causes—the King's reluctance to go to war, and the existence of foreign complications. On April 25th Goltz reported a conversation with Napoleon, in which the Emperor had referred to the idea of a European congress which he had first proposed in 1863. The difficulty lay in the settlement of a compensation for France. The Emperor said, "If you had a Savoy, everything would be easy." On May 2nd a formal proposal to take part in a congress was made by Benedetti at Berlin. Bismarck believed the congress would produce discord and not peace, but did not refuse to take part in it, but wished, as a preliminary, to have a clear understanding with France. The Emperor did not agree with this, which he said would create

confusion in Europe; but he told Goltz at a court ball that Austria had offered him the Rhine frontier as the price of an alliance, and he wished that Prussia would do likewise. Bismarck doubted whether Goltz's information was trustworthy, and we do not know what offer had actually been made by Austria, but it is certain that he regarded the possession of Venetia by Italy as necessary for the security of peace in Europe. At the same time the national feeling of France was strongly opposed to the creation of a united Germany.

On May 5th the Emperor told Nigra, the Italian Ambassador in Paris, that Austria was ready to surrender Venetia as soon as she became mistress of Schleswig, but that Venetia would be given to the Emperor, who would then make it over to Italy, and that Italy would pay Austria a certain sum, which would enable her to fortify her new possessions. He asked whether it was possible for Italy to give up her connection with Prussia. There was, indeed, some possibility of this, because, although Bismarck had declared that he was personally prepared to defend Italy against an attack by Austria, he was not bound to do so by the terms of the treaty. Nigra replied, according to the instructions of La Marmora, that Italy could not honourably desert her ally, but that the treaty would end on July 8th, and that after that Italy would be free to act as she pleased.

On May 21st Bismarck made a final proposal for peace with Austria. The Duchies should be united under the government of Prince Albert of Prussia, Düppel and Sonderburg being surrendered to the Prussian kingdom; Prussia and Austria were to undertake the common work of the reform of the Confederation; a common army should be formed with similar organisation and discipline, Prussia commanding in the north, Austria in the south; and in order to complete these arrangements, the smaller German sovereigns and the representatives of the free towns should meet at Weimar. This offer was approved of by the King. However, the propositions were not well received by the smaller States, and eventually Mensdorff wrote, on May 28th, that he was sorry that the strained relations between the two countries did not admit of friendly negotiations, but that he hoped that matters might improve.

At this time the Emperor Napoleon was in great embarrassment. Public opinion in France was opposed to the warlike tendencies of Prussia. But peace in Germany meant the retention of Venetia by Austria, and this entailed the sacrifice of his dearest wishes and perhaps the explosion of more bombs. He therefore

harked back to his idea of a congress. In his heart he desired to abrogate the arrangements of the Treaty of Vienna by the creation of a new European tribunal, but he had neither the firmness of mind nor the strength of body to carry this out with vigour, and he therefore had resort to temporary expedients and a tortuous policy. His plan now was to give the Duchies to Prussia, and compensate Austria for the loss of Venetia by the absorption of Silesia. Prussia was to be enlarged by Saxony and some other German territories, and be the head of North Germany. The southern and middle German States were to form a federation, not under Austria, but attached by ties of gratitude to France. The left bank of the Rhine, from Alsace to Holland, was to form a neutral State on the model of Belgium, which would be a reconstruction of the Confederation of the Rhine. If the negotiations for the congress were spun out beyond July 8th, Italy would be free to act as she pleased. Bismarck would not accept these proposals, and Italy was reluctant to do so, because she feared that Napoleon was not in favour of a united Italy, but would prefer to have a Murat in Naples, Prince Napoleon in Tuscany, and a reigning Pope in Rome.

In the meantime official invitations to the congress were sent to the European Powers and acknowledged before June 7th. Austria declined the congress and took the important step of summoning the Bund to settle the difficulties in Germany. This was tantamount to a declaration of war, because it was certain that the Bund would give its verdict against Prussia, and that Prussia would resist. Napoleon now made an arrangement with Vienna on the terms that France should remain neutral, that the Emperor should do his best to secure the neutrality of Italy, that Venetia should be surrendered in exchange for Silesia, and that France should receive some compensation on the Rhine. It is clear that this agreement, which was signed on June 12th, would be a humiliation for Prussia, since it must effectually prevent the unity of Germany and the unity of Italy.

From this moment war was certain. On June 3rd Bismarck announced to the Court at Vienna that he regarded the reference of the questions in dispute to the Bund as a breach of the Convention of Gastein. He also declared to the Federal Diet that Schleswig had nothing to do with the Bund, and that it was part of the arrangements of January 16th, 1864, that the affairs of the Duchies should be settled by mutual consent between Prussia and Austria. Austria now asked the Bund to arm against Prussia, because she had violated the Treaty of Gastein, forgetting that

the treaty had been concluded between Austria and Prussia acting as great European Powers and not as members of the Federation. Bismarck was, in fact, rather pleased at this turn of affairs, because it put Austria more decidedly in the wrong.

Diplomatic relations were now interrupted. On June 12th Austria recalled Count Karolyi from Berlin, and Baron Werther asked for his passports in Vienna. On the same day Bismarck sent a note to the Prussian representatives in Germany that he should regard the acceptance of the Austrian proposal by the Bund as a declaration of war. He also laid before the King a plan of military operations, formed on the alternative suppositions that the smaller German States remained neutral and that they did not. The lot of these States was not a happy one: they were willing to light the match but did not wish to be blown up by the explosion which would follow.

At last June 14th arrived, the day on which the resolution of the Bund was to be taken. In the voting Austria accepted the proposal, Prussia protested against it. Bavaria, Saxony and Darmstadt voted for the proposal, so far as it implied an arrangement for the preservation of peace, but did not consider that the breach of the Convention of Gastein was a sufficient reason for war. Hanover agreed to this, but thought that no federal general should be appointed for the present. Würtemberg followed Austria, Baden stood aloof. The Elector of Hesse agreed with Austria; but Hanover, Luxemburg and the Saxon Duchies were against the proposal. When the votes had been given, the President declared that the amendment of Bavaria for a limited interference had been carried by nine to six. The representative of Prussia then said that the introduction, let alone the passing, of this proposal was in contradiction of the fundamental laws of the Bund, and the Emperor of Austria could not be regarded as a member of the Bund for Holstein. He said that his master, the King, now regarded the Confederation as dissolved, and would attempt to make a new combination to accomplish the unity of Germany. The President declared, in answer, that it was impossible for Prussia to dissolve the Federation, and that it would continue to do its work as before. When the King was informed of what had passed, he recalled his ambassadors from Dresden, Hanover and Cassel, and orders were given to the great army to begin an immediate attack upon Bohemia.

The war having broken out, the Austrians determined to assemble their troops in the neighbourhood of Olmütz in Moravia, where six army corps were gradually collected. Three divisions of

cavalry were already in Bohemia, and a fourth had been sent in advance to Austrian Silesia. The whole strength of the Austrians amounted to 238,000 men, which was afterwards increased by 23,000 from Saxony. There were, however, certain defects. Financial difficulties had prevented her from keeping her army in a high condition of strength and efficiency, and a large proportion of the soldiers had only been trained for a year. They were also lacking in culture and education, and were, in this respect, far behind the Prussian troops. In arms the Austrians had nothing to compare with the needle-gun of their adversaries, and were not likely to be effective with the bayonet, which in these years was often decisive in a battle. On June 16th the army collected at Olmütz comprised 174,000 infantry, and Benedek, the Commander-in-Chief, thought he could not depend on more than 158,000, which would give the Prussians an advantage of more than 40,000. The armies of the smaller German States were also in a most unsatisfactory condition.

The Prussian forces were divided into three armies: one in Silesia, called the Second Army, under the command of the Crown Prince, 111,000 strong; the First Army, under Prince Frederick Charles, 93,000 strong; and the Elbe Army, 46,000 strong, under Herwarth von Bittenfeld. Another army never engaged the enemy, being used for garrison purposes. The whole Prussian force amounted to 263,000 men, as opposed to the Austrian total of 261,000.

On the morning of June 15th Schulenburg, the Prussian Minister in Saxony, asked Beust, the Saxon Prime Minister, to make an alliance with Prussia, on the conditions that her troops should be placed upon a peace footing, and that a Parliament should be summoned, whereupon Prussia would guarantee her sovereignty on the basis of the reform proposals of June 10th. An answer was to be given in the course of the day, and a refusal would be regarded as a declaration of war. The Saxons had already made preparations, and 36,000,000 thalers had been safely deposited in Munich. The answer was not doubtful: Saxony could not disarm without an order of the Diet. In the evening Schulenberg communicated the declaration of war privately to the King, and at the same moment Herwarth von Bittenfeld's battalions crossed the frontier; Beust immediately demanded the assistance of the Bund, especially of Austria and Bavaria. But Benedek was at Olmütz, and the Bavarian troops were not yet assembled, so King John, the first Dante scholar in Europe, retired to Pirna, and then led his troops across the

mountains into Bohemia. Dresden was occupied by the Prussians without resistance on June 18th, and the whole country submitted quietly to Prussian domination.

In Electoral Hesse the Government had ordered the mobilisation of its army corps on June 14th, and summoned the Parliament in order to provide the money. The Parliament, however, refused supplies, and demanded the reversal of the mobilisation and the preservation of complete neutrality. At this moment Röder appeared to lay the Prussian ultimatum before the Hessian Minister, who referred him to the Elector. The Prince received him ungraciously, and refused to give a decided answer; but all idea of mobilisation was at an end. The Hessian troops retired, in order that they might not come into conflict with the Prussians, and made an abortive attempt to carry off the treasure. In the evening the Elector declined to give an answer. Röder declared war, and Beyer advanced into Hesse from Wetzlar and reached Cassel on June 19th. The Elector stayed at Wilhelmshöhe and refused to recognise the declaration of war. He was regarded as a prisoner, and was removed, first to Minden and then to the castle at Stettin, where he was treated with royal honours. Hesse was then administered by Beyer.

In Hanover, King George had no idea of acceding to the demands of Prussia, or of submitting to an unarmed neutrality. He summoned a council of Ministers, to whom he repeated his determination to be neutral, but said that it would be dishonourable to recall the mobilisation which had already been ordered, and degrading to sacrifice his divine right to Prussian projects of reform. His Ministry agreed with him, which, of course, meant a declaration of war. Orders were sent to all soldiers to return to Göttingen, in the southern half of the kingdom, and at a meeting of the Chambers Benningten proposed the dismissal of the present Ministry and the declaration of complete neutrality. The people, however, were excited by the news that the Prussians were already in Harburg. The King endeavoured to temporise, but Ysenburg was firm and declared war, and King George set out to join his troops at Göttingen. Two hours later Manteuffel crossed the Elbe, and Falkenstein was on the march to Hanover, which he reached on June 17th.

There could not be a greater contrast than the activity and determination of the Prussians and the vacillation of their opponents. Within three days three kingdoms which could supply 75,000 men to the federal army were occupied by Prussia. In Göttingen the King took command of his troops; but, being

blind, had to depend on Tscherschütz, his adjutant. He pressed for a further advance to the south to join the Bavarians, but the army was not in a condition to proceed. At last they reached Langensalza on June 23rd; here an armistice was arranged by the Duke of Gotha, which might have led to a peaceful conclusion. King William, who was unwilling to make war against his friend and brother, offered most honourable terms, which King George, after considerable deliberation, refused to accept. His answer cost him his crown. Eventually a battle took place at Langensalza, which resulted in the defeat of the Prussians. They lost 170 dead, 600 wounded, and 900 prisoners, while the Hanoverian losses were 400 dead and 1,000 wounded. The battle, however, was of little use. The victors found themselves surrounded by 40,000 Prussians, deserted by the Bavarians, and without food or shelter; so, on June 29th, a capitulation took place, which made the Prussians master of the whole country and the munitions of war it contained. King William respected the brave resistance of the Hanoverian army and allowed the King and the Crown Prince to choose any place of residence which kept them outside Hanover. They went first to Vienna and took up their abode in Hietzing, the Queen remaining in Hessenhausen under Prussian protection. Hanover was incorporated with Prussia, much to its advantage, and the rivalry between the Houses of Guelph and Hohenzollern, which had lasted for many centuries and exercised a great influence over German history, came to an end. The Guelphs reigned in Great Britain, but wholly lost their power in the country of their origin.

There was great joy in Italy at the news of the outbreak of the war between Austria and Prussia. The enthusiasm spread throughout all parts of the nation, and Neapolitans, Tuscans, Piedmontese, Lombards and Romagnols ranged themselves under the Italian tricolour. The troops were numerous if their quality was not high; they formed twenty divisions, each of nearly 12,000 men, so that the total was not less than 240,000. The larger portion was in Lombardy under the command of the King, with La Marmora as chief of the staff; the smaller on the Lower Po, near Bologna and Ferrara, under Cialdini. Besides this, there was a body of volunteers numbering 15,000 under Garibaldi, which was afterwards increased to 35,000. In addition we must reckon about 150,000 troops as a reserve.

Opposed to this ponderous and motley host the Austrians could only muster 82,000 men, of whom 30,000 were needed for the protection of the Quadrilateral, while 13,000 were required to

cover southern Tyrol, and 16,000 were needed for Istria and Fiali. Archduke Albert had to deal with an enemy whose forces were twice or three times as numerous as his own, and the Italians looked forward to a certain victory.

La Marmora, however, was disposed to be cautious, and not commit himself to a dangerous adventure. He knew that the Austrians were ready to surrender Venetia if they could only defeat the Prussians, and that, if he could wait, the fruit would fall into his hands, and still more readily if the Austrians could gain some slight advantage. For these reasons he was unwilling to submit to the advice of Prussian strategists, who were naturally anxious to offer it. It was impossible for Moltke to leave Berlin at this important crisis, and so Bernhardi was sent, a man equally renowned as a general and an historian.

Venetia was bounded on the north by the Alps, on the south to a great extent by the Po, on the west by the Mincio. Behind these two rivers flows the Adige, first to the south, parallel with the Mincio, and then to the east, parallel with the Po. In the north, Venetia was defended by the famous Quadrilateral, formed by four fortresses, Peschiera and Mantua on the Mincio, Verona and Legnago on the Adige. A doubt arose as to the side from which Venetia should be attacked—from Milan on the west, or from Bologna and Ferrara on the south. The passage over the Mincio was easier than that over the Adige, but the invaders would be immediately stopped by the four formidable fortresses, and if the enemy retired they could fight from river to river. If the attack came from the south, the Austrians would be cut off from Venice and Trieste, from Laibach and Vienna, and be compelled either to shut themselves up in the Quadrilateral, or make a difficult march through Tyrol. Moltke had no hesitation in recommending the southern attack, so as to press the Austrians in the rear, drive them into Tyrol, and give the lead to the Prussians in the neighbourhood of Linz. Simultaneously with this movement, a demonstration might be made on the Mincio. There was also an idea of rousing the discontented Liberals of Hungary against their Austrian oppressors, and of sending Garibaldi to Hungary for this purpose, with 35,000 volunteers, by way of Dalmatia and Trieste. Money would be supplied by Prussia and Italy.

La Marmora did not look forward to Bernhardi's visit with enthusiasm. No doubt at this moment there was great divergence between the designs of Prussia and Italy. The Prussians desired to crush the Austrians, and for this purpose were anxious for a strong attack on the side of Italy, which must seriously injure

Austrian operations on the north. But La Marmora limited his outlook to the possession of Venetia. The Emperor Napoleon also was opposed to violent measures, while the British Government dreaded revolutionary movements in Hungary, which might spread in other directions, and it is supposed that other secret influences were at work in the background. Therefore, when Bernhardi strongly urged an advance from the Po, and the sending of Garidaldi across the Adriatic into Dalmatia, La Marmora set himself obstinately against it and contented himself with operations which had Alessandria as their base and the conquest of the Quadrilateral as their objective. In fact, he did precisely what Austria would wish him to do.

La Marmora now resigned his office as Prime Minister, and his place was taken by Ricasoli, a man of very different stamp, who was quite ready to carry on the war with vigour, desiring the liberation of Italy not only from the Austrians, but from the French. He was prepared to conduct the campaign from the Po to the Danube, and send Garibaldi to rouse Hungary to rebellion, and wrote to La Marmora to that effect. But La Marmora, after reading the letter with disgust, put it into his pocket and said nothing to anyone. He was, indeed, embittered against Prussia. Cialdini was strongly in favour of an advance from the Po, so that the relations of Ricasoli with the two generals were somewhat strained. The King, however, could not effect a settlement between them, and it was decided that Cialdini should cross the Po with eight divisions and La Marmora the Mincio with twelve. On June 20th La Marmora sent a declaration of war to Archduke Albert, and said that operations would begin in three days. To this communication no answer was returned.

Archduke Albert was well informed of what was passing in the camp of the enemy, and was aware that the chief attack would be made by the King on the Mincio. He disposed of his 82,000 men in a workmanlike manner, placing his main force so as to be within two days' march of both the Mincio and the Po, and allotting small bodies for the defence of both rivers. La Marmora announced that he intended to spring into the middle of the Quadrilateral, establish himself there, and proceed with the investment of Peschiera or one of the other fortresses. What his later designs were remained a secret in his own bosom.

The struggle took place at Custozza, the battlefield of which we will describe. The Mincio, on leaving the Lake Garda at Peschiera, flows southwards towards Mantua and the Po. At Valeggio, five or six miles from Peschiera, it reaches a hilly country,

marked by conspicuous heights—Monte Vento, Custozza, where Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese in 1848, and Monte della Croce. Eastward from Valeggio on the plain lies Villafranca, where the peace of 1859 was concluded, and northward of this lies Somma Campagna, also on the edge of the plain. This was the country into which La Marmora proposed to make his spring. He had under him 140,000 men, twice the strength of the enemy, in twelve divisions.

In the early morning of June 23rd, 1866, he crossed the Mincio at four different points, but met very few of the enemy, whom he believed to be behind the Adige. He therefore continued his march through the hilly country towards Verona, as if he were in a time of peace. Archduke Albert was well informed of La Marmora's movements, and knew the latter could receive no assistance from Cialdini for several days. He therefore collected his troops on the right bank of the Adige, with the design of marching westwards towards Somma Campagna, then turning south to march through the hilly country and attack the enemy where he could find them. He began this movement on June 23rd, and continued it on the following day. The Italians marched on towards Verona without the slightest notion that an enemy was on their flank. When La Marmora reached Villafranca, Prince Humbert asked him whether the soldiers might rest or whether they should first reconnoitre to look for the enemy. La Marmora replied that there was not one Austrian on the western side of the Adige, and that they might rest in peace. Hearing a cannonade on their left, the general remarked that it was the beginning of the siege of Peschiera.

At that moment an Austrian brigade attacked them, and La Marmora became aware that he had to do with the whole of the Austrian army detailed for the Italian campaign, and that the cannonade he had heard was part of the general attack. He would have been completely defeated had not Pianell, contrary to orders, marched with twelve battalions towards the sound of the guns and saved him from disaster. As it was, the left wing was entirely broken, but the right wing still held out. Their superior numbers gave the Italians great advantage, and, with proper management, they might have resisted the Archduke Albert and forced him to retreat. But at the crisis, when the presence of the commander-in-chief was necessary, La Marmora was not to be found, Pianell, Bixio and the Crown Prince seeking for him everywhere in vain. It appeared that he had imagined that the day was lost and had ordered the retreat, first setting the

example himself. It is said that he had mistaken the dark forms of a number of baggage-wagons for the approach of the enemy in his rear. The generals could do nothing without orders, and the Italians suffered a crushing defeat. The fact was that more than half of their troops were never engaged at all, and the battle took place between 82,000 Austrians and 60,000 of the enemy. The news of the victory was received with enthusiasm in Vienna, and caused corresponding depression in Italy. It was true, however, that the Austrians, having gained a victory, would become more disposed to surrender Venetia than if they had been defeated. It was, indeed, suggested that La Marmora had submitted to the disaster on purpose, in order that the Austrians might retreat from Venetia without loss of honour. This, however, will not bear investigation, and the better judgment is that La Marmora's defeat was due to his own incompetence, whatever may have been the advantage his country eventually derived from it.

In their struggle with the Austrians possession of Saxony gave the Prussians the advantage of being able to make a concentrated advance of the three armies against the frontier passes and a speedy union of their forces in Bohemia. The operations were carried out with a masterly swiftness, although the Prussians had the disadvantage of attacking with bodies at considerable distances from each other, while the Austrians could choose their positions for defence. Benedek had collected his forces between Theresienstadt, Prague, Josefstadt and Pardubitz, with the idea of making an attack on Prussia, supported by Bavaria and the smaller German States on his flank, but he was prevented from doing this by the energy of the Prussian advance. The Viennese newspapers predicted the speedy reconquest of Saxony, an advance towards Berlin, and the dictation of peace in the Prussian capital; and in many parts of Europe, especially in England, the opinion prevailed that the Prussians could offer no effective resistance to the Austrian troops.

It had been arranged that Saxony should be invaded by two corps, the Army of the Elbe and the First Army, one advancing from the north, the other from the east. The Saxon army began its retreat on the evening of June 1st, proceeding towards Bohemia by way of Bodenbach, in order to join the Austrians. The two Prussian armies converging on Dresden entered this capital without opposition on the afternoon of June 18th, and in two days the country was occupied, with the exception of the fortress of Königstein, in which the royal treasure and papers were deposited. Eye-witnesses relate that the Prussian troops were well received

by the population, and that, had it not been for the swords and bayonets of patrols which glittered in the sun along every road, the scene would have been one of perfect peace. The soldiers helped the peasants to carry in the hay harvest, worked in the cottage gardens, and made purchases in the village shops; bare-legged country urchins got rides on the cavalry and artillery horses as they went to be watered, and were invited to peep into the muzzles of rifled guns, and only when some adventurous child ventured to put a handful of cornflowers in the mouth of a cannon was he turned off the battery by the sentry. Passenger traffic on the railways was soon resumed, and telegraphic messages were regularly delivered.

The occupation of Saxony enabled the Prussians to attack the Austrians on a narrow front if they came out of the mountains, and rendered the invasion of Bohemia not only possible, but easy. The Austrians had not been prepared for the celerity of the Prussian movements. Benedek had concentrated his army with a view to strike a deadly blow at the heart of the Prussian kingdom, supported on the flank by the Bavarians and the other troops of the Federation. But his plans had been dislocated. Instead of Austria setting Saxony free by a rapid march and dictating peace in Berlin, the field-marshal saw the Prussian armies march through the passes in the mountains into north-eastern Bohemia. The Austrians were sadly deficient in the spirit and energy of the Prussians, their armies were inefficiently equipped, and their commanders were without any clear plans. At the same time the northern army of the combined Austrians and Saxons was nearly equal in strength to the forces of Prussia, and, when the forces of the Confederation joined them, would be greatly superior. Moreover, Baden, which had at first determined to remain neutral, was forced by public opinion to join the Austrians, finding that if she stood aloof her territory might be treated as a convenient object of compensation, and her adhesion gave the Austrians an additional force of 15,000 men.

The fate of Germany was decided in an irregular square of territory enclosed by the Sudetian mountains and the higher waters of the Iser and Elbe. Prince Frederick Charles, on his march to join the Silesian army, passed along the southern foot of the Riesengebirge, one of the four ranges by which Bohemia is enclosed, and soon reached the western bank of the Iser. On the other hand, the Crown Prince, on his way to Bohemia, must pass through the Sudetian mountains and the county of Glatz, and would reach the eastern bank of the upper Elbe, and so form

his junction with Prince Frederick Charles. In order that the two armies might unite, both rivers must be passed, and the passage of both was defended. The harder task fell to the Silesian army, for the Iser was only defended by 60,000 men, the Elbe by 200,000. On June 22nd a telegram was sent to the two commanders ordering them to march into Bohemia and join forces in the neighbourhood of Gitschin, a town at an equal distance from the two rivers. Moltke, at the same time, left the generals free to act according to their own judgment, in case the operations of the enemy were different from what he expected.

On June 22nd Prince Frederick Charles took up his quarters at Görlitz and marched towards the Austrian frontier by the two roads leading through Zittau and Seidenberg, Bohemia being entered on the following day. At the same time Herwarth von Bittenfeld, in command of the Army of the Elbe, marched on the high road from Schelucheim to Rumburg, and occupied Reichenberg on June 24th. The position of this place enabled Prince Frederick Charles to open communication with the Silesian and Saxon lines of railway, which were of great importance for the commissariat. The first engagement of any importance took place at Podol upon the Iser, here about a hundred yards wide. The battle did not begin till eight in the evening, when darkness was coming on, and it was not finished till midnight, every house in the village being obstinately disputed. At last both the town bridge and the military bridge were captured by the Prussians, and the Austrians drew off sullenly on the road to Münchengrätz. The last dropping shots did not cease till daybreak, when there were no Austrians within three miles of the bridges except the wounded and the prisoners. No artillery was engaged on either side, and the Prussians owed much of their success to their needle-guns. By the retreat of the Austrians to Münchengrätz, communications were opened between the army of Prince Frederick Charles and that of the Elbe, and on the following day the two forces were able to take possession of the whole line of the Iser. Münchengrätz was not gained without a struggle, but Prince Frederick Charles, by a series of tactical movements, and the loss of only a hundred men, gained twelve miles of country, captured 1,000 prisoners, and effected a more complete junction with the army of Bittenfeld, the headquarters of both generals being established in the same town.

More serious was the conflict at Gitschin, the place originally designated by Moltke as the meeting-place of the two armies, about twenty miles from Münchengrätz. The Austrians were

strongly posted, their artillery and sharpshooters being carefully placed, but their young soldiers were slowly and steadily driven back by the heavier and more mature troops of the Prussians. At night began an attack on the Austrians and Saxons who occupied the town, a night full of horror and terror. It is said that even the inhabitants took part in this untimely struggle, which was carried on in the dark and narrow streets. When day dawned the Austrians were in retreat, and the blood-stained town, with the streets choked up with corpses, fell into the hands of the Prussians, a dearly-won possession, but of decisive importance for the success of the whole campaign. Another conflict took place on the same evening on the other side of the town, where the Prussians were advancing from the direction of Turnau. In this part of the battle the loss of the Saxons was very heavy, and the Prussians also suffered severely, for they had to carry a strong position held by a superior force. The Prussian headquarters were now established at Gitschin, and in the afternoon of June 30th communications were opened between the army of Prince Frederick Charles and that of the Crown Prince of Prussia, who was advancing by Arnau.

The Crown Prince's army had crossed the Austrian frontier on the evening of June 26th, his first action taking place at Trautenau on the following day, in which battle the Prussians lost 63 officers and 1,214 men, the Austrians 196 officers and 5,530 men. The Austrians gained the victory, which was, however, of very little use to them, as the balance was redressed by an action at Soor, which allowed the two portions of the Prussian army to unite, while Gablentz, the Austrian general, retreated to Königinhof. This town was captured on June 29th, after a severe contest, each yard of every street and each window of every house being stoutly defended. While this was going on, the left columns of the Crown Prince's army rushed through the passes of the Riesengebirge from Glatz to Nachod, along a narrow road through a difficult defile, the column of march being twenty miles in length. This defile was defended by the Austrians in front of Skalitz, but after an obstinate struggle they were driven back by Steinmetz, who had fought in the War of Liberation, the Crown Prince being also present in person. Another battle took place at Skalitz itself and another at Schweinschädel on the following day, which enabled the Crown Prince to concentrate his army on the left bank of the Elbe, and, on the last day of the month, as we have seen, communications were opened between the two main branches of the Prussian army.

Benedek now telegraphed to Vienna that, in consequence of the complete defeat of the first corps and the Saxon corps, he was compelled to withdraw his army to Königgrätz. This dispatch came upon the Viennese public as a thunderbolt from a clear sky. They had, up to that moment, been confident of victory. After Skalitz Benedek announced that Ramming had escaped all dangers and arrived safely and happily at Skalitz. Then came the news of the victory of Gablentz at Trautenau, and then a short telegram from Benedek from Skalitz saying that nothing serious was likely to happen there, and that the artillery had shown itself efficient as usual. The newspapers disseminated this joyful intelligence, and throughout Europe there was a cry of victory all along the line. Suddenly came the alarming revelation of complete defeat and retreat to Königgrätz. The exaltation of seven months only made the depression more severe.

At this period King William arrived at Reichenberg and took command of the army. He left Berlin on June 30th, accompanied by Bismarck, Roon and Moltke. He had heard of the success at Skalitz, but not of the victory at Gitschin. The Prussian armies were now united at Horsitz and Jaromierz, and the King moved his quarters first to Sichrow, and then to Gitschin. Benedek reached Königgrätz on July 1st, and before midday telegraphed to the Emperor, begging him to make peace at all hazards, as the defeat of the army was certain. In answer to this two telegrams were sent, one to the Emperor Napoleon, saying that the Austrians were prepared to surrender Venetia if the neutrality of Italy were guaranteed, the other to Benedek, " Impossible to make peace. I command a retreat in perfect order if such step is unavoidable. Has a battle already taken place ? "

Benedek understood from this that the Emperor desired a battle, but allowed retreat in case of necessity. In the course of the night he sent another telegram to the Emperor that he intended to let the army rest for the next day, that he could not stay where he was because there was no water, that he should retreat to Pardubitz on July 3rd, that if he could depend upon the troops he would fight a battle, but that he intended to take the troops back to Olmütz as soon as possible. Finally, he sent another dispatch, in the afternoon of July 2nd, that the army would remain in its position at Königgrätz for the following day, and that he hoped a further retreat would not be necessary. He had, therefore, made up his mind to fight a decisive battle next day. Indeed, it was not until the night of July 2nd that his whole forces were assembled, taking up a position between the town of Königgrätz

and the Bistritz, now swollen with rain and only passable in certain places by bridges. Of the armies opposed to him, that of Prince Frederick Charles had fought five severe combats without a reverse, and had secured a favourable position in which to engage a great battle. The army of the Crown Prince had fought stubborn actions on July 27th, 28th, 29th, had now secured its junction with the other army, and was bringing with it as trophies 15,000 prisoners, 24 captured guns, 6 stand of colours, and 2 standards.

The field of the battle which was to form such an important epoch in European history lay between the Elbe and the Bistritz, which ran parallel to each other at a distance of about five miles. The high road from Gitschin to Königgrätz crossed the Bistritz at Sadowa. Behind Sadowa is a thick wood, the Hohewald, and between it and Nechanitz about half-a-dozen small villages. Afterwards the ground becomes more hilly, and then smooth again, so that close to Königgrätz it is entirely flat. The village of Chlum is about a mile and a half from Sadowa. Another mile and a half from Sadowa, down the Bistritz, is the village of Mokrovous, and a little way above it the church of Dohalitzka and the village of Dohalitz.

The Prussian troops were in motion long before midnight, and at 1.30 a.m. the staff left Kammeritz. With the dawn of day a drizzling rain came on, which lasted till five in the afternoon, while a keen wind blew sharply on the soldiers, who were short of sleep and food. At 6 a.m. the army had reached the Hill of Dub, on the other side of the Bistritz, but it was not allowed to mount the summit of the slope, which had hitherto concealed it from the Austrians. At 7 Prince Frederick Charles pushed over the hill, with some of his cavalry and horse artillery, and at 7.30 the first shot was fired. The Prussian horse artillery, close to the Bistritz, replied to the Austrian guns, but neither side fired heavily, and for half an hour the cannonade consisted of single shots. At 7.45 the King of Prussia appeared upon the scene, and the battle became more vigorous on both sides.

During the cannonade the Prussian infantry had been moved down to the river, and at about 10 were ordered to attack Sadowa, Dohalitz and Mokrovous. They were obliged to contest every inch of the way, as the Austrians fired upon them as they approached. The fighting continued in and around the villages for nearly an hour and little progress was made. The headquarters were waiting for the approach of the Elbe army under the Crown Prince, much as Wellington was waiting at Waterloo for the arrival of Blücher. No news of his approach had reached them. What

were they to do? Were they to allow their soldiers to be sacrificed in the murderous fire, or should they retreat or call up the reserves? The King decided that the Crown Prince must come, and that they must hold the position until he did, and in the meantime employ their last resources. A heavy burden fell upon Franzesky, who was holding his own against the Austrians, in the wood above Benatek. At length the Prussian infantry captured Sadowa and Dohalitz, and were now engaged in the wood which ran on both sides of the river. The battle became stationary, and remained so for about two hours.

Benedek now heard that the Crown Prince was expected to arrive on his right; he therefore strained every nerve to inflict a sharp blow on Prince Frederick Charles before the reinforcements could come up. At noon the whole battle line of the Prussians was stopped from further advance and obliged to fight hard to retain the position it had won. Indeed, there was a fear lest the battle should be lost, for the Austrian artillery had decimated the Prussians, and the needle-guns had no effect in the wooded ground. Herwarth von Bittenfeld found himself checked on the right, and things were not going much better for the Prussians in the centre. Indeed, they were growing very uneasy, and preparing for a disaster.

The Crown Prince had received the order to march at Königinhof at 2 in the morning, but a large part of his army had to cross the river, and he could not set out before 8. They had a long way to go in drenching rain over marshy ground, but they overcame all difficulties and advanced eagerly to the fray. They saw before them an Austrian battery on a hill, under a group of lime trees and towards that they marched. At last the heights of Chlum, which dominated the whole of the battlefield, became the main point of attack. The Prussian Guard marched to its assault and, when they arrived on the summit, saw between them and the fortress of Königgrätz the whole of the Austrian reserves, to the number of 40,000 men, while between them and the rear of the first army were the Austrians who were fighting near Lipa and in the Sadowa wood. There were only twelve battalions of the Prussian Guard to hold the key of the position against the whole of the enemy's reserve. When Benedek heard that the Prussians had occupied Chlum, he would not believe it, but, on moving up to ascertain its truth, was received by a murderous fire, which killed many of his staff. The position of the Guard was critical, but at last they were relieved by the arrival of 50,000 fresh troops.

EFFECT OF KÖNIGGRÄTZ

At last the long-hoped-for army had come! With loud cheers and beating drums they ran at full speed up the hill. The Sadowa wood was cleared, the Austrian batteries were silenced, the summit of the hill was gained, and they saw the white uniforms running before them. The newly-arrived army took the fugitives in flank and raked them as they fled. The artillery, when it reached the ridge, opened fire on the retreating Austrians, who, however, did not lose heart in their dangerous position and maintained good order. Benedek now saw that the battle was lost, and that nothing remained but to retire to Königgrätz with the fragments of his army. King William rode through the battlefield, saluted everywhere by the cries of his troops. He even rode under the fire of a battery and was forcibly removed by Bismarck.

Moltke told the King that he had won, not only the battle, but the campaign. Benedek sought for safety on both sides of the Elbe, till at last the Austrian cavalry reached Pardubitz and the army was able to cross the river during the night without further loss. The way now lay open to Vienna. Benedek said sorrowfully that he had lost everything except the life which he desired to lose. The loss of the Austrians amounted to 5,600 dead, 7,600 wounded, 9,300 prisoners, 12,800 surrendered, and 6,100 missing; together, with the loss of the Saxons, nearly 43,000 men. The previous contests had cost the Allies 32,000 men, so that, in a week, the north army had been robbed of nearly a quarter of its strength. The whole loss of the Prussians was nearly 10,000.

Europe heard the news of the victory of Sadowa, or Königgrätz, on the following morning with amazement. An army which had not been under fire for fifty years, which its enemies had despised as consisting of parade soldiers, militia troops, and beardless boys, had almost annihilated the most famous army in Europe. Antonelli, in the Vatican, said that the world was falling about his ears. Italy felt the joy of a true-hearted ally, but Napoleon began to consider how he could best look after his own interests.

The excitement in Paris over the Prussian victory can hardly be conceived; a success like that of Königgrätz put Magenta and Solferino into the shade. A great Power had suddenly sprung into existence by the side of France, equal to her if not superior. A strong and united Germany would shatter into nothingness the proud hegemony of France, and the sympathies of Napoleon for Prussia began to cool. On the day on which the defeat of Königgrätz was reported to Paris, Metternich called on the Emperor to say that Austria was ready to renounce Venetia and to ask

for French mediation, saying that he had full power to conclude a negotiation.

The Emperor was embarrassed, compensation for the cession of Silesia was no longer possible, and still less could an armed intervention be carried out. He had recourse to bluff. On July 5th the *Moniteur* declared that Austria had surrendered Venetia to the Emperor of the French, and had asked for his mediation, but that he was taking steps to bring about an armistice both with Prussia and Italy. On the evening before a council had been held at St. Cloud, at which Drouyn de l'Huys, supported by the Empress, had urged the summoning of the Chambers, the demand for the loan of a milliard, and the massing of 100,000 men on the Rhine. This was opposed by Lavalette, who pointed out that it was inconsistent with the policy of a mediator, and that France was not strong enough to begin a simultaneous war with Prussia and Italy, which would certainly be the upshot. A compromise was adopted, as announced in the *Moniteur*, but the result was the isolation of France in Europe, as neither Russia nor Great Britain would support her action. When the news of the French offer reached King William, he was overwhelmed with astonishment, but thought it prudent to accept it, stating the conditions on which such an intervention would be possible.

Feeling in Italy was very different. In every part of the peninsula it seemed an indignity to accept Venetia in this manner from the hand of the Emperor, like a bone thrown to a dog. Ricasoli and the King were both of the same opinion. Venetia must be conquered from the Austrians, and the disgrace of Custozza rubbed out. Eventually a telegram was sent to the Emperor accepting the armistice under three conditions—the cession of Venice directly by Austria to Italy, the surrender of the Italian Tyrol, and the restriction of the negotiations to the question of Venetia alone. The Emperor tried to put pressure on Italy, threatening to send a French fleet to Venice, but Ricasoli, now certain of the help of Prussia, stood firm and sent Cialdini across the Po.

In the Tuileries the statement of the Prussian conditions was anxiously awaited. Drouyn de l'Huys was in favour of sending French troops to Venetia, which was now a French province, the Empress wept over the fate of unhappy Austria, and dreaded the formation of a Germany which would be hostile to France. The Emperor was besieged with arguments for war, and Lavalette and Prince Napoleon found it difficult to keep

him back. The Emperor felt himself indeed in an unfortunate position, for his alliance with Prussia had permitted the formation of a united Germany. The Empress declared she was afraid that a German army might appear some day at the gates of Paris, that she might go to bed a Frenchwoman and wake up a Prussian. Prince Reuss came to Paris, but brought no conditions with him. The Emperor did not know what compensation to ask for and ended by asking for none. The policy of Bismarck had conquered. Austria was annihilated, Prussia was master of Germany, and France, oscillating from one side to the other, instead of appearing as a triumphant mediator, had to suffer the humiliation of disappointment and insult.

In the meantime Prussia was gaining victories in other parts of Germany. After the capitulation of the Hanoverians, Falkenstein was able to consolidate the various bodies of troops coming from the commands of Göben, Manteuffel and Beyer into a single force called the Army of the Main, and to attack the troops of the Federation which were still in arms against Prussia. Of these the Seventh Army Corps, as it was called, was composed of Bavarians, 50,000 strong, under the command of Prince Charles, who had served in the Napoleonic wars, and in the Schleswig-Holstein campaign of 1848. The Eighth Army Corps was made up of contingents from Würtemberg, Darmstadt, Baden and Nassau, together with Austrian troops drawn from different garrisons, and was commanded by Prince Alexander of Darmstadt, a fine soldier-like man, brother of the Empress of Russia and father of the Princes of Battenberg. But, for purposes of securing unity, the supreme command was committed to Prince Charles, a unity which was very imperfectly obtained.

The Federal army was not in a position to take the field till the beginning of July. The Bavarian army was posted in Northern Franconia, while the corps of Prince Alexander occupied a district called the Wetterau, to the north of Frankfort, while it took possession of Giessen and Wetzlar, which was an *enclave* of Prussia. Falkenstein formed the plan of pushing a wedge between these two armies, which would prevent them from combining in any common action. He therefore attacked the Bavarians, who had advanced from Coburg and Meiningen and were now in the valley of the Fulda. The two armies came into collision on July 4th, in a battle which bears the name of Dermbach in the Wiesenthal, fought the day after Königgrätz. The field was obstinately contested, with great bravery on both sides. Although the Bavarians were superior in number, the result remained un-

certain and the losses on either side were equally heavy. However, it had the result of preventing the union of the Seventh Army Corps with the Eighth, so that Prince Charles marched southwards towards the Franconian Saale, followed by the Prussians, who advanced along the Fulda Valley to Hanau, and the valley of the Main.

Falkenstein's object had been so far attained that, whereas on July 5th the two corps were only thirty miles distant from each other, two days later the distance had been increased to seventy miles. After a difficult march through the mountainous district of the Rhön, he came up with the Bavarians in the valley of the Saale, and on July 10th fought the battles of Hammelburg and Kissingen. In the first of these the town was bravely defended by the Bavarians, who stood their ground firmly on the bridge which crosses the Saale, notwithstanding the heavy cannonade and the burning houses on each side. The position was at last stormed, as the Bavarians could not stand the vigour of the assault and the good firing of the needle-guns. The Bavarians drew off to the south-east and the Prussians gained the passage of the Saale.

Kissingen is a fashionable watering-place, and the guests who thronged it to get rid of their gout were much surprised on finding themselves in the middle of a battle. They were not allowed to leave the town, for fear of giving information to the enemy. The Prussians made their appearance in the early morning of July 10th, and crossed the Saale without serious loss. They then pushed forward into the heart of the town, but met with a stout resistance. The Kurgarten, the centre of the social life of the place, was only conquered after a fourth assault, and it was not till 3 in the afternoon that the town was in the possession of the Prussians. Even then the Bavarians continued the contest on the hills, and the fight lasted till evening.

Falkenstein now turned his attention to the Eighth Army Corps, which was entrenched in various positions on the River Fulda. When the news of the Austrian defeat at Königgrätz reached Prince Alexander, he thought that his first duty was to defend Frankfort, so he sent a division of Austrians and Hanoverians under Neipperg to Aschaffenburg to defend the old Imperial city. However, on July 13th, Göben won a victory at Laufach, Aschaffenburg was captured on July 14th, and Frankfort was occupied two days later, Prince Alexander evacuating the town and retiring with his whole army to the Odenwald. Thus, in fourteen days, Falkenstein had defeated two armies, each as strong as his own,

and was able to report to the King that all lands north of the Main were in the possession of the Prussians.

We must now return to the operations of the main army. After the victory of Königgrätz, it rested for a few days and then advanced to Pardubitz, pursuing the Austrians in their retreat to Olmütz. In the meantime Prague, the capital of Bohemia, had been occupied without a battle, on July 8th. At the news of these events terror reigned in Vienna, and a movement was made to summon the whole nation to arms. On July 13th the Archduke Albert took command of all the forces of the Empire. He brought a portion of the army of the south to the capital and united it with the remains of the army of the north. At this time the Crown Prince was holding Benedek fast in Olmütz, and Prince Frederick Charles was advancing towards Vienna by the shortest road. The Emperor asked for an armistice, but this was declined, because he insisted that the Federal States should be included in it, and that no obstacle should be placed to the operations of the Austrian army of the south.

Communications between Olmütz and Vienna still remained open, and therefore Archduke Albert issued orders to Benedek to send his six army corps by train to Vienna. But before half of them were dispatched the railway was broken up, and Benedek was obliged to retire to Pressburg in Hungary, which he only reached by fighting with considerable loss. An eye-witness gives an interesting account of the incident. He says that when he came in sight of the railway at Göding, he saw two trains, one close behind the other, with engines puffing and snorting violently, as if drawing a heavy load, steaming slowly in the direction of Lundenburg, which is about an hour and a half distant from Vienna. These trains were conveying Austrian troops to the capital. The Prussians immediately determined to break up the line. The men found pickaxes and spades in the neighbouring cottages, and some set to work on foot, whilst others held the horses. The rails were wrenched up out of their places, and thrown on one side, and, in a few minutes, the line was useless for traffic. Scarcely had they finished the work before another train came up, but when the engine-driver saw the Prussian cavalry, he reversed his engine and steamed slowly back in the direction from which he had come.

On July 18th, 1866, King William took up his quarters in the little Moravian town of Nikolsburg, and slept in the very room which Napoleon had occupied before the Battle of Austerlitz. At this time the advance guard of the Prussian army were

in sight of the Imperial city of Vienna, conspicuous by the tower of St. Stephen's and that of the Palace of Schönbrunn, while before them lay the Marchfeld, with the villages of Aspern, Esslingen and Wagram, the scenes of Napoleon's defeat and his ultimate victory. They were situated in the middle of rich corn-fields bright with poppies, which from a distance looked like pieces of dazzling mosaic let into a golden pavement, fringed by the silver band of the Danube, studded with emerald islets, while, in the distance, the dark blue lines of the Carpathian Mountains bounded the view towards Hungary. No Prussian army, not even that of the Great Frederick, had ever gazed upon this view before. Floridsdorf and Pressburg were the only strong places which the Austrians now had in their possession on the north bank of the Danube.

A last struggle took place on July 22nd, 1866, at Neudorf and Blumenau, and Pressburg, which was the key of the passage between Austria and Hungary, was on the point of being captured, when, a few minutes after midday on July 23rd, an Austrian messenger advanced from Blumenau to the Prussian lines with a flag of truce. He reported to a Prussian officer, who came out to meet him, that an armistice had been agreed upon to date from midday and that the hour was already spent. The signal to cease firing passed along the Prussian ranks, and a sudden stillness, a hum of conversation from the astonished soldiers, took the place of the roar of artillery and the patter of small arms.

The negotiations between the Emperor of the French, on the one side, and Prussia and Austria on the other, had at length produced their effect, and Napoleon had sent Benedetti, his ambassador at Berlin, to the King's headquarters at Nikolsburg to propose terms of peace. Bismarck saw, with statesmanlike insight, that the golden moment had come in which a treaty could be made, and that the opportunity ought not to be lost. The Austrians, besides, were anxious for a cessation of the war. On July 24th the Emperor Alexander of Russia sent a message proposing a European congress; the attitude of Napoleon was uncertain. Bismarck therefore wrote a letter to King William proposing terms. The points he laid down were, the exclusion of Austria from the Bund, the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse and Nassau, together with the independence of Saxony, but under such terms that in any future war she could not take part against Prussia. He also mentioned, as a reason for concluding peace, the outbreak of cholera in the army, and the dangers of a campaign in the unhealthy month of August.

The King agreed with his Minister, and after some discussion, in which the indemnity to Prussia was eventually fixed at 20,000,000 thalers, proclamations of peace were signed on July 26th. At the last moment Benedetti informed Bismarck that France expected some compensation for the aggrandisement of Prussia and her own share in the peace, and Bismarck replied that he was quite ready to enter into negotiations on the subject.

Austria submitted to peace because she could expect no assistance from France. The interference of Russia was caused by jealousy of the aggrandisement of Prussia, which would make her more independent than was in accordance with Russian interests, a view on which Gortshakov, the Tsar's Chancellor, laid great stress. There was a danger that the meeting of the congress would strengthen the claims of France for compensation, and would be an occasion for establishing an alliance between Russia and France, which would be inimical to Prussia. Bismarck therefore declined the offer of a congress, and said that his country would not allow the terms of peace between two German Powers to be settled by any foreign interference. Indeed, if anything of the kind were attempted, it would be resisted by the whole strength of the German nationality, together with that of other peoples who threatened insurrection in Poland and Hungary. This firm language produced a salutary effect both in Paris and St. Petersburg. But, to smooth matters, Manteuffel was sent to the Russian Court, it being known that he was well regarded in the city on the Neva. He was instructed to explain the policy of Bismarck and to offer assistance in the case of complications in the East. By these means Alexander became reconciled to the new state of things, and the friendship between Russia and Prussia, which had existed for so many years, and had stood so many trials, remained undisturbed.

On July 28th an armistice was concluded at Würzburg between Manteuffel and Prince Charles, which formed a basis of peace between Prussia and the South German States. The war on the Main came to an end, and armistices were concluded with Baden, Bavaria and Würtemberg, which were eventually formed into preliminaries of peace, the Eighth Army Corps being gradually disbanded. Finally, the Peace of Prague was signed on August 23rd, 1866, which comprised the conditions of which we have already given an account.

On August 22nd Baden, Bavaria and Würtemberg made a treaty with Prussia, at Berlin, in which the preliminaries of Nikolsburg were recognised, with the foundation of a North German

League, and the admission of the increase of Prussian territory. The Zollverein was to continue, with power to determine it by six months' notice on either side, and the tolls on the Rhine and the Main were abolished. Towards the expenses of the war Würtemberg contributed 8,000,000, Baden 6,000,000, and Bavaria 30,000,000 gulden, while Bavaria had to make a small sacrifice of territory. A secret article contained an agreement for an offensive and defensive alliance in case of a foreign war. The settlements with Hesse-Darmstadt and Saxony were more difficult, because both countries had been deserted by their sovereigns, and were occupied by the Prussians. At last the Grand Duke of Hesse submitted on September 3rd, and King John of Saxony, a great scholar and almost a saint, agreed to surrender some of his royal authority on October 21st. Beust, who had supported his anti-Prussian sympathies, was removed and was immediately made Chancellor of Austria in the place of Mensdorff. A Prussian garrison was admitted into Dresden and even into Königstein. The King agreed to pay an indemnity of 10,000,000 thalers, to enter the North German Confederation, and to accept the Prussian acquisition of his army. This example served to overcome the obstinacy of the Regent Caroline of the elder line of Reuss, and to induce Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Meiningen to abdicate in favour of his son George.

It was found impossible to establish a South German League, with an independent international existence, but the young King of Bavaria, Ludwig II.—a monarch whose surpassing beauty and brilliant genius sank eventually under the cloud of mental derangement—summoned a friend of Prussia, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, to his counsels, instead of von der Pfordten, the friend of Austria, and while preserving his full sovereignty and the independence of his country, made an alliance with Prussia and allowed his army to become part of the Prussian army in the case of war.

The war in Venetia continued until the Peace of Prague was signed. The Austrians fought for the possession of a country which did not belong to them, and the Italians had to conquer a country which was their own. In the middle of July Cialdini with his army occupied Padua and Vicenza, and the Austrians retired to the Isonzo and Cialdini reached Mestre. Indeed, Victor Emmanuel was no longer satisfied with Venetia, and, with the help of Garibaldi, attempted the conquest of the Italian Tyrol, whose inhabitants were clamouring for union with the country of their race and language. Garibaldi was not very successful

in the mountain districts west of Lake Garda, and his young raw levies, badly clothed and fed, fell easy victims to the Tyrolese sharpshooters. Medici had more success in the battle of Levico on July 22nd, fought a month before the conclusion of the Peace of Prague, which brought him within striking distance of Trent. If he could have continued the struggle he would have joined Garibaldi's volunteers in the Giudicaria, conquered the valley of the Adige, and severed the connection between Vienna and the Quadrilateral.

At length the Austrians won at sea the victory which eluded them on land. In the battle of Lissa, fought on July 21st, 1866, between Persano and Tegethoff, the Austrian fleet emulated the triumph of Custozza and allowed of a peace to be concluded, not without honour. The Italians fought with bravery and self-devotion, but when the *Re d'Italia* had been rammed by the *Erzherzog Max*, and the *Palestro* had been blown into the air with all its armament, Persano was forced to retire to the harbour of Ancona. The war began and ended with an Italian defeat, but the fruits of victory remained in their possession.

An armistice was signed on July 25th. With some difficulty Victor Emmanuel was induced to surrender the districts he had occupied in the Trentino, and a peace was signed at Vienna on October 3rd, in which the Kingdom of Italy was recognised by Austria. The union of Venetia to Italy, submitted to the popular vote, was carried with absolute unanimity, and Victor Emmanuel made a solemn entry into the City of the Lagoons amid thunderous applause, the people showing an enthusiasm at which even the Austrians were surprised.

Before the end of the year the French garrison departed from Rome, where they had been established for seventeen years, their place being taken by mercenaries; and when Victor Emmanuel opened the Italian Parliament on December 18th, he could have declared that the soil of Italy was entirely free from the presence of the foreigner. Rome, however, still remained unassimilated. The more moderate of the Italian statesmen would have been willing to keep Florence as the capital and to come to some arrangement with the Pope, but the national party, headed by Garibaldi, clamoured for Rome.

In the autumn of 1867, Garibaldi made an attempt to realise his wishes by a raid on the Papal States, but, opposed by the Papal troops, under the German general Kanzler, and by a French auxiliary corps, under de Failly, he was defeated at Mentana, on November 3rd, 1867, and, after a short imprisonment, was

allowed to return to Caprera, not struck in the foot, as at Aspromonte, but deeply wounded in his heart. Failly telegraphed gaily to Paris that the chassepot had worked wonders. The result of it all was that a French garrison was placed in Civita Vecchia, and Rome did not become Italian until after the defeat of the French in the war of 1870.

CHAPTER V

GLADSTONE AND HIS FIRST MINISTRY

A LARGE part of the history of modern Europe has been occupied by efforts to get rid of the artificial conditions imposed by the Treaty of Vienna. The basis of the treaty was the principle of Legitimacy, coupled with the desire to punish the friends of Napoleon, to reward his enemies, and generally to reverse his policy. The insistence upon this principle was due mainly to the genius of Talleyrand, who perceived that it was the only way in which France, governed by Bourbons, could resume her leading position in the family of nations. But the principle was outworn. Whatever it had done for the consolidation of Europe in the past, it promised nothing for the future, and its place was taken by the principle of Nationality.

We have, in preceding chapters, traced some of the steps by which the first of these principles was gradually succeeded by the second. The independence of Greece, though not consummated until 1859, and the separation of the Roumanians and the Servians from the Turkish Empire, were followed in 1830 by the fall of the Monarchy of July in France, which was founded on the principle of Legitimacy. This was succeeded by the revolutionary movement in Poland and Italy, which culminated in the cataclysm of 1848, and by the establishment of the second French Empire, which placed Bonapartism on the throne. Then came events of still greater significance, the defeat of the Austrians at Königgrätz, and the formation of the North German Federation under the leadership of Prussia, the annexation of Venice to the Italian Kingdom, and the completion of this edifice by the occupation of Rome; the fall of the second Napoleonic Empire at Sedan, and the creation of a new German Empire at Versailles, Protestant and progressive, founded on the dual basis of militarism and culture, destroying the old Austrian Empire, whose treachery to Napoleon had been her ruin, and establishing in her place the despised and downtrodden country of Hardenberg and Fichte, of Luise and Gneisenau.

In 1860 the central figure on the stage of European politics was undoubtedly the ruler of France. The Crimean War had

strengthened his dynasty at home and had secured his position abroad. Cavour had come into conflict with him, but had been beaten in the struggle. Bismarck, who eventually overthrew him, had not yet consolidated his strength for the purpose. When the Sovereigns of the three northern Powers met at Warsaw at the end of 1860, with the view of combining against France, Russia refused to join the conspiracy, and Napoleon remained master of the situation. The French Empire was at its zenith. Thiers, afterwards a hostile critic, said that the best compensation for a Frenchman's being nothing in his own country was the sight of that country filling its right place in the world.

Never was there a more strenuous upholder of the principle of Nationality and of peoples "rightly struggling to be free" than William Ewart Gladstone, who for so long moulded the destinies of the British Empire. He had, of course, the strongest sympathy with the creation of a new Italy. In 1853 he dined with Cavour at the Italian Foreign Office, and the Italian Minister spoke of him as one of the sincerest and most important friends that Italy had, and it was mainly through his influence that Great Britain took a firm line in obtaining the annexation of Sicily and Naples to the Kingdom of Italy. With his full approval, Russell wrote in October, 1860, that Great Britain could not condemn these Southern peoples for throwing off the yoke of a government which they detested, and which was little better than an anarchy; nor could it blame the King of Sardinia for assisting them. A few days after the writing of this dispatch, Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi rode into the liberated city of Naples side by side, and on February 18th, 1861, the first parliament of united Italy assembled at Turin.

Gladstone became, for the third time, Chancellor of the Exchequer on June 20th, 1859, and one of his first acts was to negotiate a commercial treaty with France. It was really the idea of Cobden, supported in the Cabinet by Gladstone and Russell, most of the other members being indifferent or hostile. At this period there was great indignation in Great Britain about the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France. There was good reason why Savoy should not continue to belong to Italy, but no special reason why it should be annexed to France—some portion of it certainly should have gone to Switzerland—whereas the annexation of Nice was regarded as completely unjustifiable. Gladstone tells us that a French panic prevailed, as strong as any of the other panics which have done so much discredit to the United Kingdom. For this panic the treaty of commerce

with France was the only sedative. It was, in fact, a counter-irritant, and roused the sense of commercial interest to correct the war poison. The choice lay between the Cobden treaty and not the certainty, but the high probability, of a war with France. The treaty was signed on January 23rd, 1860, before the meeting of Parliament, and was announced in the Queen's Speech. One of its principal effects was largely to increase the consumption of claret in Great Britain.

Out of the commercial treaty grew the great budget of 1860, the end of a series of treaties which produced the liberation of commerce. With the French treaty the movement in favour of Free Trade reached its zenith. It was an important financial epoch; more money than ever was required; more than ever economy was unpopular and difficult. The Estimates now stood at £70,000,000, which seven years before had been £52,000,000. Gladstone made his position more difficult by renouncing £1,000,000 of income by the French treaty, £1,000,000 more by the abolition of a number of minor duties, and a third £1,000,000 by the abolition of the tax on the manufacture of paper. He was able to meet this expenditure by £2,000,000 of large annuities which had fallen to the Exchequer, and by an increase of the income tax.

When the time for introducing the budget came, Gladstone was ill in bed, and the debate had to be adjourned for a week. He then spoke for three hours and fifty minutes without suffering, aided, as he tells us, by a great supply of eggs and milk. The speech was one of the most extraordinary triumphs ever witnessed in the House of Commons. The budget was eventually passed, but the Lords refused to repeal the duty on paper. They held that, although the Upper House had no right to increase taxation, they might constitutionally protect existing taxes from being repealed. Unfortunately Palmerston was against the repeal of the tax, and even wrote to the Queen that if the Lords threw this Bill out he should not be sorry. He was obliged to condemn the action of the Peers in the House of Commons, but spoke in a half-hearted manner, and the brunt of the attack lay upon Gladstone, who was believed by his friends to be nearly killing himself by his exertions. It was, until the momentous crisis of 1910, the sole occasion on which the Peers had ventured to tamper with finance.

Concurrently with the budget, to Gladstone's great disgust, Russell had introduced a Reform Bill, as he always regarded Parliamentary Reform as a panacea for political ills. It proposed to lower the county franchise to £10, the borough franchise

to £6, and make a relative reduction of seats. It also gave members to unrepresented Universities by providing that, in constituencies which had returned three members, electors should only be allowed to vote for two. Russell and the Radicals were heartily in favour of reform, but Palmerston and other members of the Cabinet were lukewarm. Disraeli described the measure as one of a medieval character, without the inspiration of the Feudal System or the genius of the Middle Ages. Attempts were made to talk out the Bill by long speeches, and at last the chances of its passing were so hopeless that it had to be withdrawn.

We have before mentioned the affair of the *Trent*, and the death of the Prince Consort. With regard to the first, Gladstone was strongly in favour of the milder course eventually adopted, although he made what he afterwards confessed to be the serious mistake of saying at Newcastle that the South had constituted themselves into a nation. Prince Albert's death was little short of a calamity to Gladstone, because it removed from the counsels of the Queen a strong sympathiser, who would have made his actions and ideas intelligible to the Sovereign and prevented the friction which sometimes broke out in after years. At the same time the character of the Prince Consort was one which did not specially attract him. Gladstone did not care for the German race as much as he did for the Italian, and he disliked the influence of German education, especially from the religious point of view. The Prince Consort was a firm enemy of Roman Catholicism and all its works, and his opinions were not likely to be appreciated by Gladstone, who also found him cold and ungenial in intellect. This, however, did not prevent his deep feeling for the Queen in her sorrow, and his stay at Balmoral in her early widowhood strengthened the ties between them.

The meeting of the Italian Parliament, to which we have already referred, renewed Gladstone's enthusiasm for the country for which he had done so much. He wrote, at the end of 1862: "My confidence in the Italian Parliament and people increases from day to day. Their self-command, moderation, patience, firmness and forethought, reaching far into the future, are beyond praise." But he strongly disapproved of the French occupation of Rome. His support of Italy largely evoked the enthusiasm for the cause which characterised all Liberal Britons until their attention was diverted to the American Civil War. It is curious that the generation whose first impressions were formed by the struggle of Italy for liberation from Austria regarded self-government as the paramount principle of liberty, whereas those whose sympathies

were first stirred by the efforts of the North to preserve the Union laid more stress on the necessity of a strong central government. The two eternal principles of *imperium* and *libertas* were thus again beheld in conflict.

The strength of British sympathy with Italy was most clearly shown by the warmth of the welcome given to Garibaldi on his visit to England in 1864. His progress through London, as he passed from Vauxhall Station to Stafford House, lasted for five hours. Those who came into closer contact with him were charmed by the simple nobility of his demeanour, by his manners and his actions, by the union of the most fiery valour with the most profound and tender humanity, by the blending of absolute simplicity with complete self-possession in the presence of the rulers of the earth. One of the most striking incidents of his stay was his visit to Eton College. Three of the masters went over to Cliefden on a Sunday to pay him a visit and to invite him to the school. When he came next morning he was received by the provost and the headmaster, who turned out in their black silk gowns, greatly disgusted at having to meet a revolutionary leader. The carriage drove into the school-yard, which was thronged with boys in the highest excitement, and the hero stood up in his grey cloak and said with a radiant smile: "I love you all; I love you all dearly."

When Cavour retired from the scene in 1861, Bismarck took his place as the most prominent figure in Europe. Cavour had foreseen to some extent what the character of his career would be. In 1859, when Prussia objected to the Italian invasion of the Marches, Cavour said: "I am sorry that the Radical of Berlin judges so severely the conduct of the King of Italy and his Government. I console myself by thinking that on this occasion I am setting an example which probably, in no long time, Prussia will be very glad to imitate."

The action of Bismarck against the Danes made it necessary for Great Britain to make up her mind whether she should take part in the contest. The Prime Minister, Palmerston, and the Foreign Secretary, Russell, were eager for war, even though it would have to be fought single-handed, but the Queen was strongly against them, and so were the majority of the Cabinet. Gladstone was opposed to war, especially as the Emperor Napoleon refused to take part in it, but he was indignant at the conduct of Prussia in rejecting the legal rights of the House of Augustenburg. However, the danger was averted, and public opinion was with difficulty appeased. But the action of the Cabinet,

deemed vacillating and pusillanimous at the time, has since been vindicated.

The American War affected Great Britain in two ways. The supply of cotton to the manufacturing districts was cut off, in consequence of which great distress was caused in Lancashire by what was known as the Cotton Famine. The operatives displayed fine self-control under their sufferings, and large subscriptions were raised for their support. But ere the war was over the worst pressure had passed. The second trouble was caused by the steamship *Alabama*, which was allowed to leave the Mersey on June 29th, 1862. It was protested that she was proceeding on a trial trip, but it was an open secret that she was intended to act as privateer, to assist the South against the North. The American Ambassador had made a strong remonstrance when the event came to his knowledge, and, at the last moment, orders were sent to Liverpool to stop the ship. She was able, however, to go to the island of Terceira, where she took aboard her captain and stores. During her career she captured nearly seventy Northern vessels. She used to hoist the British flag, and thus decoy the victims within her reach, and then display the Confederate colours and capture her prize. She generally burnt the ship she had captured, and attracted fresh booty by the flames. She was at last engaged and burnt by the *Kearsarge* off Cherbourg on July 10th, 1864. The Americans were deeply hurt at the negligence shown in not stopping the vessel, and when the war was over a feeling of bitterness was left which nearly led to a rupture which was healed with difficulty.

On March 10th, 1863, the Prince of Wales was married to Princess Alexandra of Denmark, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, amid signs of universal rejoicing. Banquets were held in every important town in the kingdom, and in the evening London and other great cities were illuminated, the display in Edinburgh —largely helped by its natural configuration—being of remarkable splendour. Never was a marriage crowned with such happiness and success. The affection between the pair deepened throughout their married life, which endured for more than forty-seven years.

On the dissolution of Parliament on July 6th, 1865, Gladstone was defeated by a large majority at the University of Oxford, but immediately stood for South Lancashire, his native county, and was returned third on the poll, defeating one of the Conservative candidates. He was now, as he said himself, " unmuzzled," and was free to fight the battle of a democratic policy. One of the most remarkable candidatures in this election was that of

John Stuart Mill, who was returned for Westminster. He was, in the intellectual world, one of the most influential men in England, through his works on Logic and Political Economy, and the respect with which his opinion on all important questions of the day was received by his countrymen. He was not a popular speaker, but nevertheless secured a majority of some hundreds over his Conservative opponent. He owed his success mainly to the courage and straightforwardness with which he dealt with questions at public meetings, even when his answers might seem to be opposed to his interests.

But a great change was at hand, for, ere Parliament met, Lord Palmerston was dead. The collapse of his strength came very suddenly. On his eightieth birthday—he was born on October 20th, 1784—he had started at half-past eight from Broadlands, taking his horses with him by train to Fareham, where he was met by engineer officers, and rode along the Portsdown and Hilsea line of forts, getting off his horse and inspecting some of them, crossing over to Anglesey forts and Gosport, and not reaching home till six in the evening. In June of the same year he had gone to Harrow, his old school, to attend the speeches and lay the foundation-stone of the Vaughan Library, trotting down the twelve miles within the hour on a rainy day. But in 1865 a marked change was obvious. He found difficulty in performing his duties in the House, and a balustrade on one of the staircases is shown as having been placed there to assist his movements. He died on October 18th, 1865, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on October 27th.

No one since the Duke of Wellington had filled so conspicuous a place in the public eye, or had enjoyed so large an amount of popularity. He was, indeed, a very great Foreign Minister, and it is probable that the verdict of history will be more favourable to him than was the judgment of his contemporaries. He kept steadily before his eyes the honour and greatness of his country, and was generally favourable to the progress of Liberalism in Europe, in which respect he found himself frequently in conflict with the Prince Consort and the Queen. Like Canning, who was regarded as a god by foreign Liberals, he was not a Liberal in domestic policy. His oratory was of a curious character; his speeches, as they were listened to, seemed halting and rough, but when read in the newspapers they appeared admirable. He was a man of the world, and took, in the main, a gay and joyous view of life. When Secretary of War under Wellington, the Iron Duke once made an appointment with him for six in the morning.

Palmerston answered that he should be delighted to come, but could not the Duke make it five?

Palmerston's successor in the premiership was Lord Russell, although other names, such as Clarendon, Granville, and even Gladstone, had been mentioned. Lord Clarendon was made Foreign Secretary, and Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. Among the new men admitted to office were two who left first-rate reputations, W. E. Forster, who framed the great Education Act of 1870, and Goschen, afterwards a famous Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Tory Government. It was felt, however, that the existing arrangements were only temporary, and it was not difficult to predict that the Conservatives would be in office before the end of the following year, and that then, before two more years had elapsed, Gladstone would be Prime Minister.

Public feeling in the United Kingdom at this time was much disturbed by a rebellion which had broken out in Jamaica, the rising seeming to have been suppressed with unnecessary cruelty. The British officers quartered in the island appeared to consider that any measure was justifiable in the circumstances. One, writing to his superior officers, says: "I started with thirty men from Dunkinfield and visited several estates and villages, but did not see a single rebel. On returning in the evening, seventy-six prisoners had been sent in by the marines. I disposed of as many as possible, but was too tired to continue after dark." He then goes on to describe how he flogged some and hanged others, and continues: "We were come so suddenly upon these two villages that the rebels had no time to retire with their plunder; nearly three hundred rushed down into a gully, but I could not get a single shot, the bushes being so thick."

The most profound sensation, however, was caused by the case of George William Gordon. He was a coloured member of the House of Assembly, and was suspected of having caused the rebellion. He surrendered himself at Kingston, was put on board a vessel there and taken to Morant Bay, a district where martial law had been proclaimed, was tried by a drum-head court-martial and immediately hanged.

The Colonial Office was at once bombarded with memorials, asking that the conduct of Colonel Eyre, Governor of Jamaica, might be inquired into. He was suspended from his functions in the meanwhile, and a Committee of Inquiry was sent out to Jamaica. They reported that 590 persons had been put to death, that over 600, including many women, had been flogged, some in

circumstances of revolting cruelty, some of the scourges having been made of pianoforte wire. The Commission concluded that the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent, that the floggings were reckless, and in some cases probably barbarous, and that the burning of 1,000 houses was wanton and cruel. Opinion at home was divided into two parties, one glorifying Colonel Eyre, the other condemning him—Carlyle being the principal literary representative of the former, John Stuart Mill of the latter. The final report of the Commissioners, issued in April, 1866, gave credit to Eyre for the way he had put down the rebellion in its first inception, but decided that martial law had been kept in force too long, and that the execution of Gordon was unjustifiable. Eyre's career was cut short, but the Government eventually paid the expenses of the prosecution which had been brought against him.

The new Parliament was opened by the Queen in person, on February 6th, 1866. The Royal Speech contained a reference to an approaching Reform Bill. As has been already said, Mr. Gladstone was leader of the House of Commons, and the Liberals numbered 361 members, against 294 Conservatives. The Reform Bill promised in the Queen's Speech was introduced by Gladstone on March 12th. His speech was eloquent, but the House of Commons remained impassive; it was evident that the proposed measure was only a compromise. The Bill proposed to reduce the county franchise from £50 to £14, and the borough franchise from £10 to £7, and to allow a savings bank franchise and a lodger's franchise.

But the House did not wish for Reform. Conservatives were opposed to it, and Liberals were averse to another general election. It was unfortunate that a scheme, heralded by a proclamation of the grievances of unenfranchised millions, should end in the enfranchisement of only a few hundreds here and there. Robert Lowe was the hero of the opposition to the Bill. Although he had everything against him as an orator, his speeches produced a profound effect from their intellectual power and biting sarcasm. Bright, somewhat indifferent at first, warmed as he went on. He likened the operations of the band of Liberal malcontents to the action of David in the Cave of Adullam, when he summoned to his aid every one who was in distress, and every one who was discontented, and became a captain over them. The Liberal dissentients were immediately christened the Adullamites, and the word "cave" was added permanently to the Parliamentary vocabulary.

Gladstone, during the debate, made the memorable speech in which he said: "Time is on our side. The great social forces are against you, they are marshalled on our side, and the banner which we carry, though perhaps at this moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet soon again will float in the eye of heaven." The second reading was carried by a majority of only five, and strife was resumed in Committee. Lord Dunkellin, a Liberal, moved that the £7 franchise should be on a rating instead of a rental basis, which would make the qualification for the franchise a little higher than the Government proposed, and the amendment was carried by 315 votes to 304. The Ministry thereupon resigned. It was a dismal time; Friday, May 11th, was the famous "Black Friday," which produced such a financial crisis in England as to make it necessary to suspend the Bank Charter; the cattle plague was raging, and the war between Prussia and Austria was on the point of breaking out.

Lord Russell was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Derby. Disraeli became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. Lord Stanley was Foreign Secretary; Lord Cranborne, formerly Lord Robert Cecil, and afterwards Lord Salisbury, became Secretary for India; Lord Carnarvon had charge of the Colonies; General Peel of the War Office; and Stafford Northcote became President of the Board of Trade. The Home Office, which turned out difficult and laborious, fell to the lot of Mr. Walpole. On July 9th, 1866, Lord Derby announced that he had formed a Ministry, but no one imagined it would last long. He promised a safe and moderate measure of Reform, but there arose an agitation in the country for Parliamentary Reform which took every one by surprise. Reform Leagues and Reform Unions started up in all directions. Public meetings to advance this object were held every day, the most important being that held in Hyde Park on July 25th. This meeting was forbidden by the Government, and orders were given that the park gates should be shut at five o'clock. The processions, however, were not countermanded, and thousands of people were collected outside the park. The persons responsible for the meeting having made a protest against the prohibition retired to Trafalgar Square, where appropriate speeches were made. But a large and motley crowd remained at the park. It being accidentally discovered that the railings were not very firm, a simultaneous pressure was made, the railings fell down, the crowd rushed into the park and spent half the night destroying the flower beds. Yet no great damage was either intended or done, and police and soldiers were

cheered when they tried to clear the park. At the same time there is no doubt that this demonstration, which was not important in itself and had its humorous side, eventually caused Reform.

The Tory Ministry brought forward their new Reform Bill at the beginning of March, 1867, but Peel, Carnarvon and Cranborne left the Ministry rather than be responsible for it. Its provisions were submitted in the form of resolutions which were afterwards embodied in a Bill. It was proposed that all who paid rates, or twenty shillings in direct taxes, should have the franchise, and that this privilege should be extended to certain classes qualified by education, or by the possession of a certain amount of property in the funds or savings' banks, while householders who paid rates received a second vote. All seats were taken from the smaller boroughs and from those recently reported against for bribery, and given to more populous places, fourteen to boroughs, fifteen to counties, and one to the University of London. There were also elaborate and cumbrous arrangements with regard to residence, rating and dual voting.

The story of the composition of this extraordinary measure was revealed in Parliament by Sir John Pakington. Two Reform Bills had been submitted to the Cabinet, one of a more generous, the other of a less liberal character. Which should be submitted to the House of Commons depended upon the temper of the assembly. At the Cabinet which met on February 23rd it was arranged that the more liberal measure should be introduced on Monday, February 25th. But at the Cabinet summoned for two o'clock on that day it appeared that the introduction of this Bill meant the disruption of the Government, and that it was necessary to bring forward the measure of more limited character. Lord Derby had to address a meeting of the Conservative Party at half-past two, and Disraeli to introduce his Reform Bill in the House of Commons at half-past four. Only ten minutes were left for discussion, and it was impossible to frame a measure in that time. So recourse was had to the alternative Bill, and it was introduced as the measure on which the Cabinet was agreed. Pakington admitted that the Government had made a mistake, but who could be expected to act wisely with only ten minutes for deliberation? So the measure came to be known as the "Ten Minutes Bill."

The reception given to the "Ten Minutes Bill" was entirely discouraging. Disraeli saw that there was no chance of passing it, but clung to the fundamental conviction that a Reform Bill must be passed by the Tories. Therefore, on February 26th,

he announced that the "Ten Minutes Bill" would be withdrawn and that another and more comprehensive measure would be introduced on March 18th. The new measure proposed that in boroughs all ratepayers, or payers of twenty shillings in direct taxation, all possessors of property in the funds or savings' banks, and persons of specified intellectual qualifications should have the franchise. It contained certain checks also to prevent it from becoming too democratic. English people do not like complicated schemes, and it was obvious that this elaborately constructed scheme would not command the confidence of the strong common sense of the nation. Bright described the Bill as a plan for offering something with one hand and withdrawing it with the other. Eventually the measure was converted into a Bill that was much more democratic than anything which had been advocated by Bright.

This measure established household suffrage in the towns. All the checks and balances which it originally contained were eliminated one by one. The dual vote, the voting paper, the fancy franchises all disappeared, and a lodger franchise was introduced. Disraeli met the amendments first by declining to receive them, and then accepting them. The last trench in which the Government fought was the compound householders; householders whose rates were paid in the lump by the landlord and not by themselves in person were not to have the vote. Probably many of those who discussed at length the question of the compound householder's vote had no idea who he was. Paying and receiving rates in this way was so convenient that it was found that in some boroughs two-thirds of the householders under £10 belonged to this class.

Gladstone did not desire that votes should be given to persons below a certain level in the social scale, and proposed at a meeting of the Liberal Party that the lowest-rented tenements should be relieved from rates altogether, and that only those who paid rates should have votes. The Radicals were not satisfied with this, and at a meeting held in the Tea Room of the House of Commons decided that they could not support it, so that in the Liberal Party a "cave" was formed, called the "Tea Room Party," and Gladstone's scheme was defeated. An effort was made to get rid of the compulsory system altogether, and, to the surprise of everyone, the Government yielded. The name of every occupier was placed in the rate-book, and every occupier was given the vote. In other words, household suffrage, pure and simple, was established in the boroughs. The "Tea Room

Party" had gained a complete victory; they had prevailed over Gladstone and had conquered Disraeli.

The Bill had now become a reality; it was built upon a sound principle, but probably went further in the direction of democracy than Bright had ever desired to go. Mill now proposed that votes should be given to women as well as men. He was defeated by 196 votes to 73, but was satisfied at having brought the question of the enfranchisement of women prominently into the political arena. The Bill also contained a provision for the representation of minorities, by arranging that when a constituency returned three members, electors could not vote for more than two. It gave the franchise to lodgers paying not less than £10 a year rent and resident for one year, to possessors of property of the clear annual value of £10, and to occupiers paying £12 a year. It awarded a third member to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Leeds, and a member to the University of London. It was also settled that Parliament should not be dissolved on the death of a Sovereign, and that members of a Government should not vacate their seats on the acceptance of another office. It put off the reform of Scottish and Irish representation for another year, though when the time for dealing with this branch arrived little alteration was made. The Reform Bill eventually became law on August 15th, 1867. Thus a Tory Government had passed a Radical measure of reform. Lord Cranborne called it a "leap in the dark," an expression generally attributed to Lord Derby. Lowe warned those who had consented to it that "the working men, the majority, the people who live in the small houses, all are enfranchised; we must now at least educate our new masters."

Shortly after the close of the session which passed the Reform Act, a prison van containing two political prisoners was stopped and thrown open in broad daylight in the streets of Manchester and the prisoners were released. The two prisoners belonged to the society of Fenians. The Fenian movement was first heard of in February, 1861, when the House of Commons met on a Saturday to discuss a proposal of the Government of the day to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland and give the Lord Lieutenant almost unlimited power to arrest and imprison suspected persons. The Bill passed through all its stages on the same day; the House of Lords finished its discussion at an early hour in the evening, adjourned till eleven at night to receive the royal assent from Osborne, and the Bill became law at 12.40 on Sunday morning.

Fenianism was to some degree connected with the Civil War in America, because the conflict had created a class of Irish-

American soldiers who looked to new methods of freeing their country. Phœnix Clubs had come into existence among the peasants of Ireland after the suppression of the movement of 1848, and out of them rose the Fenians, the name borne by the ancient militia of Ireland. Ossian speaks of the tales of the bare-armed Fenians ; very legendary and very stimulating they probably were. The Fenian organisation was perfected during the American Civil War at a convention held in the United States. Its members were bound to give absolute obedience to a single head. Mr. Justin McCarthy, who has ample right to speak with authority, tells us that the Fenian movement was got up, organised and manned by persons who, however mistaken and misguided, were high-minded, unselfish and devoted to their cause. They hoped that Great Britain and America might come to war in consequence of the ill-feeling about the *Alabama* claims, that the Americans might invade Canada, and that a Fenian rising in Ireland might secure Irish independence. The Fenian leaders actually issued an address, announcing that officers were going to Ireland to raise an army for this last-named purpose, and, indeed, James Stephens, the Head Centre of Fenianism in America, reached the Irish shores. He was arrested and imprisoned in Dublin early in November, 1865, but he contrived to escape and returned to New York.

The Irish Fenians were divided into two parties, one in favour of an invasion of Canada, the other of a rebellion in Ireland. A body of Fenians did invade Canada at the end of May, 1866, but were met bravely by the Canadians, and the Americans suppressed the movement with unexpected energy and determination. As numbers of Fenians came from America to Ireland, an attempted rising was made in March, 1867, which was immediately put down, being stopped, it is said, by a phenomenal fall of snow. Of the prisoners then taken, one, Colonel Burke, was sentenced to death in May, but reprieved.

What has been said will show that the state of affairs demanded strong action on the part of the Government, and that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was fully justified. But the Fenian troubles continued. Three of the men who had attacked the police van at Manchester were hanged in that city on November 23rd, 1867, and on December 13th an attempt was made to blow up the House of Detention at Clerkenwell, in London, with the intention of releasing two Fenians imprisoned within its walls. About sixty yards of the prison wall were blown in, and several houses in the neighbourhood were destroyed. Six persons were killed on the spot, six more died of their wounds, and about a hundred and twenty

persons were injured. The prisoners, too, would probably have been killed had not the Governor, apprised of the plot, locked his charges up in their cells. It is alleged that the perpetrators of this crime were not Fenians, but conspirators must be held responsible for the deeds of those who, while not perhaps belonging to the central organisation, hang upon its skirts and do untold mischief.

There can be no doubt but that the Fenian conspiracy exercised a profound effect on the mind of Mr. Gladstone, and made him realise that the time had come for dealing seriously with the true causes of Irish discontent. He said twelve years afterwards that it had an important bearing upon Irish policy, that when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, when the tranquillity of Manchester was disturbed, when London was shocked and horrified by an inhuman outrage, when there was such a widespread sense of insecurity that inhabitants of many towns in England and Scotland were sworn in as special constables, that when all these things occurred men began to pay more serious attention to the urgency and magnitude of Irish grievances.

On February 19th, 1867, Lord Carnarvon, as Secretary for the Colonies, moved the second reading of the Bill for the Confederation of the North American provinces of the British Empire. It was a measure to give practical expression to the principles which Lord Durham had laid down in his famous report issued more than a quarter of a century previously. By this Act the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, together with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were federated together as the Dominion of Canada, with a central Parliament and State Legislature for each province. There were to be two Houses in the central Parliament, the Senate consisting of seventy members, nominated for life by the Governor-General, and a House of Commons elected according to population, at the rate of one member for each 17,000, the duration of the Parliament not to be more than five years. The executive was vested in the Crown, represented by the Governor-General. The central government should administer the Crown affairs of the Dominion, while each province passed its local laws. The electoral systems of the various provinces were very different; in some the vote being open, in others by ballot. The first Federation consisted of four provinces only, but provision was made for others to come in. Manitoba was admitted in 1870, British Columbia and Vancouver in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, and the Dominion now includes the whole of British North America, excepting Newfoundland.

In February, 1868, in consequence of ill-health, Lord Derby resigned the premiership. The Queen sent for Disraeli and asked him to form a Government. The Cabinet remained nearly unchanged, Lord Cairns became Lord Chancellor, and Ward Hunt Chancellor of the Exchequer, Walpole retiring. The chief measures of the session were the abolition of public executions, the transference of the trial of election petitions from a tribunal of the House of Commons to a tribunal of judges, the abolition of the power of the Peers to vote by proxy, and the purchase of telegraphs by the Post Office.

More important than these, however, was the Abyssinian War. Some British subjects, men and women, were held in captivity by Theodore, King of Abyssinia, and it was felt that a strong effort should be made to release them. Theodore was a man of tumultuous passions, capable of strong loves and violent hatreds. For very inadequate reasons he felt that he had been slighted by Great Britain, and, seizing certain British subjects, imprisoned them in his capital, Magdala. Hormuzd Rassam, vice-consul at Aden, was sent to demand their release, with a message from Queen Victoria, accompanied by Lieutenant Prideaux and Dr. Blanc. After a time, mainly owing to misunderstandings, Theodore threw these emissaries into prison also. At last, Lord Stanley, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, sent him an ultimatum, demanding the release of the prisoners within three months, with war as the alternative. This letter probably never reached the King at all. However, an expedition was formed under the command of Sir Robert Napier, which left Bombay at the end of the year.

It is impossible to read the history of the campaign without feelings of pity. The King oscillated from the height of hope to the depths of despair. The Abyssinians were, of course, no match for the invaders, but the King made an elaborate road, and dragged along it a piece of ordnance which was to annihilate his enemies, but it burst at the first discharge. In an engagement 500 Abyssinians were killed and thrice as many wounded. At last Theodore liberated the prisoners, who found themselves safe under the British flag. Moreover, on Easter Sunday, the great festival of the faith which both British and Abyssinians hold, he sent into the British camp a present of beeves and sheep, intended as an offering of peace. It was, however, deemed necessary for British prestige to capture the fortress. This was done without much difficulty on April 13th, and when the gate was forced the dead body of the King was found within it, shot by his own hand. Magdala was dismantled and destroyed for fear lest it should fall

into the hands of the Mohammedans, and the troops immediately returned. It was some compensation that Theodore's son, Alamayou, a child of seven years, was taken care of by Queen Victoria. He was educated first in India and then in England, but died before he reached maturity.

We now approach the period in which Gladstone began his great efforts for the pacification of Ireland. He had long been convinced that Ireland was the weak spot in the British Empire, a source from which danger had arisen and might at any moment return in more dangerous form. This is not the place to recount the wrongs which Ireland had suffered at the hands of England. It had always been treated as a conquered country, to be kept in subjection by the overwhelming supremacy of Great Britain. The emancipation of the Catholics, and the admission to Parliament and to full political privileges of those who professed the national religion, had done something to ameliorate the bitterness of the national sentiment; but it still suffered from the pressure of an alien Church, endowed by revenues contributed by its own people, from the possession of the land by an absentee aristocracy, which spent in personal enjoyment elsewhere the exorbitant rents derived from the exertions of a laborious peasantry, from an administration directed from a British stronghold on principles foreign to Irish feeling, by men who did not understand the conditions of the country, and took no pains to understand them. These grievances Gladstone determined to remove, first that of the Church, then that of the land, and lastly that of Dublin Castle.

It is probable that when he formed the design of bringing the disestablishment of the Church into the domain of practical politics, he had in his mind the possibility of granting Home Rule as the only valid remedy for Irish discontent, and to apply to this open sore the magic power of self-government. The Irish had been driven by ill-treatment to emigration on an enormous scale; indeed, it was a common opinion in England that the more Irish that emigrated the better, and that it would be a happy thing if Ireland could be entirely deserted by its own people, and their places taken by British emigrants. But those who held such opinions forgot that there was growing up, in every country to which the Irish went beyond the seas, an Irish party hostile to Great Britain. This was notably true of the United States, but it was also the case in Australia and Canada.

Now, whatever convictions a statesman may form in his own mind as to the desirability of reform in any direction, he cannot hope to give effect to them except with the support of public

opinion, and this opinion, to be valid, cannot be artificially created but must grow up in great measure of itself. A wise statesman will always take care to have this force on his side. It was idle to remedy the grievances of Ireland, unless Englishmen and Scotsmen felt they had a real existence. This explains why Gladstone came to the conclusion that the Fenian outbreak, the Manchester rescue, the Clerkenwell explosion gave an opportunity for the introduction of the beneficent legislation which he had long pondered in his mind.

On March 16th, 1868, Mr. John Francis Maguire, an Irish Member of Parliament, trusted by British and Irish alike, brought forward in the House of Commons some resolutions on the condition of Ireland. In the course of his speech he laid great stress upon the mischief produced in Ireland by the existence of an alien Church. The debate lasted a considerable time, and on the first night Gladstone expressed the opinion that the Irish Church must cease to exist as a State institution. In consequence of this avowal Maguire withdrew his resolutions. He knew that the Protestant garrison in Ireland was doomed, and that the fall of the Irish State Church was merely a question of time.

A few days later Gladstone gave notice of three resolutions on the subject. The first declared that the Established Church of Ireland must cease to exist as an establishment, respect being had to personal interests and to individual rights of property; the second declared that it was inexpedient to create new personal interests by any public patronage; and the third prayed the Sovereign to place at the disposal of Parliament the interests of the Crown in the temporalities of the Irish Church. Gladstone proposed his resolutions on March 30th, 1868. Lord Stanley met them by declaring that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or dismemberment of the Irish Church ought to be reserved for the decision of the new Parliament. The amendment only pleaded for delay; it did not ask that the Irish Church should not perish, but only that its end should come to-morrow instead of to-day.

Robert Lowe attacked the Irish Church with remarkable bitterness. He compared it to an exotic brought from a far country, tended with infinite pains and useless trouble, and kept alive with great difficulty and expense in an ungenial climate and an ungrateful soil. He said: "The curse of barrenness is upon it. It has no leaves, puts forth no blossoms and yields no fruit. Cut it down. Why cumbereth it the ground?" In the division there were 270 votes for the amendment and 331 against it, so that the Irish Church was condemned by a majority of 61.

Such was the fate of the amendment, but Gladstone's resolutions had still to be voted upon, and the first resolution was carried by a majority of 65, the numbers for and against it being 330 and 265. Disraeli determined to dissolve Parliament. This took place at the end of July, and the new elections were held in November. It was probably the most important election since the days of the Reform Bill. Gladstone was defeated in South Lancashire, but found a seat at Greenwich; Lord Hartington was defeated in North Lancashire, and was out of Parliament for a short time; John Stuart Mill was not re-elected for Westminster; and Lowe was chosen as the first Member for the University of London. The polls, however, gave the Liberals a majority of 112. Disraeli thought it useless to meet the new Parliament as Prime Minister, and resigned office. Gladstone's opportunity had come, and on the afternoon of December 1st he received at Hawarden an intimation from Windsor that placed him in power. Evelyn Ashley has described the homely incident when the message arrived.

"I was standing by him, holding his coat on my arm, while he in his shirt-sleeves was wielding an axe to cut down a tree, when up came a telegraph messenger. He opened the telegram and read it, then handed it to me, speaking only two words: 'Very significant,' and at once resumed his work. The message merely stated that General Grey would arrive that evening from Windsor. This, of course, implied that a mandate was coming from the Queen, charging Mr. Gladstone with the formation of his first Government. After a few minutes the blows ceased and Mr. Gladstone, resting upon the handle of his axe, looked up, and with deep earnestness in his voice and great intensity in his face, exclaimed, 'My mission is to pacify Ireland.' He then resumed his task and never spoke another word till the tree was down."

"Mr. Disraeli," said the Royal missive, "has tendered his resignation to the Queen. The result of the appeal to the country is too evident to require its being pressed by a vote in Parliament, and the Queen entirely agrees with Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues that the most dignified course for them to pursue, as also the best for the public interests, is immediate resignation. Under these circumstances, the Queen must ask Mr. Gladstone, as the acknowledged head of the Liberal Party, to undertake the formation of a new Administration. With one or two exceptions, which she has requested General Grey, the bearer of this letter, to explain, the Queen would impose no restrictions on Mr. Gladstone with regard to the arrangements of the various offices in the manner which he believes to be best for the public service, and she trusts

that he will find no difficulty in filling them up, or at least the greater part of them, so that the Council may be held before the 13th. Mr. Gladstone will understand why the Queen would wish to be free from making any arrangements for the next few days after the 13th.* The Queen echoes what she said two and a half years ago to Lord Derby, that she will not have any time for seeing Mr. Gladstone, who may wish to have an opportunity of consulting some of his friends before he sees her, but that, as soon as he shall have done so, and expresses a desire to see the Queen, she will receive him."

On December 29th Gladstone entered in his diary: "This birthday opens my sixtieth year. I descend the path of life; it would be truer to say I ascend a steep path with a burden ever gathering weight. The Almighty seems to sustain and spare me for some purpose of His own, deeply unworthy as I know myself to be. Glory be to His name." And in the last hours of the year he wrote further: "This month of December has been notable in my life as follows—Dec., 1809, born; 1827, left Eton; 1831, Classics at Oxford; 1832, elected to Parliament; 1838, work on *Church and State* published; 1852, Chancellor of the Exchequer; 1868, First Lord. Rather a frivolous enumeration, yet it would not be so if the love of symmetry were carried with a well-proportioned earnestness and firmness into the higher parts of life. I feel like a man with a burden under which he must fall and be crushed if he look to the right or the left, and fail from any cause to concentrate mind and muscle upon his progress step by step. This absorption, this excess, this constant jar is the fate of political life with its insatiable demands, which do not leave the smallest spark of moral energy unexhausted and available for the surgeons. Swimming for his life, a man does not see much of the country through which the river winds, and I probably know little of these years through which I busily work and live."

* December 14th was the anniversary of the death of the Prince Consort.

CHAPTER VI

FRANCE: DECAY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

THE close of the war of 1866 left the Emperor Napoleon in a worse condition than that which he had before occupied; but the disaster which eventually overwhelmed him was brought about largely by his policy in Mexico. Benito Juarez, President of that country, in 1860 expelled Pacheco, the Spanish envoy, and a few months later suspended the interest on the foreign debt for two years. The Governments principally concerned remonstrated without effect, and in October a Convention, signed in London between Great Britain, France and Spain, decided on a joint expedition, but disclaimed any intention of territorial aggrandisement, or of interfering with the inherent right of the Mexican people to choose their own form of government, their sole object being to obtain material guarantees for the redress of wrongs which had been done to their subjects, and for which remedies had been asked in vain. Great Britain was sincere in this declaration, but France and Spain both wished to substitute a monarchy for a republic, while the Emperor Napoleon desired to establish Archduke Maximilian of Austria on the throne, and Queen Isabella pressed the claims of the Montpensiers, the duchess being her sister. In November Prim was appointed to the command of the Spanish contingent of the allied forces, and was ordered to adhere strictly to the principles of the Convention. Napoleon's views became known to the Spanish Government at the beginning of 1862, but Prim warned the Emperor that if he proclaimed Maximilian Emperor of Mexico his power could only last so long as he was supported by French troops. But trouble was soon a-brewing. One of the first acts of Andrew Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln as President of the United States, was to assure Napoleon that America would not allow a foreign and monarchical government to be established on her soil. The triumphant close of the war brought even stronger counsels. The Monroe Doctrine, which proclaimed the principle of "America for the Americans," was enforced. On December 12th, 1865, both Houses of Congress passed a resolution that an attempt to destroy an American republic and to build upon its ruins a

monarchy, supported by European bayonets, was opposed to the declared policy of the United States, repulsive in the highest degree to the American people, and an attack upon the political system of the United States.

Mexico, otherwise called New Spain, originally a vice-royalty of the Spanish monarchy, revolted against the Mother Country in 1820, and obtained her independence in 1821. After forty years of civil war, she eventually fell into the hands of Benito Pablo Juarez, a lawyer and statesman, who was elected president by the free choice of the Mexican people. Born of poor parents in the year 1809, he suffered in his youth from the tyranny of the Spaniards, who treated the aboriginal inhabitants, to whom he belonged, with contempt and insult. His early manhood was spent in the struggle for freedom, and in the attempt to wrest the territory of his country from the dead hand of the Church. Elected president in 1858, under the new Constitution of 1857, he defeated the champions of the Clerical party in 1860, and entered the city of Mexico in triumph on January 12th, 1861.

We have said that the new Government of Mexico repudiated its debt, but there was some reason for this. The debt had been contracted by the Clerical party to assist them against their national adversaries, and it was so heavy that nearly one-half the revenues of the country went to England and one-fifth to France and Spain, leaving the Republic almost without resources to defray its expenses. In these circumstances suspension of payment was inevitable, and it was met by the Convention of London and the military intervention of the three Powers to which we have already referred. Spain signed, on February 19th, 1862, an arrangement with General Doblado, called the Treaty of La Soledad, acknowledging the sovereignty of the Republic, and Great Britain had no difficulty in adhering to an understanding which was in accord with the Convention of London.

But the French representatives hesitated to concur, because they knew that the policy of France was different from that of the two other allies. By the Second Article of the provisional treaty, the foreign allied troops were allowed to occupy the towns on the edge of the plateau on which Puebla and Mexico were situated, Cordova, Orizaba and La Tehuacan, but by the Third Article they were compelled to retire to Vera Cruz in case preliminaries should not be ratified. On the strength of the Second Article, Saligny, the representative of France, signed the treaty with the intention of breaking the First and the Third Articles.

On March 3rd, General Lorencez landed at Vera Cruz with reinforcements from France, accompanied by General Almonte, a Mexican refugee, who openly proclaimed his intention of upsetting Juarez and establishing Maximilian on the throne. On April 3rd the Mexican Government demanded the expulsion of Almonte from their territory, and, when the plenipotentiaries met at Orizaba on April 9th, Prim exposed the nature of the disgraceful intrigue in which France was engaged. In consequence of this, the representatives of Spain and Great Britain declared the Convention of London and the Treaty of Soledad to be violated and determined to depart. The French, who, according to the treaty, ought to have retired to Vera Cruz, marched forward and attacked Puebla. Reinforcements having arrived from France under General Forey, Puebla was taken, on May 17th, 1863, after two months' siege, and the city of Mexico was occupied at the beginning of June. On July 8th an Assembly of Notables met under the presidency of Almonte, who determined to consolidate Mexico as an hereditary empire and to invite Archduke Maximilian of Austria to assume the crown. Maximilian, who received the deputation sent for the purpose at Miramar, stipulated for two conditions—the protection of the maritime Powers and the consent of the Mexican people. Both were impossible, because Great Britain, Spain and the United States were opposed to any such arrangement, and because the whole of the Mexican people, except the Clericals, were in favour of Juarez. Maximilian persisted in his refusal for several months, but in the spring of 1864 he accepted, with his wife, an invitation to the Tuileries, and there, on March 12th, a treaty was signed which made him Emperor of Mexico.

After some difficulties between the Emperor and his brother with regard to the Austrian succession had been settled, it was arranged at Miramar that the Emperor Napoleon should supply a French garrison of 58,000 men, which should, year by year, be gradually diminished. These troops were to be paid for by Mexico at the rate of £40 a year per man. This was a heavy burden for the new government, especially as the funds arising from the confiscation of church lands could not be used for the payment, because it would offend the Clerical party, who were the Emperor's only supporters.

The Emperor Maximilian left Miramar on April 14th, 1864, on the frigate *Novara*, and reached Civita Vecchia four days later. He and the Empress had an interview with the Pope, with the object of establishing a *concordat* between State and Church in his new country. He landed at San Juan d'Ulloa on May 28th.

Nothing could be done with regard to the Church question till the arrival of the Nuncio Meglia at the end of the year. Meglia brought with him a letter written by the Pope's hand, which showed that all hope of an arrangement was impossible. Any step taken by the Emperor himself to shake off the burden of the dead hand was met by energetic expostulation from the Nuncio, who threatened a breach with Rome, so that the Emperor had no money to pay his way with. A loan was contracted in France in April, 1865, under the most onerous conditions, which raised the public debt of Mexico to over £30,000,000. The French army, now commanded by Bazaine, barely sufficed to protect Vera Cruz, Cordova, Orizaba, Puebla and Mexico, and keep the roads which connected them clear of the Liberal guerillas.

Maximilian found himself an emperor without an empire, a monarch without authority, in continual strife with the Pope on one side and the French on the other. Bazaine, too, became insufferable, but without his assistance the Empire would fall to pieces, and the time was at hand when the imperious march of events would bring this assistance to an end. The result of the American Civil War was as great a surprise to Napoleon as was the victory of the Prussians at Königgrätz in the following year. The victorious North, as we have seen, insisted on the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. The demand, urgent in 1865, became more urgent at the beginning of 1866. At that time Schofield, sent from Washington to Paris, told the Emperor that a year was the utmost limit the United States could allow for the presence of foreign troops on American soil.

Napoleon was forced to give way. In his Speech from the Throne on January 22nd, 1866, he said: "The government founded in Mexico on the will of the people gains strength; the opposition, now without a head, is conquered and dispersed. The national troops have shown themselves brave, and the country has found guarantees for order, which increase its security. Commerce with France has risen from 21,000,000 to 76,000,000 francs. Last year I expressed the hope that our expedition was approaching its termination, and I am now coming to an understanding with the Emperor Maximilian as to the time for the recall of our troops, so that it may be carried out without danger to French interests which we have defended in those distant regions."

This speech was really a tissue of falsehoods. The Republican troops were neither defeated nor dispersed; on the contrary, they were pressing forward, and the national army could hardly

be said to exist; and for "order" and "security" we ought to read "civil war" and "anarchy." The negotiations with Maximilian were not yet begun, for Baron Saillard, who was to conduct them, had only left France six days before the speech. It was true that the French troops were preparing to depart, but untrue that the interests of France were in a secure position. Baron Saillard took with him two letters from Drouyn de l'Huys, in which the French Minister, Daru, was ordered to treat with Maximilian and Bazaine for the immediate withdrawal of the French garrison. They stated, on the one hand, that the French army would depart in the autumn, and, on the other, that it would be better for Maximilian that his throne should not be supported by foreign bayonets. This meant that after a year and a half's reign, an enterprise undertaken by Maximilian only under strong pressure from France, two alternatives were left him, either of retiring to Europe with the French, or of certain destruction if he remained in the country. Napoleon's conduct was mean, but imminence of war with the United States, if he acted otherwise, left him really without a choice. On April 5th the Ministers announced that the French troops would leave Mexico in three detachments, and that the last of them would return in the spring of 1867.

In July the Empress Charlotte undertook a journey to Europe in the hope of saving the situation. She found Napoleon at St. Cloud, having just returned from Vichy, and, with the most moving eloquence, depicted the terrible position of her husband. When these entreaties failed, she gave him two letters written with his own hand in 1864, in which he (the Emperor) assured the Archduke that he would never desert him until his work was accomplished.

He looked hastily through the letters and said: "I have done what I could for your husband; I can go no further."

The Empress was in despair, and, as she took leave, cried: "I suffer what I deserve. The grandchild of Louis Philippe of Orléans should never have trusted her fortunes to a Bonaparte."

Added to other misfortunes was the treachery of Bazaine. His wife was a Mexican, and her family were infected with the ambition that they might be masters of the country, and Bazaine sought for himself the position of Emperor. Hence his policy was to weaken the authority of Maximilian and to increase the power of the dissidents, with whom he was in secret communication, and for this purpose he prolonged the occupation in order that he might have more time for the prosecution of his designs. It was

known that the occupation would come gradually to an end, and as each strong place was evacuated by the French it was occupied by the dissidents. Treachery took even a more solid form. Supplies paid for by the sacrifices of Maximilian's supporters were sold by Bazaine to the highest bidder, and the money went into his pockets.

History does not record a more heart-breaking or a more contemptible tragedy. But Maximilian's cup of agony was not yet full. On October 18th, 1866, he received the news that his gifted, beautiful, beloved wife had lost her reason. It is said that the insanity was first caused by a glass of orange water which she had drunk during her stormy interview with Napoleon, and which was made from oranges brought from Mexico by one of her suite, and believed to have been poisoned.

As soon as he heard the news, Maximilian determined to leave Mexico, and retired to Chapultepec, and then to Orizaba, which he reached on October 27th. Pale and wasted with fever, he drove in a carriage drawn by six mules. When he reached the town he was received by the French with salvoes of artillery and the ringing of bells, but his Austrian suite could only reply to the Gallic transports with Hungarian curses. The Indians flocked round with joy, his officers besought him on their knees to remain in Mexico, but he declared that it was impossible. The Clerical party, dismayed at his resolution, strained every nerve to keep him. They sent Father Fischer, a wily ecclesiastic, to promise him money and support from the revenues of the Church, engagements which they were powerless to fulfil; but Lacuza, his Minister, struck a more promising note when he told him that a Hapsburg should not desert his post in the hour of danger, and that he must meet bravely the attacks of open as well as secret enemies, prepared to conquer or fall.

On November 25th Maximilian held a council, in which ten members out of twenty-three declared against his departure, and he determined to remain. He returned to his capital in January, 1867, resolved to carry on the war with the help of the Mexicans who were true to him, and, for this purpose, he recalled Marquez and Miramon from exile. He depended mainly upon the Imperial Hussars, a regiment of pure Hungarians, commanded and paid by the devoted Khevenhüller, on the infantry of Hammerstein and on the Mexican chasseurs of Moso. He found that the stores collected in Mexico had been destroyed by Bazaine's orders, and that the marshal had persuaded the municipality to repurchase at an exorbitant price the palace which Maximilian had presented to

him. Bazaine left the city on February 12th, 1867, starting out in the early morning as if ashamed of being seen, having carefully destroyed, before his departure, arms, horses, harness and cannon, knowing that the crown he had been commanded to defend had no money to supply the loss.

Next morning the troops of Khevenhüller and Hammerstein were summoned to the palace. The Emperor appeared along with his physician Basch, Father Fischer and others, and told his faithful officers that he had determined to return to Queretaro, but that they must remain behind. They were in despair, knowing that his Mexican guards could not defend him against the insurgents and that he was in the hands of traitors. But he declared that it was his unalterable wish, and rode away to his doom. Maximilian left his true-hearted Austrians in the capital, in order to live for the future as a Mexican among Mexicans. He found at Queretaro a population of 40,000 souls, who received him with joy and an affection strengthened by a three months' siege, and he commanded there an army of 95,000 men. But in the capital he found himself betrayed. Ministers behaved exactly as if there were no Emperor at all, did nothing that they had promised, supplied him with no money, and disregarded his commands to send him Khevenhüller and Hammerstein.

On March 14th, when he had successfully repelled the attack of General Escobedo, he sent Marquez and Bidaum, whom he believed devoted to his cause, with orders to depose the Ministry, to obtain money, and in any case to return to Queretaro with reinforcements. The two generals arrived at Mexico on the evening of March 25th, accompanied by 800 cavalry. Four days later Khevenhüller and Hammerstein received marching orders, and on March 30th they set out, apparently to join the Emperor at Queretaro with 4,000 troops and 12 guns. But they marched not north-west to Queretaro, but south-west to Puebla, which was being besieged by Porfirio Diaz. When they had proceeded for four days with incredible slowness they heard that Puebla had fallen. This was owing to the treachery of Marquez, who disregarded all representations of the German officers. They were obliged to return to Mexico, which was soon afterwards blockaded, so that no further expedition was possible.

Maximilian defended himself stoutly in Queretaro. After fighting bravely on March 24th, April 1st and 27th, May 1st and 3rd, he determined to make a final effort on the night of May 14th. But shortly after midnight the enemy, led by the traitor Lopez, broke into the monastery of La Cruz, where the Emperor was

residing with his staff, and took them all prisoners, unarmed as they were.

Juarez did not himself desire the death of Maximilian. The besiegers received orders to allow him to pass unscathed should he wish to do so. But he was brought before a court-martial and tried, together with Generals Meija and Miramon, who were regarded by the Mexicans as traitors. If they were condemned to death, and they deserved no other punishment, how could Maximilian be allowed to escape, under whose command they had fought? Maximilian refused all offers of escape, unless the two generals could go with him. When he heard of his condemnation, he said to Juarez that he hoped his blood would be the last shed for the peace of Mexico. In the early morning of June 19th, 1867, the three were led together to the place of execution, where the sentence was read out to them.

Maximilian said: "I die for the independence and freedom of Mexico; may my blood strengthen them both!"

Miramon said: "Long live the Empress! Hurrah for Mexico!"

Meija kissed his crucifix.

The officers gave the signal, the volleys were fired, and the victims fell. The colonel who commanded the firing party said to Herr Basch: "His was a mighty soul!"

On the evening of June 19th, as soon as he heard of the execution, Baron Lago, the Minister of Austria, telegraphed to Juarez asking to be allowed to convey the body of Maximilian to Europe. The Austrian corvette *Elizabeth* had been waiting on the coast to receive the Emperor at any moment. The cabin reserved for his return to his country was now turned into a chamber of death. Juarez barbarously refused to surrender the corpse, which he regarded as a spoil of victory. The captain of an American ship of war was asked to press the request. He did so, pointing out that the ashes of the victim could be of no possible service to Mexico, and adding: "All expenses will be paid." This was refused and a similar request of a more official character met with the same result. The faithful Basch, who had been careful to embalm the body, and was keeping it at Queretaro, asked, on his own account, that the remains might be removed, but received an answer that the Citizen President had decided for grave reasons not to accede to the request. At last Tegethoff was dispatched, fresh from the laurels of Lissa, and was allowed to come to Mexico. He said that he represented the family of the Archduke. Juarez demanded an official request from Austria, or a written demand from the family of the Archduke. Beust bowed before necessity

and the body of the murdered hero was brought back to Europe on the *Novara*, the ship which had conveyed him, in his youth, on his voyage round the world and had brought him as an Emperor to those ill-fated shores. On January 18th, 1868, the Royal vault of the Capuchins received the mortal remains of the most unfortunate member of the unfortunate House of Hapsburg. In the meantime, the beautiful and gifted Empress Charlotte was wandering, a hopeless lunatic, about the gardens of Laeken, near Brussels. Napoleon and Bazaine were, as yet, unscathed, but a more terrible calamity awaited them than that which had befallen the Emperor whom they had destroyed.

The year 1867 was the year of the Paris Exhibition, the most brilliant of those international festivals which have now become too common to excite much attention, but were then untarnished by familiarity. It witnessed also the culmination of the splendour of the Imperial Court. Paris was visited by the monarchs and statesmen of Europe. The Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville vied with each other in dazzling hospitality. But the brief period of brilliance lay between 1866 and 1870, between Sadowa and Sedan, between the humiliation and the destruction of the Imperial edifice; under the triumphal song of exaltation sounded the burden of sadness. The tolling of a funeral bell, which accompanied the merry carillons of success, was heard by the acutest ears of European statesmen, and even in the intoxication of pleasure the Emperor and Empress could not have been deaf to its warnings.

These feelings naturally made the Emperor more anxious to consolidate the fabric he had created, in order to leave it, with some hope of continuance, to his heirs. The most obvious way of doing this was to change it from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy, and this feeling was exhibited in the rise of the Third Party, which came into existence in the early months of 1866. The Third Party did not desire parliamentary government comparable to that of Great Britain, but what it called a development of political freedom, a Ministry responsible to the Legislative Assembly, which should give that body a voice in the general policy of the country and a certain power of control. This change would naturally be accompanied by the liberty of the Press, and the concession of the right to hold public meetings. It was a move in the ceaseless struggle between *imperium* and *libertas*, authority and freedom, the two *foci* on which government is based, the conciliation of which constitutes the duty and the difficulty of every statesman.

The leader of the Third Party was Émile Ollivier, a young, vigorous and attractive personality, who, living to a green old

age, gave to the world a record of the events in which he played so prominent a part. His chief opponent was Rouher, who had been a faithful supporter of the Second Empire since its foundation in 1857. Rouher began the campaign with vigour. In July, 1866, he obtained the passing of a decree of the Senate which gave to that body the sole right of discussing constitutional changes, removed their discussion from the Lower House, and punished by a severe fine any treatment of this question in the Press. Petitions to the Senate for any change in the Constitution could only be brought before it for consideration if primarily authorised by the public officers. By this measure Rouher hoped to establish a bulwark to defend the Constitution of 1852.

But the catastrophe of Königgrätz and Queretaro had produced a powerful effect on the mind of the Emperor, an effect which was deepened by the evidences of unrest and discontent in the nation at large. Therefore, on January 19th, 1867, he promulgated a decree restoring the right of interpellation to the Deputies, and enacting that a Minister might be specially deputed by the Emperor to represent him in the discussions of either House. Notice was also given of an intention to introduce the freedom of the Press and the right of public meeting, both in a modified form.

During the first six months of 1867 it was uncertain how far these measures portended the transference of power from Rouher to Ollivier. An interpellation, to be valid, required the signatures of five Ministers, and the approval of four committees, which gave the majority in the Chamber power to prevent a demand which might be disagreeable to the Government. Besides, the presence of Ministers in the Chamber did not indicate that they were responsible to Parliament, as it was expressly declared that they were responsible to the Emperor alone. Rouher still remained supreme. He established a kind of club in the Rue de l'Arcade, composed of thoroughgoing Bonapartists, who were opposed to all Liberal reform, and he publicly announced in the Chamber that the Liberal concessions of January 19th were made at his instigation. At his instigation, too, on March 12th, the Senate demanded and obtained the right of examining all laws, not to determine whether they were constitutional, but to help in their formation, and this power was certain to be used in a reactionary sense. Walewski, the friend and protector of Ollivier, resigned the presidency of the Legislative Assembly, and when the Bills passed in January were adjourned indefinitely, and Ollivier made a violent attack on Rouher, whom he called the

Vice-Emperor, Napoleon sent Rouher the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour to console him for the attack to which he had been subjected.

Matters were, however, complicated by the rise of the Luxemburg Question—that is, the nature and amount of the compensation which France was to receive for the aggrandisement of Germany. The "Arcadians," as the ultra-Bonapartists were called, would not have recoiled from war to obtain their ends; but the Emperor was prudent and determined to confine himself to diplomatic means. In the negotiations with Bismarck before the war of 1866 Napoleon had always emphasised the necessity of some compensation for France. Bismarck had not definitely opposed these views. He had, indeed, done something to stimulate them, but had carefully refrained from committing himself, from promising anything, or even from saying that he would agree to such a demand. He, however, privately declared that no cession of German territory could be thought of for a moment, and that Great Britain would oppose any aggrandisement of France in Belgium; but that if there could be found on the confines of France a small territory resembling Savoy, Germany would not object to its annexation as an accomplished fact. This could only refer to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

The history of this little country had been remarkable and anomalous. The treaty of April 19th, 1839, had left it independent, under the sceptre, indeed, of the King of Holland, but with separate institutions—a Sovereign State under a Prince who resided at The Hague, but, at the same time, belonging to the German Federation and a member of the Zollverein. Moreover, in 1815, it had been declared a federal fortress, and was garrisoned by Prussian troops. But by the war of 1866 the old Confederation had been destroyed, and it would be possible to form a new one, of which the Duchy of Luxemburg should form no part. It seemed, therefore, to be able to command its own destinies, excepting as concerned the Sovereign of the Low Countries, the King, or Grand Duke as he was called. The country caused no little worry to the House of Orange-Nassau, to which it was a source of embarrassment rather than profit, being politically and naturally separated from the country of the Netherlands. On the other hand, France was close by, ready to receive it gladly. It was a small country of 200,000 inhabitants. Its main importance lay in the fortress-capital, which was more formidable in appearance than in fact. If it became French by an act of cession, supported by a plebiscite, who could find fault?

An opportunity for opening the question was afforded when Holland asked France whether she would give assistance, in case she (Holland) were attacked by Prussia. The French Government said that, though they did not apprehend any danger, the presence of a Prussian garrison in Luxemburg was undesirable. The dissolution of the German Confederation had restored Luxemburg to Holland and had made Luxemburg an independent State. It would, therefore, be wise of the King of Holland to cede Luxemburg to France; Germany would not object to such a step, which would gratify the feelings both of the Dutch and of the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy. Eventually, in January, 1867, the Dutch, convinced that Luxemburg actually belonged to them, offered to cede their province to France in return for a payment in money, if the Prussians would agree to withdraw their garrison. The people of Luxemburg agreed to this arrangement, and the King of Prussia had also given his approbation, when, in March, 1867, public opinion in Germany suddenly took alarm, and Goltz, the Prussian Ambassador in Paris, demanded from Moustier, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a pledge to discontinue the negotiations. But this did not lead to war, as was expected. The question was referred to a conference of the Powers in London, the result of which was that France renounced her scheme for the possession of the Grand Duchy, and Prussia evacuated the fortress, which was declared neutral and was dismantled.

One of the results, indeed, one of the objects, of the Exhibition in Paris was to attract a crowd of distinguished visitors to that city, especially princes and kings. They all came, first the King and Queen of the Belgians, then the Queen of Portugal, Prince Oscar of Sweden, the Prince of Wales, and the son of the Tycoon of Japan. But the most distinguished and the most longed-for of all were the Emperor Alexander of Russia and King William of Prussia. If their friendship were secured, the Empire might feel safe. The Tsar arrived on June 1st. Great pains were taken for his safety, which were not entirely successful. His cortège avoided the dangerous streets, and he was lodged in the Élysée. But he did not escape some insults from friends of Poland. King William left Berlin on June 4th. As he entered Paris he saw the Heights of Montmartre, which he had occupied with an invading army in 1814. He was met at the station by the nephew of the man he had helped to depose, the sovereign whom three years later he himself was to depose. He was lodged in the Pavillon Marsan, and was better received by the populace than Alexander,

although he was really more dangerous. He was attended by Bismarck, who drove in the carriage behind him.

On June 6th a great review was held for the two Sovereigns. As they returned in the afternoon King William sat with the Emperor, and the Tsar with the Empress. The crowd was so thick that they could only proceed at a foot's pace. Suddenly a shot was fired at the Emperor's carriage. An equerry drove his horse in the way, and the ball wounded its nostrils, the blood spurting out over a Grand Duke.

"Sire," said Napoleon, "we have been under fire together; we are now brothers in arms."

The Tsar, who was destined to be killed some years later by the explosion of a bomb, replied, "Our days are in the hands of Providence."

The assassin was a young Pole named Berezowski, who desired to avenge the wrongs of his country.

In the brilliant company Austria was alone wanting, wrecked by domestic misfortunes. One Archduke was mad; Maximilian was a prisoner, awaiting his doom; Archduchess Mathilde set fire to herself while dressing for dinner, and was burned to death. The Austrian Embassy was closed.

Bismarck was the hero of the day. His sallies were in everybody's mouth. Certainly, French society was never more brilliant than in June, 1867. Yet Offenbach was there with his mocking laugh, and was more applauded than anyone; the *Grand Duchess of Gerolstein* was the play of the summer. All good things come to an end, however, and Alexander left on June 11th and King William on June 14th. The latter sent a warm message of thanks on his return to Babelsberg.

As Austria could not come to the Emperor, the Emperor determined to go to Austria. Beust was anxious for the meeting, saying that an alliance between France and Austria was a first political necessity. The visit took place at Salzburg on August 18th, the birthday of Francis Joseph, and lasted five days. It led to no definite results, and was rather a visit of condolence for the past than a union of hope for the future. On his return the Emperor passed by Lille, which he had visited just after his marriage with his lovely bride. He was tempted to compare the present with the past, and admitted black clouds hung on his horizon. When Francis Joseph paid a return visit to Paris in October, he visited the tombs of his ancestors at Nancy, and expressed a hope that France and Austria might advance hand in hand on the path of progress and civilisation. But nothing

tangible came of these words. At last the pageants were over, and the puppets were put back into their box. A feeling of disquietude and discontent followed the orgies of splendour. Imperial France knew no more happy days.

By the Convention signed between Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel on September 15th, 1864, it had been agreed that Italy should not attack the existing territory of the Pope, or permit any attack upon it, that the French troops should evacuate Rome within a maximum delay of two years, and that Victor Emmanuel should establish his capital in some other place than the Eternal City, probably Florence. The Convention was distasteful to Catholics throughout the world. To the Pope it was a thunderbolt. Beust disbelieved in its reality, and French Catholics received it with disgust. The Convention was approved of by the Italian Government and Parliament, but many Italians hoped and believed that Florence was only a step towards Rome. In 1865 signs appeared that the Convention would be carried out. Victor Emmanuel established himself in the Palazzo Pitti, and the Italian Parliament held its sittings in the large hall of the Palazzo Vecchio.

Napoleon withdrew a regiment from Rome, and the Pope began to resign himself to his fate. On January 1st, 1866, he said to Montebello, commandant of the Roman garrison: "This is the last time you will receive my New Year's blessing; after your departure, perhaps the enemies of the Church will come to Rome. I pray for you, for France, for the Imperial family." Napoleon endeavoured to find a substitute for his garrison by constituting the Legion of Antibes, a body of French Catholic soldiers, recruited under the Papal flag for a service of five years. In August, 1866, this Legion numbered 1,000 men, and was placed under the command of Colonel d'Arz. It entered Rome on September 22nd.

After the acquisition of Venice the Italians became more anxious for the occupation of Rome, and in November Fleury was sent to Florence to counsel moderation and to inform the King that if, after the departure of the French garrison, the Pope were compelled to leave Rome, he would be brought back by French bayonets; and that, for this purpose, 20,000 French soldiers would always be posted between Marseilles and Toulon, ready to sail for Civita Vecchia at any moment. But, before the end of the year, the Convention was carried out. On December 11th, 1866, the French tricolour disappeared from the Castle of St. Angelo and, two days later, Montebello landed in

France. After seventeen years the French occupation was at an end.

At first sight the Papal Government appeared stronger than ever. The carnival and the Holy Week were unusually brilliant; never had the influx of visitors been more numerous. In June the centennial anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Peter was celebrated with great pomp, and the Pope issued invitations for an Œcumenical Council. Italian patriots sought for a leader to help them to realise their hopes, and they found one in Garibaldi, whom they believed to be invincible. In February, 1867, he left Caprera and went to Venice, where he preached a campaign against Rome. He was placed at the head of the national movement and addressed a remonstrance to the courts of Europe against the continuance of the temporal government of the Pope. At Genoa he prepared an expedition which was to land on the shores of the Papal territory, and on June 20th 200 Garibaldians assembled at Terni and made a raid into the territory of Viterbo. Garibaldi himself entered Orvieto on August 13th. Ratazzi, a man of vacillating character, was now Prime Minister of Italy, in place of the strong-minded Ricasoli. He did his best to minimise the danger, and placed his hopes on the promise which Garibaldi had given to attend a congress at Geneva, which would remove him from Italy at least for a time.

This congress, which bore the name of "a Congress of Peace," met at Geneva on September 8th, and Garibaldi arrived there with great éclat. He made a speech from the balcony of his hotel in which he extolled the freedom of Switzerland, the heroism of William Tell, the passionate democracy of Rousseau, and the brotherhood of man, and expressed the necessity of destroying all thrones and, above all, the pestilential institutions of the Papacy—a strange allocution for "a Congress of Peace." At the first sitting he made a speech in which he uttered the opinion that all wars were impious except those directed against kings, and he renewed the cry which had been first heard at Catania in 1862—"Rome or death!" In three days the Genevese were tired of his presence, and on September 11th he made a hurried departure. He did not, as was desired, retire to Caprera, but went to Italy and invaded the Papal territory. As he was preparing to cross the frontier, he was arrested, on September 24th, at Sinalunga and imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Alessandria. It was a second Aspromonte, and Ratazzi was proud of it.

Rome remained comparatively tranquil. The Papal army now

numbered 13,000 men—not, however, of a very serviceable character, the best being the Papal Zouaves, composed of French and Belgians. But the frontier was difficult to defend. The first Garibaldian attack came from Viterbo on September 28th, followed, on October 11th, by a movement against Subiaco and an assault on the Neapolitan frontier by Nicotera. Menotti Garibaldi, in the absence of his father, who was at Caprera, proposed to descend the valley of the Tiber. These attacks were repulsed by the Papal army with satisfactory success.

At this time the representative of France at Rome was M. Armand, and he continued to represent the danger of the situation to his Government in the strongest language. Napoleon was at Biarritz, very weary and far from well. He complained to the Italian Government that they were violating the Convention of September 15th by permitting the attack upon the Papal territory; but they replied that they were powerless to prevent it, that it came from the Revolution which they were unable to control. The French Government were divided in opinion, some being in favour of intervention, some of leaving things as they were, which meant the surrender of Rome to the Italians. A council was held at St. Cloud, to which place the Emperor had now retired, on October 16th, at which the proposal of intervention was decided, but no orders were issued; but on the following day a message was sent to Armand saying that if the Papal Government continued to defend themselves energetically the assistance of France would not be wanting. The news was received with enthusiasm by the Pope and the Clerical party, who believed that the danger was over and the hour of liberation had arrived.

Meanwhile, where was Garibaldi? He was guarded by seven ships at Caprera, but contrived to escape during a fog. On October 22nd he addressed the crowd on the Piazza Maria Novella at Florence from the balcony of his hotel, saying, "We shall have Rome. I thank the people of Florence. A foreign expedition is announced, but do not be afraid; it will vanish before the people's breath." After this address he left by special train for Terni. When he was gone it occurred to the Italian Government that it would have been better to arrest him.

The attacks of the Garibaldians continued. On October 22nd assaults were made on the Capitol and on the Porta San Paolo; they failed, but the Serristori barracks were blown up, burying twenty-two soldiers. Two heroic brothers, Enrico and Giovanni Cairoli, made an attempt to convey arms into Rome and to

rally their adherents. They, with about sixty companions, rowed down the Tiber and reached the city. Their design was to seize the steamer which guarded the river and disembark in the centre of the city, opposite the Ripetta. Foiled in their attempt, they passed the night in their boats, and then took up a position in a villa on Monte Parioli, a short distance from Rome. The Papal troops attacked them, and after a vigorous resistance Enrico was killed, Giovanni was wounded, and the survivors were taken prisoners. At this moment the news reached the cafés of the Piazza del Popolo that the French expedition was put off.

Antonelli said to Armand, "If your Emperor really desires to save the Holy See there is not a minute to lose."

Armand communicated with his Government, but the wires had been cut and the message had to be sent by boat. The expedition eventually sailed from Toulon on October 3rd, and made for Civita Vecchia, but there was great danger of its being recalled. Would it reach Rome in time?

Garibaldi, leaving Florence on October 22nd, reached the Papal frontier at Passo Carrese on the following day, and took command of the Revolutionary army, about 10,000 strong. Marching towards Rome, he arrived at Monte Rotondo, a small town situated on a hill, crowned by an old castle. It had a garrison of 300, commanded by Captain Costa. Garibaldi did not attack at once, and the garrison defended themselves bravely. They held out during the whole of October 25th, and all the following night, and eventually surrendered, after they had seriously impeded the advance of their assailants and perhaps saved Rome. Though there was great alarm in the Holy City, Antonelli kept his head. Who would reach Rome first, the Garibaldians or the French? Garibaldi arrived on October 28th at Castel Gandolfo, about five miles from Rome, but apparently hesitated to attack. On the same day the French squadron reached Civita Vecchia, and on October 30th the advanced guard of the French entered Rome.

On hearing of this the Italian Government determined to follow their example, and Italian troops occupied Acquapendente, Civita Castellana, Orte and Frosinone, which were situated on the frontier. There were, therefore, four armies in the Papal States—the Italians, the French, the Garibaldians, and the Papal troops. A plan of action was agreed upon between Failly, the French general, and Kanzler, the Papal general. At 4 a.m. on November 3rd, the Papal troops left Rome by the Porta Pia, reached the village of Capo Bianco at the time of the celebration

of Sunday Mass, and were joined there by the French brigade, which had left Rome a little later. They saw in front of them the large villages of Mentana and Monte Rotondo, both occupied by Garibaldi. His army was depressed by the fact that there had been no rising in Rome, and by the news of the arrival of the French. It is said that he was on the point of marching to Tivoli, with the view of retiring to the Abruzzi, when he heard of the approach of the enemy and immediately made his dispositions for defence.

Garibaldi had no artillery excepting what he had captured at Monte Rotondo, and only a few cavalry, but he still commanded 9,000 troops, a number superior to that of the enemy. He was protected by the old castles of Monte Rotondo and Mentana. A fierce fusillade began and the Papal Zouaves fell back, but Charette, with an energy worthy of his name, cried, "Forward with the bayonet! If you do not follow me I will go alone!" On the side of the road were a vineyard and a farm, called the Vigna Santucci, occupied by Garibaldians. After a severe struggle it was captured at 2 p.m., and the French were less than a mile from Mentana. They came into action armed with chassepot rifles, but the Garibaldians fought bravely, and when night fell Mentana was not taken. However, when they were about to renew the attack at daybreak the white flag was hoisted on the walls of Mentana, and Monte Rotondo was evacuated. The Garibaldian army had ceased to exist, 1,000 had been killed or wounded, many prisoners were taken, and those who escaped were disarmed at the frontier on November 6th. The Allies returned to Rome in triumph. Garibaldi was arrested at Foligno. Failly shocked public opinion and sentiment by saying in his dispatch, "The chassepots have done wonders." Napoleon had now completely broken with the Italian patriots. On November 4th Rouher declared in the Chamber that Italy should never take Rome, and that France would never permit such a violence to her honour and to Catholicism.

The expedition to Rome had the effect of reconstituting the Republican party in France. Mentana had produced a breach between Italy and France, and set the revolutionaries against the supporters of authority. On November 20th, just after the expedition had started, a fresh attempt at combined action was inaugurated at a Radical demonstration in Paris. A new opposition, more audacious and more enterprising than any which had previously existed, came into being. Among its orators was Léon Gambetta, a young lawyer from Cahors, whose eloquence

was the admiration of the Quartier Latin. Newspapers of a more violent tone made their appearance, such as the *Rive Gauche*, the *Courier Français*, and the *Candide*, edited by Blanqui and his disciples. A Labour Party also came into being with strong Socialist tendencies. The Workmen's International Association had been founded in London in 1864, and in September, 1867, the second International Congress at Lausanne sent a delegation to the Peace Congress at Geneva, to which we have already referred, Socialist workmen thus uniting themselves with Genevese Republicans against the Empire. On November 4th the International took part in a demonstration against the expedition to Rome, and on December 30th the members of the Paris branch were prosecuted for interfering in political matters.

At the beginning of the year 1868 the Emperor felt himself in a dangerous position, and Prussia was to him more and more a cause of anxiety. The French military attaché at Berlin reported to his Government that any accident might bring on war. Mentana had put an end to any hope of an alliance with Italy. It was imperative to reorganise the army, but this could not be done without the consent of the Chambers, which would refuse it unless concessions were made to the desire for more Liberalised government, which would mean the emancipation of the Press and an alteration of the law of public meeting. The whole year was occupied in the discussion of these measures, the general result of which was to weaken the authority of the Empire and hasten its fall.

At this time the French army was recruited by conscription. The routine was as follows: It was first determined how many new soldiers were required for the service of the year, and all young men who had reached the age of twenty-one were summoned to the capital of the Department and drew lots. Those who drew the lowest numbers were taken one after the other until the number required was complete. The number asked under the Restoration had been at first 40,000, and then 60,000; under Louis Philippe it was raised to 80,000, and under the Empire to 100,000, but in the Crimean and Italian wars it was increased to 140,000. The length of service was seven years, and those who had drawn good numbers, as they were called—that is, numbers higher than were needed for the service, did not serve at all. By this system the population was divided into two classes, one of artisans and labourers altogether free from military service, the other living in garrisons and always subject to be called to arms, the difference between them depending solely on

the hazard of a lottery. Those who could afford it could purchase exemption, which, at first customary, became legalised in 1855. It is difficult to imagine a worse system. No wonder the word "conscription" grew hateful, and it is used at the present day to discredit universal military service, which, whether good or bad, is certainly not conscription.

In Prussia the system was entirely different. In that country the whole male population was compelled to serve, but only for two or three years, and thus the separation of the population into two classes did not arise. This system was ridiculed in France, because it was not understood. It was regarded as impossible that an army of semi-citizens, without the splendour and éclat of the French service, could acquit themselves bravely in the field of battle. The existence of a highly-trained scientific General Staff was not known, and the care with which the *cadres* of the regiment were maintained in a high state of efficiency was also ignored. The Battle of Königgrätz was a revelation; as a consequence of it, the Prussian system became the admiration of Europe, and in September, 1866, Napoleon and Randon undertook the reform of the French army.

Napoleon was in favour of compulsory military service, but the marshal did not go beyond a modification of existing conditions. A new spirit, however, was infused into these discussions by the appointment of Niel to succeed Randon as Minister of War, and this was emphasised by an expression in the speech of the Emperor on opening the Chambers on February 14th, 1867: "The influence of a nation depends upon the number of men whom she can place under arms," an opinion which came as a shock to those who were dreaming of universal peace and the federation of the world. These words gave rise to heated debates and a rain of pamphlets, the most remarkable of which was that of Trochu, *L'Armée Française en* 1867. He criticised severely the existing conditions, but had little to propose in their place except a yearly contingent of 100,000 recruits and nine years of service—five in the active army and four in the reserve.

The Government plan appeared in March, 1867. The recruits of the year were to be divided into two classes; the first was to serve five years in the active army and four in the reserve, and the second four years in the reserve only. In the active army some citizens were exonerated from service altogether; in the reserve, substitution was allowed. A *Garde mobile* was to be formed, consisting of two parts—one, of those who had been exonerated or had found a substitute; the other, of those who had served four

years in the reserve. The *Garde mobile* was subject to military exercise, but could not be called to active service except by an Act of the Legislature. The period of active service was reduced to five years. To this project the Chambers made three objections: they wished to preserve the right of fixing the annual contingent, desired the preservation of the "good numbers" and the privilege of entire exemption, and proposed to give the *Garde mobile* a civil rather than a military character. These discussions continued during the whole of 1867, and the law was voted on January 14th, 1868. The result of the debates was that little serious change was made, saving the creation of the *Garde mobile*, an imitation of the Prussian *Landwehr*, and it was doubtful how far that would be carried out.

The Bills relating to the freedom of the Press and the right of public meetings were before the Chambers at the same time as the Army Bill, and were considered as the first steps towards the foundation of a Liberal Empire. The Liberalising of the Empire suffered much from the premature death of Morny, the son of Queen Hortense and Flahault, in March, 1865. He had been the author of the decree of November 24th, 1860, which founded this policy. In the debates on the Address in March, 1866, an amendment was proposed, signed by forty-two Deputies, begging the Emperor to give effect to the decree of 1860. This is known in French history as the "Amendment of the Forty-two." It is uncertain whether the Emperor agreed with them or not, but on January 19th, 1867, a letter from him to the Ministers was published announcing certain reforms in the direction of liberty. These were to substitute the right of interpellation for the right of address, to allow Ministers to attend the debates in the Chambers, to reform the law of the Press and the law of public meeting.

It is reported that on the day after their publication Prince Napoleon said, "If the Emperor wishes to be consistent, he will take Émile Ollivier into his counsels." In fact, Rouher, the actual Minister, had opposed the Amendment of the Forty-two, and Ollivier, who had been offered the portfolio of Public Instruction, had refused to serve under him. Granier de Cassagnac pronounced strongly for the principle of personal government, declaring it to be the true Liberalism. He supported the Constitution of 1852, to be used, however, with moderation, saying it had protected France for sixteen years and would continue to protect her. Eventually, Rouher, in the desire to maintain his position, came round to the Bill, and it was finally carried on

March 9th, Berryer alone voting against it. It made it possible to found a newspaper by a simple declaration, instead of obtaining the consent of the Government; and it abolished governmental interference by means of warning, suspension and suppression. Newspapers were placed under the jurisdiction of the law courts, but the necessity of a stamp and a deposit by way of security was still insisted upon. The law of public meeting authorised the holding of such meetings, subject to the signature of the necessary declaration by five competent persons, and provided that a meeting should take place in a closed building under the supervision of a commissary of police, who could dissolve it if he pleased.

The Empire was evidently on its decline. What were the evidences of its decay and the causes which led to it? Like the *ancien régime*, it owed its destruction in part to the spread of ideas which were inimical to the principle of authority. Religion was attacked, and the power of the Government undermined. Moreover, the new Press law led to the multiplication of Radical newspapers. In addition to the *Siècle* and the *Temps*, which were old asserters of the Liberal cause, there were issued the *Tribune* of Eugène Pelletan, the *Revue Politique* of Challemel Lacour, and the *Revue* of Delescluze, who was a zealous Republican. On May 30th, 1868, appeared the *Lanterne* of Henri Rochefort, which rapidly attained a dominant position. It attacked the dynasty with the most bitter sarcasm. The first number said: "I am thoroughly Bonapartist, but I must be allowed to choose my hero in the dynasty. As Bonapartist, I prefer Napoleon II. It is my right: he represents for me the ideal of the sovereign. No one can deny that he occupied the throne, because his successor is Napoleon III. What a reign, my friends, what a reign! No taxes! No war! No Civil List! Oh, yes, Napoleon II., I love and admire you without reserve." The Tuileries was in consternation, Rochefort was punished and exiled, but nothing would stop the dissemination of the scarlet pamphlet. At the same time, under the law of public meeting, the gatherings of Socialist workmen became more frequent, social and economic questions were freely discussed, and before long the debates took the form of attacks on the Government.

Towards the end of the year 1868 the horizon darkened. A book entitled *Paris in December, 1851*, by a young publicist, Eugène Ténot, told in merciless terms the history of the *coup d'état*. Demonstrations were made in favour of an obscure Republican named Baudin, who had fallen at a barricade in 1851,

and a subscription was opened for a monument. The Republican newspapers that supported the movement were prosecuted, and were defended by Gambetta, who attacked the *coup d'état* in violent language, calling for a great national expiation. Democratic principles began to spread throughout the *bourgeoisie*, the middle class which had hitherto supported the Empire. When the Chambers were opened on January 18th, 1869, the Emperor denounced from the throne the revolutionary spirits whose aim was to disturb public tranquillity. During this session the Opposition gained a victory in the vindication of the liberties of Paris. It was settled that the budget of the city was to be voted by the Municipal Council, under the sanction of the legislative body, and was no longer wholly dependent on the will of the Government.

The result of the elections held in May, 1869, furnished further proof of the spread of Republicanism and of opposition to the Empire. At their close the Government secured 4,438,000 votes, the Opposition 3,385,000. In Paris the Opposition had a large majority—231,000 against 74,000. Out of ninety candidates of the Opposition, about forty were irreconcilable to the Empire. The Emperor was determined to proceed in the path of Liberalising the institutions of his Government, doubtless satisfied that it was the best means of securing the throne to his son. In 1866 the Liberal movement had been supported by 42 Deputies; in 1869 personal government became unpopular. An interpellation put forward by the Left Centre, the old Third Party, received a number of adhesions, at first 70, then 100, then 116, and the new party entered into French history as that of the *Cent Seize* (the Hundred and Sixteen). Their principles soon secured the public sanction of the Emperor, and on July 12th, when the business of parliament began, Rouher read a message from the throne consenting to their programme. Their main object was to establish Parliamentary Government. The office of Secretary of State was abolished and the new Prime Minister was to be a member of the Chambers and to speak in their name. In these circumstances Rouher tendered his resignation, and his long reign was at an end.

Unfortunately, having taken the great step, the Emperor proceeded with hesitation. Indeed, he was at this time very ill, and in August his life was despaired of. He seemed to be afraid of the consequences of his action. In the place of Rouher, who became President of the Council, he made Forcade de la Roquette, the great supporter of official candidatures, Minister of the

Interior, and shrank from giving office to men who, in the opinion of the country, were the most prominent advocates of the new regime. In September the draft of the decree giving effect to the reforms indicated in the message of July 12th was accepted by the Senate. The Legislative Assembly became a parliament on the British model; it chose its own president and secretaries, and had the right of initiation, of discussing and voting the budget, of discussing amendments of it in detail, instead of voting large portions of it in the mass. The Senate was transformed into a deliberative assembly with public sittings; it could discuss laws brought up from the Lower House and discuss them in detail, while the Ministers were responsible and could be impeached. There was, however, a party in favour of personal government, supported by the Empress, and called the Arcadians or the Mamelukes, and Rouher still had access to the Emperor's private ear.

The Chambers opened on November 29th, and the Emperor in his speech said that the new state of things should be founded on order and liberty, avoiding reaction on the one hand, and revolution on the other. He would be responsible for order, but it was the duty of the Chambers to assist him in preserving liberty. On December 27th the Emperor wrote a letter to Émile Ollivier, asking him to nominate the persons who might form with him a homogeneous Cabinet faithfully representing the opinion of the majority of the legislative body, and bent on carrying out the new Constitution both in letter and in spirit. The formation of the new Ministry was very difficult, but on January 2nd, 1870, the names were published in the *Moniteur*. Daru became Minister of Foreign Affairs, Buffet of Finance; Lebœuf, who had succeeded Niel, remained Minister of War. These changes had roused more curiosity than interest in the country. The Ministers were known to be honest men, enlightened and incorrupt, faithful servants of their sovereign and country. The new order of government was looked upon with hope rather than with suspicion, and was generally popular. The year 1870, which was to prove the last of the Empire and the most tragical in the history of France, opened under the most favourable auspices for peace and liberty.

Nevertheless, the Ministry had from the first great difficulties both in Parliament and the country. Ollivier was supported by the official Ministerialists, who gave him a large majority, but the extreme Independents were hostile and ready to take advantage of any mistake he might commit. The forty Republican

Deputies had no real power, but represented the inhabitants of the great towns, the working classes, and the educated middle class. Gambetta, their most prominent member, declared for a proposal which included universal suffrage, the entire freedom of the Press, absolute right of meeting and combination, the separation of Church and State, and the suppression of a standing army. There were also Socialists belonging to the International, preaching Republicanism and Revolution to the workmen of the great cities, organising trade unions, and supporting strikes. In November Rochefort was elected for Belleville by 17,900 votes, in place of Gambetta, who had chosen to sit for Marseilles, and this was regarded as a triumph for the Socialists and the party of Revolution.

An event now occurred of a dramatic character, which hastened the fall of the Empire. Prince Pierre Bonaparte, third son of Lucien, a man of fifty-three years of age, was living in a small house in the Rue d'Auteuil. He was a thoroughly bad lot, an unreclaimed and uncivilised Corsican, who got into mischief wherever he fixed his abode. He was the *enfant terrible* of the Bonaparte family and a constant source of anxiety to the Emperor. A quarrel arose between him and some newspapers which had abused the Bonaparte family, and Paschal Grousset, the editor of the *Marseillaise,* sent him a challenge, which was conveyed, among others, by a young man of twenty-one, called Victor Noir. The envoy did not behave with discretion, a shot was fired by the Prince, and Victor Noir was killed. On June 11th the *Marseillaise* came out bordered in black, with the heading, "Assassination of Victor Noir by Prince Pierre Napoleon Bonaparte." On the following day the victim's funeral was attended by 100,000 persons, and disorders occurred which it was the duty of the Liberal Government to put down. A more ungrateful task could not have fallen to the lot of Ollivier, and this untoward episode cast a shade on the new policy of Parliamentary Government, and deepened the clouds gradually closing round the head of the State.

Ollivier soon found that the task he had to perform was not the conversion of the Empire into a Constitutional Monarchy, but the preservation of the Emperor. In dealing with Republicans and Socialists, he was obliged to have recourse to the detested methods of absolutism. He arrested Rochefort for taking part in the funeral of Victor Noir, and also arrested the editor of the *Marseillaise,* and kept the leaders of the International under police supervision. Pierre Bonaparte was acquitted of murder by the

High Court of Tours, but this did not allay the public ferment nor tend to reassure the Tuileries.

It was a fundamental part of the Constitution that no change could be effected in it without the ratification of a plebiscite, and on April 23rd the nation was summoned to vote on the question whether it approved of the Liberal reforms effected in the Constitution since 1860, and whether it ratified the vote of the Senate of April 20th, 1870. The Emperor announced that his object was to avert the peril of revolution, to establish order and liberty on a firm basis, and to assure the transmission of the crown to his son. The voting took place on May 8th, and showed 7,358,786 "Ayes" and 1,571,939 "Noes," there being 1,894,181 abstentions.

This result seemed to have given strength to the Empire, and Napoleon, in acknowledging the vote, called upon his subjects to contemplate the future with confidence. Changes were made in the Ministry, the Duc de Gramont taking the portfolio of Foreign Affairs and Plichon that of Public Works.

In June, 1870, France appeared to be both powerful and prosperous, and on the last day of the month Ollivier was able to assure Jules Favre that on whichever side he looked there was an absence of troublesome questions, and that at no moment had the maintenance of peace in Europe been better assured. These momentous words were spoken sixty-four days before the fall of the Empire at Sedan.

CHAPTER VII

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

To provide against the eventuality of a war with Prussia, it was necessary, first, that France should have a strong army, and, secondly, that she should have allies. But what allies were possible? Russia was estranged in consequence of her Polish policy; Great Britain was indifferent and unwilling to be mixed up in foreign complications. Only two alliances could be contemplated—with Austria and Italy. But between Austria and France there were serious causes of disagreement—the Battle of Solferino, the hesitating conduct of Napoleon in the war of 1866, and the betrayal of Maximilian. On the other side there were the interview of Salzburg and the visit to Paris.

At this time Beust was Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, a man of moderate talents but of great ambitions. He was jealous of Bismarck, who, he thought, prevented him from being the dominant figure in Europe, and desired to avenge the misfortunes of 1866, which he could not hope to accomplish without the aid of France. Gramont, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, was strongly in favour of an alliance with Austria. He detested Bismarck and the Prussians; as an aristocrat of ancient Europe, his sympathies naturally turned to the successor of the Holy Roman Empire. At the same time there were many grave reasons to deter Austria from entering upon a war. The consequences of defeat would be disastrous, involving dismemberment of the Empire. Besides, desire to avenge Sadowa was not felt among the motley nations of which Austria was composed with the intensity that it evoked at Vienna. Hungary, nearly as important a member of the Empire as Austria itself, was strongly opposed to war, and there was danger lest an alliance with France might give rise to a counter-alliance between Berlin and St. Petersburg.

There was, of course, a prospect of making a triple instead of a dual alliance by including Italy in the arrangement; but Austria would have to grasp the hand of her former enemy, and Italy to condone Mentana and forget her suspicions of Napoleon and her recent relations with Bismarck. Above all, there was the question

of Rome, which Victor Emmanuel desired to possess and which Napoleon would not surrender.

Still, in this world of change sentiments do alter and, in the hope that bygones might be bygones, negotiations were begun. Originating in 1868, these altered feelings became more palpable in 1869. Negotiations were conducted with the greatest secrecy between a small number of men—Beust, Metternich and Vitzthum on the side of Austria, Vimircati representing Italy, and Rouher France; Gramont was not in the secret till he became Minister of Foreign Affairs. Little, however, was accomplished, and by September, 1869, all that had been determined was that France and Austria should not make a new alliance without the knowledge of the other. Austria was always afraid lest France might, by a sudden impulse, turn towards Prussia. The overmastering desire of Italy was to acquire Rome; she insisted, therefore, that the French occupation should cease, that the Convention of September 15th should be again enforced, and that Italy should be left to work out her own destinies. Napoleon, however, refused to desert the Papacy during the lifetime of Pius IX. When the war broke out nothing definite had been arranged, but unhappily the Emperor believed that he had letters from Francis Joseph and Victor Emmanuel which could at any moment form the basis of a definite treaty.

At this time Prussia was not anxious for war, but wished to devote herself to the task of consolidating the German Confederation. There was, however, a certain amount of popular irritation against the French, and an increasing eagerness to recover Alsace as an ancient province of which Germany had been robbed. The decision between peace and war was in the hands of the King. He professed an ardent friendship for the Emperor and Empress of the French, and treated Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin, with great kindness; but it was known that he had never forgotten the events of his youth, the War of Liberation, and the triumphal entry into Paris. Among those who surrounded him, Prince Frederick Charles was one of the advocates of war; but the Queen and, above all, the Crown Prince Frederick were ardent supporters of peace. There was an outward appearance of repose, and Bismarck, Moltke and Roon had all retired to their estates.

But there is no doubt that Bismarck always regarded war with France as an inevitable consequence of the war with Austria, and that he was occupied in preparing for that contingency. His first object was to secure Russia, and there was little likelihood that any efforts of Napoleon would be able to weaken the ties

which united the uncle and the nephew; Fleury was sent to St. Petersburg in vain. In December, 1869, Alexander sent to King William the Crown of St. George, and the Emperor received in return the Order of Merit. The one thing which would have attracted Russia—namely, the removal of the barriers imposed by the Treaty of 1856 and the opening of the Black Sea to ships of war—it was impossible for Napoleon to propose. With regard to Prussia the main object of her diplomacy was to keep Russia neutral. If Beust were irreconcilable, it was all the more necessary to secure the friendship of the Imperial family. During the autumn of 1869 the Crown Prince spent two days with the Court of Vienna, on his way to Servia, and an Archduke, the brother of the Emperor, paid a return visit to Berlin. The tone of Bismarck and Beust towards each other became more conciliatory. On the other hand, great exertions were made to stir up dissensions between Italy and France. Bismarck was an accomplice in the campaign of Mentana, and other steps were taken in the same direction; but the presence of the French garrison at Rome was sufficient to prevent France and Italy from ever being friends. Great Britain was undoubtedly well disposed towards the new German Confederation.

There was greater difficulty in dealing with the States of Southern Germany than with foreign Powers. It is true that Hesse-Darmstadt accepted the situation because it was too weak to resist, and that Baden, closely connected with the House of Hohenzollern, eagerly sought the protection of Prussia, but Bavaria and Würtemberg did their best to preserve their independence. There was much to alienate Bavaria from Prussia. She had hitherto depended upon the protection of Austria, although she was not too small to acquire some degree of independence; besides, her national temperament, her mode of life, her religion, all separated her from the rigid formalism of the northern kingdom. Würtemberg was proud of her independence. Her inhabitants, belonging to the homogeneous race of the Swabians, clung with passionate devotion to their Sovereign, their hills, their paternal yet democratic government. Resistance, stimulated in the Bavarians by religion, was in her inspired by the love of liberty.

From 1868 to 1870 Bismarck combated these antagonisms with consummate adroitness. In Bavaria he had the King on his side and a large portion of the Press, which he had also used at Stuttgart; but he knew that, after all, he must rely mainly on force, and he spent his energies on perfecting the army. In this task he had the invaluable assistance of men whose qualities

fitted them in a special manner for the work—the King and Moltke. The King was devoted to the army and knew no greater happiness than when engaged in its service. He was able to say, at the age of seventy-one, that he had inspected eighty-seven battalions in twenty-two days. The care of the army was his duty and his religion.

Moltke remains the best example of pure scientific intellect applied to the conduct of military affairs. It was said of him at Berlin that he could be silent in seven languages, that on the eve of Sedan, when reports were brought showing that his instructions had been carried out and that the circle of shell and fire had closed round the devoted French, his only remark was "*Es stimmt*" ("Correct!"). He was a born student, forgetting nothing and every day learning something new. Since the war of 1866 he had concentrated his intellect on the invasion of France. Assisted by a General Staff which became the model for all similar institutions in the rest of Europe, he had drawn the most perfect maps, formed the most elaborate calculations, and made all arrangements with the most mathematical accuracy, leaving nothing to chance. His maxim was "Discover the principal army of the enemy, and attack it when you find it." He knew that a single mistake at the beginning of a campaign remained a weakness throughout. He held that, though something could be done by dash, much more was achieved by accurate preparations and prevision. He was well aware that the virtues of a soldier are often his greatest weaknesses. Energy, chivalry, high spirit, self-sacrifice, all that captivates the imagination and arouses sympathy with the military life, cannot hold their own, either against the deep devotion of a nation fighting for its existence, or against an elaborate machine constructed and working on scientific principles.

Armies representing these antagonistic forces were now to meet in the shock of war. The Prussian host, formed by years of thought and hard work and matured by the experience of two campaigns, was to be pitted against levies inspired by high traditions, in which the new was still in conflict with the old; the result was not doubtful, and the calamity which ensued was to change the face of Europe.

Daru, who had charge of foreign affairs in the Ministry of January 2nd, was resolute for peace. We find his true policy sketched in his private papers; it was incumbent, he held, to maintain the *status quo*, to let sleeping dogs lie, to preserve a good understanding with Great Britain—but, if she took the side of

Prussia, to find a compensation in Russia—to avoid raising any Eastern question, to reassure the Italians as to the occupation of Rome, to let the Spaniards settle their own affairs—but with a leaning towards the Prince of Asturias—to keep an attitude of reserve against Bismarck.

It is said that the Prussian Prime Minister did not appreciate Daru's caution, that a possible quarrel with France was too valuable an asset to surrender. It is true that the expenses of the Prussian army constituted a very heavy burden on the Prussian people, but the system of national military service was so essential that when Lord Clarendon attempted to bring about a European disarmament, Loftus, the British Ambassador at Berlin, could not secure the attention of the King to his proposals. In those days it was not understood that national armies are supposed to be the best guarantee for international peace.

Very important was the visit of Archduke Albert of Austria to Paris. He discussed with the Emperor the chances of war, the possibility of an Austrian alliance, and even the plan of a campaign. In April Daru, disheartened perhaps at the small likelihood of his peaceful policy being successful, resigned his portfolio; and in May, Gramont, a fatal choice, was, as we have seen, appointed as his successor.

On May 18th the Emperor summoned a council to the Tuileries, consisting of Lebœuf, Frossard, Lebrun, and Jarras with his maps. Napoleon related what had passed between the Archduke Albert and himself. In the case of war with Prussia, one French army was to hold the Prussians back upon the Saône, another was to march through Germany and join the Austrians in Bavaria, an Italian army was to reach Bavaria through Tyrol, and a French fleet was to appear in the North Sea. Würtemberg, Baden, Hanover and Denmark were to join the plot; and Prussia, surrounded by a wall of enemies, would be obliged to submit. Deep silence followed this revelation. Then came the announcement that Austria would require six weeks' notice before beginning the campaign. Could France keep Prussia back for six weeks? The maps which Jarras had brought with him proved incontestably that she could not, and the meeting dispersed in melancholy mood.

The Emperor, however, persisted. Lebrun was sent to the Archduke to complete arrangements and, if possible, induce him to surrender the delay of six weeks which seemed fatal to the French cause. This Archduke Albert refused to do, and Lebrun

began to doubt whether Austria did not desire delay in order to withhold her alliance until after a French victory. Lebrun held a conversation with Francis Joseph at Laxenburg which was even less satisfactory. He had reached Vienna on June 6th and returned to Paris on June 22nd; his report to the Emperor is dated June 30th, but deeds move more quickly than words. War was declared between France and Prussia on July 19th, and on September 2nd the Empire fell.

We must now relate the cause of the catastrophe. In September, 1868, the Spaniards rebelled against Queen Isabella, who, obliged to leave the country, was hospitably received in France. This revolution was brought about by three parties—the Unionists, who represented the Liberal middle class; the Progressists, who were in favour of Reform; and the Democrats, who supported the idea of a federal Republic. Serrano was leader of the Unionists, Prim of the Progressists, the Republicans had few supporters. In the case of a monarchy being decided upon, who was to be sovereign? Prince Leopold, son of Prince Antony of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and brother of Prince Charles, who had been made King of Roumania, was mentioned as a candidate, but a scion of the Royal House of Prussia would certainly be distasteful to the French. Other candidates were Amadeo of Italy, Archduke Charles of Austria, Prince Alfred of Great Britain. The Unionists worked for the Duc de Montpensier, who had married Queen Isabella's sister; the Progressists, for Ferdinand of Coburg, who had married Donna Maria, Queen of Portugal. Salazar, a Deputy, issued a paper advocating Leopold of Hohenzollern, a Catholic by religion, thirty-five years of age, an officer in the Prussian army, and very distantly related to the Prussian Royal family. He was connected in various ways with the Royal family of Portugal and the Bonapartes. Another possibility was to recall the son of Isabella, the Prince of Asturias, but this Prussia declared impracticable.

It was difficult to discover what were the views of Bismarck, but it was supposed that King William would not give his consent to the adoption of Prince Leopold. After much discussion the Unionists decided in favour of a monarchical constitution, and until a king was found Serrano was made Regent and Prim Prime Minister. The search after a sovereign continued. Ferdinand of Portugal definitely refused; so did the Duc de Genoa. Salazar was sent to sound the Hohenzollerns, but neither Prince Antony nor Prince Leopold seemed inclined to accept the onerous task.

GRAMONT'S IMPERIOUS DEMAND

At the beginning of 1870 the crown of Charles V. still went begging, but the wishes of Spain seemed to incline towards Leopold of Hohenzollern, and Salazar was indefatigable in his advocacy. He went to Berlin and found the King doubtful, Bismarck favourable. On March 15th, 1870, a council was held at Berlin, at which were present the King, the Crown Prince, Princes Antony and Leopold, together with Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, Schleinitz, Thile and Delbrück. The Prussians pleaded for the acceptance, but Leopold first hesitated and then refused. Prince Antony, who was anxious for the aggrandisement of his family, suggested his younger son Fritz, who refused the offer unless positively commanded by King William to accept it. His father was ambitious for the glory of his house; but, in order that Fritz might be a serious candidate, it was necessary that Leopold should abandon all idea of the enterprise. The affair ended by the positive refusal of Leopold and Fritz, and everyone believed that the danger was at an end.

No sooner was the negotiation closed than the Catholic Hohenzollerns began to repent of what they had done. The military sense of King William was annoyed at this vacillation; but Bismarck, who was at Vienna in bad health, still ardently wished for the German candidature. He advised Prim to say nothing at Berlin, but address himself directly to Sigmaringen, where Prince Antony resided. Salazar arrived there on June 19th, just a month before the actual declaration of war. Leopold gave his consent, and on the following day King William was asked to agree also. He viewed the matter with some indifference, and seemed inclined to leave it entirely to the decision of Leopold. Until now the negotiations had been secret, and Prim intended that they should remain so for the present. But in southern nations secrecy in matters of this kind is difficult, and at the beginning of July reports as to what had happened began to be current in Madrid, and the French Ambassador demanded an explanation, which Prim was unable to give.

The news of the fatal resolution of the Hohenzollern candidature reached the French Foreign Office on July 3rd. It was the first serious business with which Gramont had to deal. He adopted the worst possible course, and sent an imperious message to Berlin. There was no one to receive it—the King was at Ems; the Chancellor, Bismarck, at Varzin; Benedetti at Wildbad. The dispatch was opened by the French Secretary, who sought an interview with the Prussian Secretary, Thile, who alleged entire ignorance of the business. It was the season when

all diplomats were taking their annual rest, and when the repose of the world is such as to suggest that, if statesmen were always on their holidays, no serious quarrels between nations would ever take place. But on July 5th the newspapers gave the news to the world, and the Chanceries of Europe were in a blaze. Gramont did not hesitate to declare that Prussian approval of the candidature would mean war.

July 6th was a date of destiny for France. There was an interpellation in the Chamber and a council at St. Cloud. Gramont was impetuous, Ollivier moderate, and the Emperor seriously unwell. He was surrounded by the military party, who urged him to war, the Empress surpassing Gramont in vehemence. But was France ripe for war? Lebœuf promised an army of 300,000 men, of whom 250,000 men would be ready in four days, and the rest ten days later. It appeared that she could count on the sympathy of Italy, the neutrality of Southern Germany, and the moral support of Austria, but nothing definite had been arranged. A reply had to be drawn up to the interpellation in the Chamber. Unfortunately it took a form which was not conciliatory, and when it became public the telegraph flashed the news all over Europe that war was at hand.

During the night of July 7th Benedetti was ordered to proceed from Wildbad to Ems, where he arrived late in the evening of July 8th. At Coblenz he received a public dispatch and a private letter from Gramont. The dispatch merely ordered him to advise the King to ask Prince Leopold to withdraw his acceptance; the private letter said that he was to demand from the King not merely a disapproval of the Hohenzollern candidature, but an order to Prince Leopold to withdraw the acceptance which he had given without his permission. He went on to say that unless the King gave a satisfactory answer the mobilisation of the French troops would begin immediately, that no evasive answer would be tolerated, and that unless the King disavowed the acceptance of Prince Leopold war would be declared.

Benedetti had an interview with the King on the afternoon of July 9th. King William distinguished between his position as head of the Hohenzollern family and his position as Sovereign of Prussia. In his former capacity he could not interfere with the action of Prince Antony or Prince Leopold; as representing Prussia, his country had no more to do with the matter than any other Power in Europe. He had asked the intentions of his kinsmen, but as yet had received no reply. When the answer came he would communicate with Benedetti.

FRENCH IMPATIENCE

During this time Gramont was in a fever of anxiety at Paris, and the account of the interview which he received by telegraph on the morning of July 10th excited rather than reassured him. He would not be satisfied with a refusal from Sigmaringen; he must have it from the King himself. He was possessed by a fatal desire to humiliate Prussia. July 10th passed quietly at Ems, but in violent unrest on the Quai d'Orsay. Gramont wrote in the evening to Benedetti: "We cannot delay any longer; we cannot allow Prussia to make her preparations. We are waiting for your answer to mobilise 300,000 men. If the King will not advise Prince Leopold to refuse, war will immediately follow, and in a few days we shall be on the Rhine." At 1 a.m. he telegraphed, "We must have an answer to-morrow; the day after to-morrow will be too late."

On the morning of Monday, July 11th, a council was held at St. Cloud to discuss the military preparations. The legislative body had not met since Saturday, and the populace thronged the approaches to the Palais Bourbon, eager for news. Gramont was obliged to tell the Chambers when they met that he had nothing definite to communicate. On the same day Benedetti had an interview of an hour's duration with the King at Ems. William held to the statement that he could not withdraw from a consent already given, and that the decision must depend upon Prince Leopold and his father, from whom he had not heard. He advised patience on the part of the French if they desired to avoid war.

At the same time the situation at Sigmaringen became increasingly difficult. It was obvious that a Hohenzollern candidature would precipitate a European war. Prussia was herself afraid and subjected to pressure from the Courts of Europe to withdraw the proposal. Prince Antony, who owed the election of his son Charles to the throne of Roumania to the good offices of Francis Joseph, began to fear that Francis Joseph might destroy what he had created, and that, in attempting to gain the crown for his family, he might lose both; and the Emperor William sent a private intimation to Sigmaringen that he would be glad of a withdrawal.

But public opinion in France became more and more impatient, and Gramont allowed himself to be carried away by it. He telegraphed to Benedetti at 1 p.m. on July 11th that he must press the King more closely, that France could not admit the distinction between head of the House of Hohenzollern and chief of the Prussian Monarchy, that the King must forbid Prince

Leopold to persevere in his candidature, and that on the next day the failure to answer would be regarded as a refusal.

There was no need for these vehement messages. On the morning of July 12th Prince Antony telegraphed to Prim that he withdrew his son's acceptance. A duplicate of this telegram was sent to Paris and came to the knowledge of Ollivier at noon, and he communicated it immediately to the Chambers. Unfortunately the war party in France was not satisfied. Prussia had not been humiliated; the pacific message had passed between Sigmaringen and Madrid, and the King had taken no part in it. The fatal expression, "Guarantees for the future," made its appearance, and a telegram was sent to Benedetti at 7 p.m. on July 12th, ordering him to see the King immediately to ask him to declare that he associated himself with the action of Prince Antony, and that he would never give his consent to a similar candidature. The circumstances which produced this telegram have been related and analysed by Ollivier. We must conclude that in taking this step the Emperor was as much to blame as the Foreign Minister, that he did not sufficiently insist on his authority, and that he allowed steps to be taken by his subordinates which he would not have initiated himself.

Benedetti was shocked at Gramont's telegram. He saw that to ask for future guarantees would mean war, and at the same time he felt it his duty to do as he had been told. At German baths it is the custom to go to the spring at 6 o'clock in the morning to drink the waters and listen to the band. Benedetti went there as usual, hoping to see some member of the King's suite. He did meet one, and was telling him that he must see the Sovereign when King William himself appeared. He went up to the ambassador, who informed him of the decision of Prince Antony, but that the determination of Sigmaringen could have no value unless it were approved of by the King, and that it was essential that France should have a guarantee that the candidature would not be renewed.

The King, surprised and annoyed at these words, said that he was completely ignorant of the action of Prince Antony, and that it was impossible to give the guarantees asked for. Benedetti continued to press for the answer he wished for, and the King, much amazed, said, "You ask for a new and unexpected concession which I cannot consent to," and dismissed his interlocutor brusquely, but without discourtesy. The message which the King declared he had not received from Sigmaringen arrived in the middle of the day, and Prince Radziwill, a Royal aide-de-

camp, was dispatched at once to Benedetti's hotel to inform him that Prince Leopold had declined the throne of Spain and that the King considered the incident completely closed.

Benedetti was disappointed at not having a personal interview with the King. The reason was that the King had become aware of the form of renunciation which Gramont had suggested, and determined not to see Benedetti. The ambassador, ignorant of this, asked Radziwill to remind the King of his promise to see him again and his desire to obtain guarantees for the future. At half-past four Radziwill returned and replied that the King approved of the refusal as he had before approved of the acceptance, but could give no guarantees for the future. Benedetti persisted in demanding an audience, but at half-past five came the answer that the King had said everything he had to say and had nothing more to add.

Bismarck now suddenly took a step which brought about the war he had so earnestly desired. He kept in the background at Varzin, not returning to Berlin until the chance of rupture seemed more promising. He was piqued when King William began to treat directly with Benedetti, and on July 12th, when everything appeared to be settled, announced his intention of returning to Varzin; but the violent language of the French Press and the Chambers induced him to stay in the capital. He next did what in private affairs would be thought to be infamous: he stirred up enmity between two antagonists who were on the point of coming to terms. He refused to admit that the quarrel was at an end, and by a master-stroke rendered peace impossible.

A telegram from the King giving his account of the interview with Benedetti on the morning of July 13th reached Bismarck on the evening of the same day, just as he was going to dinner with Moltke and Roon. All three were disgusted to find that there was still a chance of peace. The last sentence of the dispatch allowed Bismarck to decide whether he would communicate what had occurred to the ambassadors and the newspapers. This gave him an opportunity of modifying the dispatch in the interest of war. He asked Moltke how long it would take him to complete his preparations in case war should break out. The Chief of the Staff replied that the sooner it was begun the better. Bismarck thereupon set to work, as he said, adding nothing, omitting nothing, but making certain suppressions. These suppressions represented the negotiations as broken off, instead of being still in suspense. Moltke and Roon approved highly of the emendations. Bismarck explained that it was essential that Prussia

should be attacked by France, and that, if this altered dispatch were communicated to all the embassies and became known in Paris, it would act like a red cloth upon the Gallic bull.

That evening Bismarck's dispatch was distributed gratuitously in the streets of Berlin, as a supplement to the *North German Gazette*, and passions rose to fever heat. In Prussia it was believed that the French Ambassador had insulted the King; in Paris that the King had insulted the ambassador. Crowds assembled in both capitals in the middle of the night, the one shouting "To Paris!" the other "To Berlin!"

At this very moment peace might yet have been preserved. France had committed two great blunders, one the declaration of July 6th, the other the demand for guarantees. But a sentiment in favour of peace was in being in the French Cabinet. Lord Granville, on behalf of Great Britain, was acting the part of mediator. In the afternoon of July 14th a council was held at the Tuileries. One of the Ministers begged the Emperor not to ruin his country and throne by war. He said that the Emperor and the King were not on equal terms; the King might lose many battles, but to the Emperor a single defeat would mean revolution.

Lebœuf declared, as before, that his army was absolutely ready, that it had an advantage of a fortnight over that of Prussia, and that if war were not made now the opportunity might not occur again. Indeed, he clamoured for immediate mobilisation, threatening his resignation if it were not granted, and losing his temper with those who argued against him. At 4, before the council had broken up, he drove to the Rue St. Dominique, and gave the necessary orders to mobilise. The council continued to sit at the Tuileries, the members arguing and disputing like the Committee of Public Safety at the time of the Terror. A proposition for a congress was welcomed eagerly by the Emperor, who sent a message to restrain Lebœuf's zeal an hour after he had left the palace. Ollivier drew up a declaration in favour of peace, which was to be read in the Chamber on the following day.

The Cabinet returned in the evening to St. Cloud, downcast and dispirited, not even daring to hope for the holding of a congress. There the Empress was found, incensed at the conduct of Prussia and furious for war. Gramont, on entering his office in the Quai d'Orsay, received a sheaf of dispatches which reported in various tones Bismarck's paragraph in the *North German Gazette*. He complained to Ollivier that he could no longer tolerate the bitter insults of Prussia. Lebœuf clamoured for a fresh council which should repeat the order for mobilisation. It was held at

St. Cloud at 10 in the evening, but some of the more pacific of the Ministers were not present. However, when the majority appeared to be in favour of peace, the Empress intervened. She said that peace was incompatible with the honour of France, and was supported strongly by Lebœuf. But it was eventually decided that the order for mobilisation should be held back. The field of debate was now transferred to the Chamber, and there, after prolonged discussion, war was decided upon. Gramont said afterwards in his own defence, "I decided upon war with an absolute confidence in victory. I believed in the greatness of my country, its greatness, its strength, its warlike virtues, as I believe in my holy religion." These brave words expressed the feelings of many others.

On the same day, July 15th, King William travelled from Coblenz to Berlin, and was received everywhere with addresses expressing devotion to the throne. At the station of Brandenburg he was met by the Crown Prince, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck and Thile. An informal council was held in the waiting-room, and when it was over the Crown Prince said to those who were standing near, "Mobilisation is ordered." Some final attempts at conciliation, notably on the part of the Southern States, came to nothing. France and Prussia were straining for war, and nothing could stop them, and on July 19th, the day of the meeting of the Reichstag, the declaration of war by France was received at Berlin.

Nothing could be more different than the condition of the two armies which were about to contend for the mastery of Europe, and nothing could be more divergent than the popular opinion about the strength and character of the two forces and the facts as they actually were. The French army had long been looked up to as a pattern for all European armies, its organisation being carefully studied in other countries. The idea prevailed that the French had a genius for warfare, which was the backbone of their strength, whereas Prussia was held up to ridicule for its supposed pedantry in military affairs. No one in France, or out of it, had the smallest notion that this magnificent fabric was rotten at the core and would crumble into pieces before its better-organised and sounder antagonist.

In 1870 the principle of liability to military service was acknowledged by French law just as fully as in Germany; but in France, as we have seen, the rule of conscription prevailed—that is, the summoning of only a certain portion of the nation to arms, instead of universal military service, which is a very different matter. In France, among other exceptions, anyone was allowed

to provide a substitute who could pay for it, whereas in Germany the duty of personal service was imposed on every one. The result was that the French army, being recruited from the lower and more ignorant classes of society, lacked the elements of intelligence and culture which entered so largely into the German. Moreover, conscription settled from the date of his earliest manhood whether a man was to be a soldier or not, and once a soldier he was always a soldier. Pains were taken to keep the soldiers from contact with the citizens, to isolate them in barracks and camps, to avoid billeting them upon the inhabitants, so that the army gradually became a military caste. The German army, on the other hand, remained in contact with the classes from which it was recruited. Indeed, the world has learnt since the Franco-Prussian War that a national army was not only a training-ground for culture, efficiency, and every kind of civic virtue, but was often the most secure ground for international peace.

France had learnt much from her war of 1859 and the brief Austro-Prussian campaign of 1866. She had discovered, to her dismay and undoing, that although, in 1859, her army was said, on paper, to consist of 400,000 men, and that although the war in Italy had not employed more than 120,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, she could not march an army to the Rhine to defend Austria if Prussia mobilised her army and threatened France. The war of 1866 showed that an army of 600,000 men would be totally inadequate to meet the Prussian and North German armies, including the *Landwehr*. We have already given an account of the changes effected in the French army in consequence of these experiences. The *Garde mobile*, or National Guard, a substitute for a citizen army, consisted, as we have said, of all persons who for one reason or another had not been enrolled in the active army or the reserves, or had paid for substitutes. They were liable to service for five years, with fifteen days' annual training in time of peace. This was supposed to produce a force of 425,000 men. Their duty was to act as auxiliaries to the active army, especially in garrisoning fortresses, for the defence of coasts and frontiers, or the maintenance of internal order. This new force was at first popular with the nation ; but, as the necessity for sacrifices became apparent, the enthusiasm cooled and the *mobiles* were of little use in the war and generally a butt for ridicule.

On the other hand, the military organisation of Prussia, which dates from 1861, had been proved to be sound in the war against Denmark in 1863 and in that against Austria in 1866. After the latter war it had been extended to the North German States and

gradually introduced into the South German States as well. Its main principle was to secure that in time of peace those who were liable to active service should also be fit for it, so that when they met the enemy they should be perfectly trained and instructed. For this purpose a period of twelve years' service was imposed upon the whole nation, consisting of three years in the standing army, four years in the Reserve, and five years in the *Landwehr*, there being in the four years of the Reserve two terms of training of eight weeks each, and in the five years of the *Landwehr* two periods of from eight to fourteen days each.

The contrast between the two armies was still more apparent in their mobilisation. In Germany the plan which had been formed to provide a maximum force under arms at any time, originally excellent, had been improved by constant study and elaboration, even up to the last moment. It was based upon minute decentralisation, each unit of the German military system being organised by itself, but yet with due subordination to the whole. If a new branch or section of a railway were opened for traffic, the entire service of time-tables was altered, if need be, to furnish fresh facilities for transport. The greatest diligence was shown in obtaining information about foreign countries. The German staff maps of France, especially of the country east of Paris, laid down roads which in July, 1870, were not indicated on any map issued by the French War Office. In 1870 the army of the North German States, with a peace establishment of 12,000 officers, 285,000 men, and 73,000 horses, was augmented, in the short space of from eight to ten days, to a war establishment of 22,000 officers, 932,000 men, and 192,000 horses, equipped with everything which an army requires in the field. This gigantic task could never have been performed unless every constituent part had done its share of the work with the greatest diligence and rapidity, each wheel working with its fellows with punctuality and precision; nor could this have been effected without decentralisation of the military administration, division and partition of labour, and constant provision in peace for the exigencies of war.

When King William of Prussia arrived at Berlin in the evening of July 15th, 1870, he at once sanctioned Moltke's orders, which were immediately transmitted to the officers commanding the several army corps. By regular and prearranged stages, each corps was gradually but swiftly developed into its full proportions, and was ready to start for the frontiers as a finished product. The men were supplied with arms, clothing, and equipments from the local

depots, and horses were called up by requisition or bought, and transport was obtained. All the needs of a complete army corps were easily met, because they had been ascertained and provided for beforehand. The whole of the operations were carried out in the short space of eighteen days. More than 300,000 combatants, with everything they required, were conveyed to their appointed places on the day specified, in accordance with a scheme calculated and drawn out two years before.

The mobilisation of the French army was a complete contrast to that of the Prussian. The territorial organisation which prevailed in Germany did not exist in France. A peasant in Provence might be called upon to join a regiment quartered in Brittany, or a workman employed in Bordeaux be called up to the Pas de Calais, and, when they arrived, they might discover that their regiment had marched to Alsace or Lorraine. During the first fortnight after the declaration of war, thousands of reserve men were travelling to and fro over France in search of their comrades.

When Lebœuf's assertion that the army was ready was becoming one of the principal reasons for declaring war, the marshal was asked what he meant, and replied: "I mean that the army is perfectly equipped in every respect, that it will not require the provision of a single gaiter button for a year to come." "*Elle est archiprêtre.*" This statement was afterwards found to be absolutely false. At the beginning of the war France possessed only one completely formed *corps d'armée*, the Army of the Rhine, at Metz, and a second stationed at the camp of Châlons commanded by Frossard. All the other corps had to be provided out of garrison troops, and the entire staff to be made up in haste. The armament of Strasburg was not begun till August 4th, and on July 20th there was not sufficient food in the fortresses of Metz and Thionville, and a million rations had to be sent from Paris, while on July 25th there was neither biscuit nor salt meat in the fortresses of Mézières and Sedan.

All the regiments were far short of their military strength, and there was a great deficiency of ready money, Failly at Bitsch not having the wherewithal to pay his troops. While the German soldiers were adequately supplied with maps of France brought well up to date, the French had only maps of Germany, intended for service in that country, but none of their own land. Owing to careful previous preparation, the German officers had a far more intimate knowledge of the country through which they passed than the French inhabitants themselves. On July 21st General Michel sent the following telegram to Paris: "Have arrived at

Belfort, cannot find my brigade; cannot find the general of division. What shall I do?"

Let us now consider the position of the two armies at the end of July. The main army of the French, 200,000 strong, was placed in and near Metz, and was called the Army of the Rhine, although it had little connection with that river. On July 28th this force was joined by the Emperor, the Prince Imperial and Lebœuf. To the east was the Southern Army under MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, about 100,000 strong. To this army were attached the African troops and the Zouaves, who, though wearing an African dress, were mainly of Parisian origin. This army lay in the direction of Alsace, and its advance guard, under Douay, was on the Rhine. In the camp of Châlons was a third army, consisting mainly of reservists and *mobiles*, very imperfectly drilled. Besides these armies, a fleet was sailing from Cherbourg through the Channel with the object of cruising in the North Sea and the Baltic. The Germans were also divided into three great sections. The first, 61,000 strong, under Steinmetz, formed the right wing; the second, under Prince Frederick Charles, 206,000 strong, together with the third, under the Crown Prince of Prussia, with 180,000 men, formed the left wing. A central army was under the King himself, with Moltke as Chief of the Staff. It has been calculated that the whole German forces amounted to 984,500 men, and those of the French to 798,000, but the numbers actually brought into the field were considerably smaller. Ollivier, writing in December, 1910, estimated the number of men actually ready for action at 426,723, and attributed the failure of the campaign, not to the false calculations of supplies, but to the inherent faults of mobilisation.

The Emperor left St. Cloud to join the army in the morning of July 28th, accompanied by the Prince Imperial. Dr. Evans, the American dentist, who was with him at the time, says that he was silent and out of spirits, seeming to anticipate disaster. As he picked up various well-loved trinkets to place them in his travelling-bag, his eyes were full of tears. On the other hand, the Empress was radiant with joy and hope, and did her best to rouse her husband. She brought into the room the latest copy of *The Times* and read extracts from it. She was passionate for the war. "It is my war," she proudly claimed, but she had little cause to be proud of it in the sequel.

The Emperor entered Metz on the same day at six in the evening. He lodged at the prefecture, but the headquarters were at the Hôtel de l'Europe. A council was held immediately, but

it merely took the form of a conversation. The Emperor, on retiring, was beset with demands from all sides for men, horses, and military stores. Thirty anonymous letters denounced the incapacity of the generals and demanded their dismissal. The reservists came in very slowly and were found to be dangerously incompetent, many of them even not knowing how to use the chassepot. It was found that the numbers were far below the estimates. Everything was in confusion, no order was kept, and strangers, tourists, soldiers' wives, newspaper reporters, wandered about freely in the passages of the hotel. It is said that the hotel at Metz was full of German spies.

The first action of the campaign was an attack on Saarbrück, a small town on the River Saar, which divided it into two parts, the railway station and the suburb of Saint Jean being on the right bank. The operation was important, provided it included the seizure of the station and the destruction of the telegraph. This, however, was not done. The battle began at nine in the morning of August 2nd. Attacked by a largely superior force the Prussians retired by the bridge across the stream. Here the movement stopped. The Prussian loss in killed and wounded was eighty-three men, but the French had succeeded in occupying a portion of Prussian territory. The French papers boasted: "Saarbrück has once more become a French city; the splendid coal district on the Saar is French property. Saarbrück is the first stage; we shall soon reach the last, Berlin." The Emperor wrote to the Empress that the Prince Imperial had received his "baptism of fire," and that the first shots from the mitrailleuses had produced a wonderful effect. The French made no further advance, but fortified their position on the left bank of the Saar, the Emperor returning to Metz.

King William left Berlin on July 31st. He was full of anxiety, but his counsellors were confident. Roon said that Germany had never seen a finer army; Bismarck thought the Emperor must clearly repent of his conduct; Charles of Roumania wrote that in two months Napoleon would be conquered and his power destroyed; Moltke was in raptures at the successful carrying out of his plans. Steinmetz, on the right, opposed the 27,000 of Ladmirault with double strength. Prince Frederick Charles, in the centre, had 194,000 men to resist the armies of Bazaine, Frossard, Failly and Bourbaki, whose commands, even if the reserves of Canrobert be added, would not exceed 140,000 men. On the left, the Crown Prince could meet MacMahon's 44,000 men with a force of 130,000. Besides these, reinforcements were pouring

in from every quarter of Germany. The French had to fight a nation in arms.

The Third Army, that of the Crown Prince, would open the campaign. It was posted between Landau, Germersheim and Speyer, and, with the exception of the Würtemberg and Baden troops, was on the left bank of the Rhine. It was to pass the Lauter, spread over Lower Alsace, beat MacMahon, and cut him off from the rest of the Army of the Rhine. The other armies would approach the Saône, enter Lorraine, and attack the main forces of the enemy. The King entered Mainz, the new headquarters, at 7 a.m. on August 2nd, and heard there of the engagement of Saarbrück, which Moltke considered as of no importance.

It was settled that the Crown Prince should answer this attack by crossing the Lauter on August 3rd. The first great battle of the war was to be fought at a place well known in the wars of the Spanish Succession, called Weissenberg by the Germans and Wissenbourg by the French. It was now a decayed town situated on the Lauter, which ran through it. It had three gates, called by the names of Landau, Bitsch and Hagenau. On both sides of it extended the once famous lines of Weissenberg, celebrated in the campaigns of Marlborough. The Bâle express passes through them on its way from Strassburg at the present day. The town lies close to the frontiers of Alsace and Bavaria, and the inhabitants of mixed races are very friendly with each other. The surrounding hills are outliers of the Vosges. Against this town 70,000 Prussian troops were marching on August 3rd.

Douay was in a position of false security, looking for an enemy which he could not find, when, at 8.30 on the morning of August 4th, he was surprised by some German bombs being fired into the centre of the town. What was he to do? He had 5,800 infantry, 900 cavalry, 18 guns, and Ducrot was nine miles off, separated by a mountain pass. But he did not believe in a serious attack and prepared to defend himself. The struggle took place in three centres—the banks of the Lauter, the town itself, and the Gaisberg. The Turcos defended the river bravely against the Bavarians, but, from the summit of the Gaisberg, Douay saw the serried masses of the Prussians approaching irresistibly. The Gaisberg itself was shelled and in danger of being surrounded. Douay gave the order to retreat, but at that moment was mortally wounded and carried to a farm, where he died. The town was then stormed and taken after a gallant resistance, the brunt of which fell upon the Turcos. An attack was then made upon the Gaisberg, which dominated the surrounding country and was

crowned by a strong castle, and eventually the French lines were broken, and the heights stormed. The French sullenly retired from their camp, and the remaining companies which were occupying the castle were compelled to surrender at 2 p.m., having lost seventy-four men killed and wounded. Seven hundred men were taken prisoners.

MacMahon was at Strassburg when he heard of the attack on Weissenberg. He immediately left by train, but, finding that method of progress difficult, mounted his horse and joined Ducrot, who, being on the other side of a mountain pass, knew little of what had happened. The two generals climbed to the Col du Pigeonnier, from which the whole extent of the catastrophe was manifest. The disaster was complete and irremediable. It was obvious the Germans were intending a general attack, and it became the duty of the marshal to resist it. The Sauer, rising in the Lower Vosges, after passing Lembach, flows from south to north, to Wörth, and then reaches the Rhine.

Here MacMahon chose a strong position, where the chain of steep hills, partly wooded, completely dominates the ground on the left bank of the Sauer, a chain with steep banks offering a serious obstacle to the advance of the enemy. He strengthened his position by rifle-pits, trenches, abattis, fieldworks, batteries, and wire fences. He took up his position on the morning of August 6th, having no information of the line on which the enemy was to approach. He placed Ducrot on the left wing with the first division, Raoult with the third division in the centre, holding the village of Wörth, at the passage over the Sauer, strongly occupied. The fourth division, under De l'Artigue, was on the right, holding the lower wood, with part of his troops thrown back at right angles —a formation known in military language as *en potence*—opposite to the village of Morsbrunn. He had, at first, intended to fight a purely defensive battle, and had ordered the bridges over the Sauer at Gorsdorff, Wörth and Gunstett, to be destroyed, but he changed his mind and left them standing. MacMahon fixed his headquarters at Froeschweiler, after which the French named the battle. He commanded 35,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 130 guns.

It is curious that neither commander had made up his mind to fight a decisive battle on this day. MacMahon was beset by advisers who urged him to retreat to the Vosges instead of contending against forces double his own in number, and he would have done so if he had not expected the arrival of Failly. The Crown Prince had made up his mind to fight on August 7th, and gave

pressing orders that the battle should be stopped. However, fate prevailed, and the battle was fought and won.

The Crown Prince occupied the heights on the left bank of the Sauer from Wörth to Gunstett, having 90,000 men opposed to 40,000. Soon after 8 a.m. he began an attack on Wörth; by 11 the Prussian artillery had proved itself superior, and orders were given to storm the village. In the meantime the French attack on Gunstett was repulsed, and Wörth was carried soon after noon despite an obstinate resistance. Both of the vigorous attempts of the French to recover it were unsuccessful. At 1.30 the Crown Prince gave orders to continue the fighting, contrary to his original intention.

Then came the most obstinate part of the struggle, the taking of Froeschweiler, the heights to the east of this being strongly occupied and partly fortified. The third French division fought splendidly, their commander, Raoult, being killed. It was not until after the fourth attack that the Prussians gained possession of the ground. The French, led by MacMahon, made a desperate attempt to retake Elsasshausen, but the Prussians succeeded in holding it. It was now possible to make a concentric attack on Froeschweiler, and the village was stormed at 3.30, and 1,000 prisoners were taken. After the loss of Froeschweiler further resistance became impossible. The French army broke up and fled in two directions, some to Reichshofen and some to Jägersthal. The Prussians bivouacked on the field of battle, the cavalry being pushed forward to Reichshofen. The troops which fled to Hagenau, and were forwarded by rail to Strassburg, produced there the utmost consternation.

On August 7th the bulk of the army rallied at Saverne, and when the roll was called it was found that 20,000 men had disappeared, being either killed, wounded or missing. Froeschweiler proved the grave of the army of the Second Empire, brave but undisciplined, presumptuous and brilliant, despising study, but passionate lovers of danger. After the victories of Africa, Sebastopol and Lombardy, they imagined that fortune could never be unfaithful to them. MacMahon's army had done everything which courage could do, but could not defend its country. Alsace had been invaded, the enemy had reached the crest of the Vosges, and on the following day they could cross them and overrun the plains of France.

August 6th, 1870, was marked, not only by the destruction of the Army of Alsace, but by the defeat of the Army of Lorraine. After the Battle of Saarbrück on August 2nd nothing was done.

The two next days were spent in vain imaginings about the movements of the enemy. The news of the defeat of Weissenberg arrived on the evening of August 4th. It showed the rapidity of the Prussian movements. The Crown Prince had crossed the Lauter, when would Steinmetz and Prince Frederick Charles cross the Saar? Both generals were on the road, and expected to reach the French frontier about August 6th. Frossard was certain to be attacked first. After the battle of August 2nd he had occupied, with a portion of his forces, the heights evacuated by the Prussians on that day, the Exercier Platz, the Nussberg, the Galgenberg, the Winterberg. Knowing that he was in an exposed position, he suggested to the Emperor that he should retire to the plateau, which extends from Forbach to Saargemünd, occupying Forbach, and Napoleon gave his consent, the movement to be carried out on the following day, August 6th. But as the day proceeded he became aware of the approach of the enemy, and, fearing to be surrounded, began the operation at once. He was not, however, completely established at Forbach till long after nightfall.

The country which formed the battlefield was well known to Frossard, as he had completely examined it in 1867. It was composed of a number of wooded hills which surrounded the village of Spicheren. The railway from Saarbrück to Metz ran along a ravine, which reached first Stieringen and then Forbach. Frossard was in command of three divisions. The first he placed in the valley near Stieringen, protecting the high road, the railway and the town of Forbach, where heavy stores had been collected. The second, at Spicheren, guarded the country up to the Saar and beyond; the third was held in reserve. The headquarters had been established at Forbach.

On the morning of August 6th the Prussian scouts began to make their appearance. They occupied the suburb of St. Jean, on the other side of the river, and then the Exercier Platz, and the Galgenberg, which had been evacuated by the French. From their view of the Valley of Forbach and the heights of Spicheren, it appeared as if the French were contemplating a retreat. Kameke obtained leave from Zastrow to cross the river, and to follow the French closely, in accordance with the Prussian traditional practice of pushing forward. He crossed the stream at 11 by bridges which had not been destroyed, and after a short hesitation determined to attack the enemy.

The battle began by an artillery duel, which was soon followed by the advance of the Prussian columns. A severe struggle raged

in the woods around Stieringen. Le François, a distinguished German general, was killed. The Germans were not very successful; they had attempted too much, and, if they were broken, had the Saar at their backs. It is a maxim of war never to fight with a river in your rear. A Napoleon or a Marlborough would have seized the opportunity to inflict a crushing defeat, but Frossard was neither. Bazaine, whose name became afterwards so notorious, was equally incompetent, and failed to send the reinforcements which Frossard so earnestly requested. But the assistance, which the French were vainly expecting from Metz, came to the Prussians from Saarbrück. Goeben, Zastrow and Alvensleben arrived one after the other, about 3 in the afternoon, ready to take their proper places without delay or confusion. The Prussians continued the battle with forces constantly renewed, and were eventually able to occupy the woods of Stieringen.

About 5 the French gained a slight advantage, but, as the sun sank, the German generals were filled with hope and Frossard with despair. The three fatal bridges which had not been destroyed poured ever fresh masses against the doomed French. At last the final blow was given by the arrival of the 3rd German division, which had marched to the sound of the cannon. They were stubbornly resisted by a small body of French under Dulac, but at half-past seven Frossard was obliged to inform Bazaine of his intention to retreat. When the roll was called next morning the French had lost 2,000 killed and wounded, and 2,000 prisoners, but had saved their standards and guns. Throughout the night the steady tramp of retreating hosts was heard in the woods, and another province of France lay at the feet of the enemy.

What were the faults and what the mischances that led Frossard to his fate? At midday Metmas had been sent by Bazaine in the direction of Forbach, but the order gave no indication that a battle was in progress, or that Frossard needed help. At 3 Metmas was within five or six miles of the battlefield, but stopped where he was and did nothing. An order from Bazaine at 4 gave no explanation, but a dispatch sent by Frossard with an earnest demand for assistance unfortunately went astray, and Metmas remained quietly in his place. At 7.30 he received an appeal from Frossard urging him to move, but did not reach Forbach till 9.30, when it was too late.

Castigny behaved better. He did march to the sound of the guns, but, having reached what he considered a fine position, halted, and waited on events. The cannonade having ceased, he retired to Puttelange, but no sooner had he got there than

the firing began again with a terrible din. It was then 5, but he began to march. Two hours later he met some fugitives from the battlefield, who told him that all was lost, so that he retired.

Montauban heard the cannon, but paused for orders from Bazaine. At 3 he received orders to assist Frossard, but he hastened slowly, and it was not until nightfall that he was within two miles of Forbach, and announced to Frossard that he was at his disposal. Then it was too late, for the battle was over.

On August 7th the confused mass of fugitives came together at Puttelange in a terrible state of disorder and despair. Frossard's troops had lost everything; they could not make soup, or provide shelter. They had the impression that, had they been properly led, victory might have been secured. As for Frossard, when he had superiority of numbers he had displayed lack of insight and resolution. Bazaine had shown both incompetence and selfishness, and evidently did not care about a battle which he did not consider his own.

The issue of this battle exemplified the fundamental difference between the Prussians and the French. The victory was won by the rapid concentration on the field of numbers of troops belonging to a great variety of corps and divisions. The achievements of the Prussian army on August 6th could not have been accomplished, unless every officer had been zealous to hurry forward with energy and self-abandonment on hearing the voice of the cannon; if he had not done so it might have been a day of defeat instead of victory. Although the chief command in the battle was changed four times, being held successively by Kameke, Stülpnagel, Goeben and Zastrow, there was the most perfect unity in the conduct of the engagement, testifying alike to the absence of personal jealousy and to uniformity of tactical system.

CHAPTER VIII

SEDAN

ABOUT noon on August 6th a rumour was current in Paris that the Prussian army was defeated. The *Marseillaise* was sung in the streets, and some decorations were exhibited. But the illusion did not last long. Just before midnight a report was received by the Empress from the Emperor, saying: "We are in full retreat; we must rise to the occasion; we must declare a state of siege and prepare for the defence of the capital. I have no news of MacMahon." The Cabinet was immediately summoned and met the Empress at the Tuileries. It was resolved to collect all available troops and defend Paris. The Ministers separated as dawn was breaking on Sunday morning. Early in the day the worst was known; the north-eastern gate of France was open to the invading enemy. At 9 Paris heard of the catastrophe, and determination to make a brave resistance was coupled with demands for the deposition of the Emperor and the punishment of the generals who had betrayed their country. The spirit of 1792 was not dead.

At Metz the first idea was to concentrate the third and fourth corps and the Guard at St. Avold and attack the enemy in flank. A train was prepared to carry the Emperor into the heart of his troops. Napoleon was already in his carriage when he heard that the railway station of Borney was in possession of the enemy, and the line of retreat of the defeated army was not known. He therefore returned to the prefecture, and Lebœuf proceeded to St. Avold alone, where he found Bazaine and Bourbaki, with whom he discussed many plans. One of these contemplated withdrawal to Châlons, leaving Alsace, Lorraine, and a large portion of Champagne at the mercy of the enemy. The resignation of his military command by the Emperor was also mooted, and it was proposed he should resume the reins of government. Napoleon, however, refused to leave his soldiers. On August 8th the indecision continued, but it ended by the army retiring to the neighbourhood of Metz. Next day Napoleon transferred the command of the army to Bazaine, although he did not entirely surrender control of it.

In Paris the Chambers had been summoned to meet on August 11th, but they met on August 9th. Ollivier and Gramont showed a determined spirit, but were violently attacked. The deposition of the Emperor was called for and the institution of a provisional government. The excitement grew, and the Deputies nearly came to blows. At last a vote was passed inviting the Cabinet to resign. Montauban, Count of Palikao, in command at Lyons, was summoned by the Empress to Paris, and made Minister of War. Ollivier and his colleagues immediately surrendered their posts, and Montauban found himself at the head not only of the army but the Government as well. He appeared before the Chambers on August 10th. When the members called upon him to speak louder, he said: "Pardon me, twenty-five years ago I received a bullet in my breast, and it is still there."

A new Ministry was constructed, Latour d'Auvergne becoming Minister of Foreign Affairs. The new Ministers did not occupy the Treasury Bench, but were dispersed throughout the House among the ordinary members. Lebœuf was deposed, and Bazaine was given command of the Army of the Rhine, great, but misplaced confidence being reposed in him. Bazaine represented to the Emperor that both Canrobert and MacMahon were senior to himself, but the Emperor replied that his appointment was demanded by public opinion. This was followed, as we have said, by the Emperor's resignation of the command of the army.

It was now determined to withdraw the whole army behind the Meuse in the direction of Châlons and Paris. The discussions on this point lasted a week, and the retreat did not begin till August 14th. It was desirable that the Emperor should return to Paris, but he would not undertake the journey till he knew that his army was safely out of Metz.

The war now enters into a new phase. MacMahon retired into the interior of France, followed by the third Prussian army. He halted in the plains of Champagne, oscillating between Paris and Metz. As he proceeded in a half-hearted and indecisive manner he suffered the defeat which destroyed him. At Metz the Prussians were endeavouring to cross the Moselle and throw themselves on the rear of the retreating enemy, and the French were endeavouring to liberate themselves from the net which entangled them and organise the defence of their country in the centre of France.

In order to attain their purpose, the Germans had to alter their direction, turning themselves round gradually, and using the First Army, which remained at Metz, as a pivot. They had to move, first to the south and then to the west of the city. The

two adversaries had a race which should first arrive at the high ground between the Moselle and the Meuse. The responsibility of resisting these movements fell upon Bazaine, and his talents were not equal to the task. The successful carrying out of the Emperor's plan demanded the utmost energy and speed, but at the very moment when Bazaine should have been giving the necessary orders he was still hankering after another policy and longing to remain in Metz. However, on August 14th the retreat began. At midday the *Cent Gardes* and the Imperial carriages appeared before the prefecture and the Emperor and his son left in safety by the Porte de France. The troops followed about 4 p.m. Nothing was left to the north of the city except the third army corps and part of the fourth. Suddenly a cannonade was heard, and the Battle of Borny had begun.

The country through which the rear of the French army had to march consisted of two plateaux, called by the names of Borny and St. Barbe, which were separated by ravines which, about three miles from Metz, became one and descended in a westerly direction to the Moselle. The heights and slopes were covered with many villages. Early on August 14th the Germans found that the French encamped on the plateaux were preparing to march, and set off in pursuit of them. The proper course for the French would have been to continue their retreat and to allow the Germans to come within the range of the guns of the fortress. About 5 in the afternoon Bazaine arrived on the scene. He had two plans open to him—to continue his course or turn on the Germans and crush them. He did neither, but stayed where he was and fought a feeble battle, called by the French after Borny, by the Germans after Columbey.

Goltz, who had begun the attack, was held in check before Columbey, and awaited assistance. This was given by Zastrow. Though the Prussians did not gain much ground, they inflicted severe losses on the French, Decaen being killed and Bazaine wounded. The struggle was furious, a hollow way leading up to Columbey being disputed step by step with such terrible carnage that it has since been called " The Alley of the Dead." On the whole, the Prussians did not gain the ground they wished for, but prevented the passage of the French. The loss on the French side was 3,500 and on the German 5,000.

Next day (August 15th) the Moselle was crossed, and by noon the right bank was entirely evacuated. The Battle of Borny had delayed the French retreat by twenty-four hours. On the dawn of this day the Germans pushed their reconnaissances close up to

Metz. A thick fog enveloped the Valley of the Moselle, but when the King came up shortly afterwards, and the mist had risen, clouds of dust revealed the march of long columns moving towards the west. The retreat of the French seemed to be secure. On this day, however, the two armies came into close contact, and an artillery duel, begun by accident, continued for several hours.

The Emperor, moving by slow stages, reluctant to leave the scene of conflict, slept with his son in a small cottage at Gravelotte. A few faithful friends made an offering of flowers. He did not know whether to go or stay, or along which road to travel. Thus the Imperial nephew spent the birthday of his uncle, one of the saddest anniversaries which that much-tried family has ever experienced. Bazaine was in a state of similar uncertainty. It is said that when he lost the last sight of Metz he was seized with dizziness; he lost his head; and the uncertainty of the commander spread through every department of the administration. The night passed quietly, and Napoleon left Gravelotte with imposing parade at daybreak. Bazaine came to bid him farewell, and the Emperor said to him, "I confide to you the last army of France; think of the Prince Imperial," and recommended him to proceed with all speed to Verdun and Châlons. The Emperor abandoned the route by Mars-la-Tour as too dangerous, and chose that by Étain. He sent away his dragoons and was escorted by Chasseurs d'Afrique. From Étain the Prince Imperial telegraphed to his mother, "Everything goes better and better."

Bazaine was now left to himself. If he had marched at once on August 16th he would have caught the Germans at a disadvantage; but Lebœuf insisted on a delay, which proved fatal. At 9.15 on August 16th the French soldiers were making their soup, and many of the horses, unsaddled, were being led to drink. Suddenly an alarm was raised, and shells fell into the camp. Vionville was choked with baggage wagons, and at the first fire the drivers fled. Wherever they went they carried dismay and confusion, some retreating to Rezonville, some as far as Gravelotte. Order was with difficulty restored and resistance organised.

The artillery which had caused the panic belonged to the advance guard of Prince Frederick Charles, who did not desire to bring about a battle there, but hoped to fall in with the rear-guard of the French and, if possible, to compel them to halt and fight before they reached the Meuse. The sound of the cannonade startled Lebœuf at Verneville and Bazaine at his headquarters at Gravelotte. By this time other parts of the German army

became informed about the movements of the French. Alvensleben learned that their outposts were at Trouville and Vionville, and camps of large bodies of troops were visible behind these two villages. He thus knew that at least a great portion of the French forces had not begun to march to Verdun and, in order to detain them, determined to attack them with the third corps and the sixth cavalry division. Though he was not aware of the strength of the enemy, he was confident in the bravery of his troops and inspired by his previous success. For the purposes of defence the French occupied Vionville, Flagny, and a building called the White House, to the south of Rezonville.

It was now about 10.30 a.m. Had Bazaine adopted a strong line at once, the Germans might have been driven back before they had time to collect and form, and the road to Verdun could have been secured. But the battle began as a soldiers' battle, and so it continued, being fought with great energy and determination on both sides, but in separate detachments without definite plan. The Prussians, however, were being constantly reinforced, and Bazaine's opportunity passed; indeed, within half an hour the most favourable positions were occupied by the enemy's cavalry. At last, after an obstinate struggle, Vionville and Flagny were carried, and the Prussians began to move towards Rezonville. At this moment Frossard went in search of Bazaine, who ordered a charge of cavalry, which was performed with splendid energy, but produced no effect, as they were checked by the Prussian infantry in front of Flagny. At this time Bazaine, separated from his staff, was nearly taken prisoner, but he galloped away, sword in hand, side by side with a Prussian officer. At last his escort arrived and dispersed the enemy.

The first attack of the Germans had been successful: of Frossard's five brigades three were in retreat, but still all was not lost. The grenadiers of the Guard formed a firm defence to Rezonville, and stood like a wall round the town. Had Bazaine displayed vigour and grasped the situation at this moment, victory might yet have been secured. But he began to be afraid of his communications with Metz, and was distracted by two conflicting impulses—to push forward or hold back. Alvensleben was in serious danger. It was now two o'clock, and he had to hold his own for an hour or two until help arrived. He had to depend on a charge of the Prussian cavalry, and decided to run the risk. He had at his disposal only eight squadrons under Bredow. In order to give time for the tenth corps to come up the cavalry were entrusted with a duty as desperate as that of the Light Brigade

at Balaklava. This body of magnificent troops rode at Canrobert's division and went right through it, checking the movement of the French before it had well begun, but losing more than half their number in the effort. This charge was the turning-point of the battle. Fresh detachments crossing the Moselle enabled Alvensleben to hold his own. For some time the struggle on the German right and centre remained stationary, as the Prussians were unable to make any impression on the grenadiers of the Imperial Guard.

At last, at 4 o'clock, Prince Frederick Charles appeared, having ridden from Pont-à-Mousson. He saw that the stress of the battle was on the left wing, where French troops had appeared under Lebœuf and Ladmirault. After a brisk artillery fire the infantry drove the French out of the wood. A cavalry charge followed, in which Bismarck's two sons rode as privates. They both distinguished themselves; one was wounded, and the other lifted a wounded soldier on to his horse and carried him off the field. The day ended with a severe artillery duel. It was now past 7, and both sides were exhausted, but the contest continued until darkness fell, at the very last moment a violent cannonade, the origin of which is uncertain, breaking forth on both sides. The French slept on the ground which they held in Rezonville or on the heights to the south of it, and on the ridge on the north, overlooking the upper road to Verdun. In the battle the French had lost 17,000 men out of 125,000, and the Germans 16,000 out of 77,000 men.

During the night the French army was ordered to retire towards Metz, to their great surprise, as they imagined that they had gained a victory, and on August 17th the approach to the Meuse was still open by the northern roads. But Bazaine could not bring himself to abandon Metz, and determined to fall back upon a strong position west and north-west of the fortress. He said that the number of his wounded, the state of the army, and the lack of ammunition and supplies left him no alternative. As a competent judge remarks, "That the army should have fallen into this condition within sight of a great depot shows how deeply the canker of disorganisation had entered into the French military system." Bazaine now took up a purely defensive position, with his front towards the west. He had not given up the idea of retiring to Châlons, as is shown by the fact that he reported to the Emperor, on August 17th, that he would move towards Verdun by the northern road when the needs of the army had been supplied. If he had begun the march in the morning, or even in

the night of August 17th, the Germans would not have been able to oppose the movement, but only to harass his flank, whereas they were now able to concentrate a superior force and cut off his retreat altogether.

Bazaine's movement was carried out without opposition, and by nightfall on August 17th the Army of the Rhine was in the position he had determined for them. On the left, under the great fort of Plappeville, lay Frossard with the second corps; Lebœuf, with the third corps, was on the north; Ladmirault, with the fourth corps, was at Amanweiler; Canrobert, with the sixth corps, on the right, at St. Privat; while Bazaine took up his position with the Guard in the glacis of Plappeville.

It was Moltke's business to prevent the escape of Bazaine from this position, and this he did with consummate skill. He had, within reach, the whole of the First and Second Armies excepting the fourth corps, which was engaged in an expedition against Toul; and the second corps, which had not yet arrived from Germany, but was proceeding by forced marches to Pont-à-Mousson. Moltke knew that the French army was west of the Moselle; he therefore found the first corps, with some cavalry, sufficient to watch Metz on the east. The tenth and third corps were left in their positions at Vionville and Mars-la-Tour; the seventh, eighth, and ninth corps were brought up on their right, and the Guard and the twelfth corps were placed to the left of the third corps and west of Mars-la-Tour. Thus, at the close of August 17th, 140,000 men were in line, parallel to a road which led from Metz to Mars-la-Tour.

In order to reach the position assigned to them on the German right, the seventh and eighth corps had to make a flank march, in close proximity to the forts of Metz. It was essential to the success of the movement that their march should be unobserved, and that no indiscreet impetuosity should bring on a premature engagement. Stringent orders to this effect were issued from headquarters and were obeyed so exactly that the French were allowed to slip away, not only unchecked, but unobserved. The consequence was that at daybreak on August 18th Moltke did not know whether Bazaine was continuing his design of retreating by the northern roads or had retired definitely to Metz. He had to be prepared for either event. He therefore ordered the Second Army to move to the north, towards Doncourt, while he, with the seventh and eighth corps of the First Army, prevented any interference from Metz. If Bazaine were in retreat the same army could follow closely till the First Army came up in support, and, if

he determined to remain at Metz, the Second Army could wheel round to the right and surround him on his right flank.

At a quarter to twelve on the morning of August 18th, when the soldiers had just finished their breakfast in Ladmirault's corps, patrols arrived announcing that the enemy had arrived at Verneville. At the same moment the sound of artillery was heard coming from the batteries of Mannstein, who commanded the ninth corps. The fire, which was unexpected by the French, was an equal surprise to Prince Frederick Charles. When he learnt from Hessian scouts that a portion of the French troops was encamped at St. Privat, he prepared a vigorous attack upon the French right. But it was a condition of success that all should act together, so that this sudden attack of Mannstein's on the French centre caused the greatest alarm. The fire was promptly replied to by French batteries posted on all the heights. The advance of the Germans was repulsed and Mannstein's precipitate action ended in failure. Indeed, he found himself in a most dangerous position and, had he been vigorously attacked, little resistance could have been made. But there was no one, to lead. Bazaine was in his house at Plappeville, his horse saddled outside, his staff grumbling with discontent. He attempted to minimise the danger, and as he was not there to give orders nothing could be done.

Prince Frederick Charles set out to march in the direction of the cannon. At half-past three new vigour was thrown into the Prussian attack, and at 5 in the afternoon the French were beginning to retreat. Still, as he surveyed the battle from Plappeville at this hour, Bazaine might believe that victory had inclined to his favour, and that the French had only lost a few advanced posts. Canrobert still held his position at St. Privat and Doncourt. Although his corps had been driven back at Ste. Marie, and he was now engaged in a severe artillery combat, Ladmirault was holding his ground at Amanweiler and Montigny. Lebœuf had been compelled to evacuate the Bois de Geniveaux, but had been able to maintain his position at the farm of Moscou. Frossard, although he had lost St. Hubert, still held his position at Pointe-du-Jour and Rozellieures. But the Imperial Guard had as yet taken no part in the engagement and only about half the German forces had been employed, so that much might be done on both wings with fresh troops.

The battle had now been raging for five hours without intermission, evening was coming on, and if any decisive effect was to be produced the Guards must take part in the engagement.

ATTACK ON ST. PRIVAT

Soon after 5 King William, who was commanding in person, gave orders to the three brigades of Guards to advance to the attack of St. Privat. As they advanced they were received with a heavy fire, but continued to press steadily forward; but nearly all the generals, field officers, and adjutants who remained on horseback were either dismounted or killed. The loss was so great that orders were given to suspend the attack and await the arrival of the Saxons. The Saxon troops, who formed part of the twelfth corps, reached Doncourt at 6.30, and then the Guards were ordered to continue their advance. At 6.45 the Guards forced their way into the village from the south and met some of the Saxon troops entering from the north at the same moment. The houses in the village were stormed one after the other, and the Germans were not masters of the place until it was too late to continue the conflict.

This successful attack upon St. Privat made it possible for the Hessians and the third brigade of Guards to attack Amanweiler, but they were so hotly received by the superior numbers of the French that they could gain no advantage. However, St. Privat was the key of the position, and when that was captured Amanweiler had to be abandoned. Ladmirault, also, fearing to be taken in flank, had to break up his positions and retreat to Plappeville, sacrificing his large encampment of huts and many other munitions of war. When the news of the defeat of the French right wing reached headquarters, Bourbaki, the commander of the Imperial Guard, ordered his soldiers to march to their support, but the general arrived too late to be of any advantage.

On the other side of the field, Fransecky, who commanded the second corps, received orders from the King at 5.30 to carry the farm of Moscou. To do this it was necessary to pass through the terrible defile of Gravelotte, which can never be forgotten by anyone who has seen it, as it appears impregnable. The pass is only twelve yards wide and is formed by the steep bank of the Mance. The road to Metz is here bordered for about 500 yards by a wall of precipitous rock, 30 or 40 feet high, and on the other side by a ravine in some places 20 feet deep. Along this road the infantry had to advance unsupported, until they reached St. Hubert. Their progress was watched by Moltke and by the King himself, until Roon forced him away from his dangerous position.

The orders given to Fransecky were that his troops were to climb the steep ascent by the eastern bank of the Mance until they arrived at Pointe-du-Jour, which was the highest part of the wood.

They were then to storm this important position. These orders were carried out, the troops proceeding in one continuous close column, every file closing up to the next one, and each rank calling to the other, "Close up well forward, shoulder to shoulder." The drummers beat the charge, the bugles sounded the advance, and the soldiers answered by a hurrah. When they arrived on the plateau they were received by a storm of bullets from mitrailleuses and chassepots, while the solid mass of soldiers moving forward on the high road were cut to pieces by projectiles. In the meantime, the Prussian artillery kept up a continuous fire, directed against the French troops on the plateau, over the heads of the storming columns. The sun had now gone down, and it was found that in some cases the Prussian troops, who had reached the heights, were firing, in the confusion, on their advancing comrades. Fransecky therefore ordered the bugler to sound "Cease firing," and a general cessation of fire took place for a short time on both sides. Soon afterwards the column reached St. Hubert, under a murderous rain of projectiles, and eventually Pointe-du-Jour was carried.

About 10 the French delivered a terrible assault of mitrailleuses and chassepots upon the Germans, which formed the closing scene of the great battle. The King passed the night at Rezonville, sleeping on a small camp-bed, without having changed his clothes for thirty hours, and having no covering but his military cloak. Next day he moved his quarters to Pont-à-Mousson. In this battle, called by the French St. Privat, and by the Germans Gravelotte, the French lost 609 officers and 11,700 men, 6,000 French being taken prisoners. The Germans lost 904 officers and 19,058 men.

Moltke became aware, on August 19th, that the Army of the Rhine had fallen back upon the forts surrounding Metz, and was holding positions which could not be carried by assault. He had originally intended that, while the armies advanced to Paris, Metz should be masked—that is, prevented from taking part in the campaign—by a portion of the *Landwehr*, and the division intended for this purpose was already approaching. It now became necessary to make fresh arrangements, because Metz, instead of its ordinary garrison, contained a large number of troops ready, at any moment, to break out and fight the Prussians. Therefore an army of investment had to be formed, and this was comprised of the whole of the First Army, four corps of the Second Army, and a division of the *Landwehr*. This army, consisting of 175,000 men, was placed under the command of Prince Frederick

Charles. Besides this, an Army of the Meuse was created and placed under the Crown Prince of Saxony to assist the Third Army, which was 240,000 strong, in advancing on the French capital, The Third Army and the fourth corps had reached the Meuse on August 19th, and were halted there to enable the rest of the new army to come up.

We must now return to the Emperor. He had left Gravelotte at daybreak on August 16th, accompanied by the Prince Imperial and Prince Napoleon, the journey becoming more and more of a flight. He reached Verdun at 1, the inhabitants being silent and stupefied. The under-prefect was obliged to ask him whether they should cry, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" He had to travel to Châlons in a third-class carriage, and reached the town in the evening, unexpected, and found a lodging with difficulty. The course of events now depended on the leaders assembled in the camp — the Emperor, Prince Napoleon, MacMahon and Trochu. A conference was held, and it was decided that Trochu should return to Paris with the title of Governor of the capital; that the Emperor should go back to the Tuileries; that the command of the Army of Châlons should be given to MacMahon, who was, however, to remain under the orders of Bazaine; and that the camp, which was composed chiefly of *Gardes mobiles*, should be broken up. Trochu was detested by the Empress, but was beloved by the populace, and it was thought his popularity would cover the unpopularity of the Emperor.

Paris at this time was governed by the Empress as Regent and Palikao as Minister of War. They naturally thought that the safety of France depended upon their preserving their authority, and that the return of the Emperor was undesirable. Therefore, when the news of the changes made at Châlons arrived in the evening, Palikao telegraphed to beg the Emperor to surrender the idea, which implied the abandonment of the army of Metz. Trochu reached Paris at midnight, and went first to Chevren, Minister of the Interior, and asked him to sign the Emperor's decree. He hesitated and said that the Empress must be consulted. A stormy council was held at the Tuileries, in which the Empress expressed herself strongly against the return of the Emperor. At last Palikao consented to countersign the decree, and it was presented to the Ministers. On August 18th Palikao announced to the Chambers that he had himself recalled Trochu to Paris, as the best man to undertake the government of the city.

At Châlons during the whole of August 17th nothing seemed to be decided. There was no news from Bazaine, nor did the Emperor make any movement of departure, but it was evident to MacMahon that the camp was indefensible. On the following day some *mobiles* left the camp, and the Emperor announced his departure to MacMahon and Prince Napoleon, but still he stayed on. The Prussian army approached, and at 8.30 MacMahon telegraphed to Bazaine, " If the Crown Prince attacks me in force, I shall occupy a position between Epernay and Reims, so as to be able either to join you or to march to Paris as circumstances may demand."

At 10 a.m. Magnan arrived from Metz, bringing bad news. Bazaine said that he would resume his march if possible. During the day messages from Bazaine gave successive scraps of information about the catastrophe of Gravelotte. What was MacMahon to do? His own prudence counselled retreat; but Palikao in Paris urged him to join Bazaine at Metz. About midday on August 19th telegraphic communication was finally interrupted, and he was left without information except such as could be brought by messengers. The Prussian cavalry was scouring the country and getting nearer and nearer to the camp. It became necessary to act. At daybreak on August 21st the camp of Châlons, which had witnessed so many of the glories of the Empire, was broken up under a leaden sky and heavy rain, and the army reached Reims, the Emperor fixing his headquarters at the Château de Courcelles, two miles from Reims, where he was joined by Rouher. Rouher represented the views held in Paris. He was strongly in favour of a march to Metz and a junction with Bazaine. If this were effected, the united armies could pursue the Crown Prince on the road to Paris. MacMahon, with better military knowledge, recognised that Bazaine was invested, and strongly urged return to Paris. The Emperor remained silent. It was settled that MacMahon should take command not only of the army, but of all the towns which defended Paris. This would be a set-off against the authority of Trochu, and Rouher carried off in his pocket the decrees necessary for this purpose.

News at last came from Bazaine. On August 19th he had entrusted a letter to a gamekeeper, who hid it in the sole of his boot. It reached Reims early on August 22nd. It announced the defeat of St. Privat, and that Bazaine's plan was to retire to Châlons by St. Menehould and Montmédy if the road were free, and, if this were impossible, to reach it by way of Sedan and

Mézières. Another letter arrived later, expressing a doubt whether he should be able to march at all. A third letter from Bazaine, dated August 20th, never arrived, and, left to his own devices, MacMahon on August 23rd withdrew his army towards the north-east.

The first care of the Ministry of August 10th was to increase the strength of the army. The contingent of 1870 was immediately summoned to the colours. All citizens from twenty-five to thirty years of age, unmarried, or widowers without children, not forming part of the *Garde mobile*, were called out, and some other persons who belonged to the classes of 1865 and 1866, who had escaped service, were incorporated. The admission of volunteers was arranged for, and a National Guard was established in the Departments which should include all men under forty. But all these troops had to be exercised and trained.

Labour was abundantly spent in repairing and arming the fortifications of Paris erected under Louis Philippe. For this purpose a number of sailors were summoned, as well as the marine artillery, the gamekeepers, and the Custom-house officers. It was also necessary to accumulate provisions and money. The pictures of the Louvre, the Crown diamonds, the bullion in the Bank, and the captured flags of the Invalides were sent for security to Brest. The interior government of the country gave a great deal of trouble, anarchy began to raise its head, and there were disorders and murders in the streets, while in the Chambers the deposition of the Emperor was discussed. It is impossible to describe the anxiety of this month of August, and the only hope of the people seemed to lie in Bazaine. All generals but he were denounced as traitors; all foreigners were believed to be spies. The condition of the provinces was as bad as that of Paris.

An effort was also made to secure allies. We have related some of the negotiations begun with Austria and Italy. These were continued at Metz at the beginning of August. But Austria could not undertake any decisive action before the beginning of September, and Italy would do nothing unless the evacuation of Rome by the French were conceded. The Emperor positively refused to abandon the Pope, and it is doubtful whether his doing so would have secured the alliance of Italy. Vimercati at Metz and Vitzthum at Florence found themselves equally impotent. Russia gave France to understand that any violation of neutrality by Austria would bring her also on the scene of action.

But the events of August 6th brought all these negotiations to an end. Wörth opened the doors of Alsace, Forbach of

Lorraine. Immediately after these defeats Austria took pains to declare that she was free from all engagements, and Vitzthum was delighted to feel that he had escaped a serious danger. On August 7th Gramont asked Italy to send 60,000 men to the assistance of France, but the proposition was instantly declined. Great Britain, with Lord Granville at the Foreign Office, refused to commit herself. The *entente cordiale*, the alliance of the Crimea, was already forgotten. There can be little doubt but that the sympathies both of the Court and the people of Great Britain were really with the Germans. A Neutral League was formed, the object of which was to confine the extent of the war, but mainly to protect Italy from pressure by France, and membership of which would be a sufficient ground for maintaining inactivity. The alliance did not take the form of a treaty, but merely of an exchange of ideas and of agreement in a common action. The Neutral League completed the isolation of France.

It was indeed difficult for Napoleon to believe that his old friend Victor Emmanuel would leave him entirely in the lurch. Therefore, on August 19th, he sent Prince Napoleon to Florence to see the Prince's father-in-law, to induce him to declare war against Prussia, and, if possible, to carry Austria with him. When he arrived at Florence he found that he could do nothing and that he was received with more pity than respect. On August 27th Cadorna, the Italian Ambassador in London, asked Lord Granville if he did not think that the time had come to put an end to the horrors of war, but he was told that the time had not yet come and that any effort would do more harm than good. Prince Napoleon remained, amusing himself with his Italian relations, until the catastrophe which destroyed both the dynasty and France. We have said nothing about Russia. She determined to remain neutral so long as Austria pursued a similar policy, but if Austria had joined France Russia would undoubtedly have made war upon Austria. Her private ties were far closer with Austria than with Prussia, but she desired the liberation of the Black Sea and the abrogation of the Treaty of Paris as keenly as the Italians desired the liberation of Rome.

The army which left Reims on August 23rd to march in a north-easterly direction numbered about 120,000 men. The object was to reach Bazaine, and the route to be followed had been traced with great care and precision by Palikao. Leaving Châlons on August 21st, the army could reach the Meuse in four or five marches and concentrate in the neighbourhood of Verdun. MacMahon would have against him the Third Army, under the

Crown Prince of Saxony. If he followed this route he would avoid the Third Army and could easily beat the Fourth Army, which did not consist of more than 70,000 men. He would then march to Metz, join with Bazaine, and return with him to crush the Third Army. This plan was not at all impossible, and with good fortune and a good leader might have been carried out with success. But, unfortunately, MacMahon had lost two days by going to Reims, and he determined not to march straight to Verdun, but to bend a little to the north in the direction of Montmédy, hoping thus to avoid the enemy altogether.

When MacMahon arrived at the river at the end of the first day he was informed that there were no more provisions, although the troops had been ordered to carry supplies for four days. What was to be done? He determined to move towards Rethel in order to get provisions. But the commissariat was badly organised, and the soldiers took to marauding and discipline became slack. At last they reached the Aisne and the Argonne, and in the neighbourhood of Grand Pré they suddenly came into contact with the German scouts. Moltke was contemplating a march on Paris, which he hoped to reach in about a week's time, when information reached him from different quarters, notably by telegraph from London, through the French Press, that MacMahon had changed his plans and intended, if possible, to join Bazaine.

From this, on August 25th and 26th, he had to alter all his calculations, as his previous arrangements had been made on the supposition of a march upon Paris. The fourth German army, now called the Army of the Meuse, had reached the valley of that river and was occupying the road between Clermont and St. Menehould, in the immediate neighbourhood of the historic town of Varennes; but it was not, of itself, strong enough to oppose MacMahon, if he should operate in the direction of Metz. The Third Army had established communications with the Fourth, and the two armies together formed a line forty-six miles long, broken by a right angle. In order to crush the French army it was necessary that, while the Fourth Army detained the French and obstructed their progress, the Third should make a long bend to the east to envelop them and deal a crushing blow. These complicated operations were carried out with such precision that in no single case did any crossing of soldiers occur. This rapid wheel to the right of an army of more than 200,000 men, and its concentration at the point originally determined, is probably one of the most masterly exploits ever executed in any war. There was great difficulty in procuring subsistence upon a new line of

advance, but this was met by the zeal and resource of the commissariat.

On August 27th MacMahon fixed his headquarters at Chesne, in the Argonne. He was informed there that the Fourth Army was marching up the Meuse, and that the Third had already changed its course, was proceeding north, and was by this time approaching the Aisne. He now saw the terrible nature of the danger to which he was exposed. He could not bear to abandon Bazaine, but he felt that he might be cut off both from Metz and from Paris. After consulting the Emperor, he sent a message to Bazaine at 3.25 p.m., saying that he had learnt that the Crown Prince of Prussia was approaching, and that he was obliged to retreat on Mézières, unless he heard that Bazaine had already begun his retreat. At 8.30 he dispatched a similar message to Palikao. If MacMahon had really reached Mézières he would have been in easy communication with Paris, but he was not his own master. When Palikao received MacMahon's dispatch he sent a furious telegram, not to the general, but to the Emperor, at 11: "If you abandon Bazaine the Revolution will be in Paris, and you will be yourself attacked by all the forces of the enemy. Paris can protect herself against an attack from outside. The fortifications are finished; it seems to me urgent that you should rapidly reach Bazaine." The dispatch concluded by saying that it was quite impossible that the Crown Prince could be where MacMahon believed him to be. This dispatch reached MacMahon at 1 in the morning, and, in spite of the remonstrance of the army, he determined to obey it. The retreat towards Mézières had already begun, the weather was terrible, the country extremely difficult, and everything was thrown into confusion by the change of plan.

On August 28th MacMahon had his headquarters at Stone. Here he learned in the afternoon that the Germans had occupied Stenay. This was very grave, because it closed the route to Metz by Montmédy, the alternative route by Verdun having been closed long ago. At the same time he received another dispatch from Palikao, ordering him to relieve Bazaine. Below Stenay there was a bridge thrown across the Meuse at Mouzon, and a wooden bridge lower down at Remilly. MacMahon intended to cross the Meuse by these bridges, to reach Carignan, and then march up the Chiers to Montmédy. This plan was unwise, because it delayed the march of the army and brought it too near the Belgian frontier, which it was contrary to international law to cross. Orders had been given to carry out these movements,

but they went wrong, and August 29th was a day of disaster. On the other hand, it was favourable to Moltke, who had his headquarters at Grand Pré. All his calculations turned out as he would wish. The Army of the Meuse was almost concentrated, and the army of the Crown Prince was only a march behind. He had penetrated the design of MacMahon and determined to prevent it. He therefore gave orders for an attack on Beaumont, a small town lying two miles from the Meuse, and about six miles from Mouzon.

On the morning of August 29th the fifth corps reached the place in small detachments, weary and harassed, wishing for nothing but repose, and many of the troops did not arrive till night. MacMahon reached Beaumont at 7 a.m. He had no idea of immediate danger, and the troops, resting after their labour, were engaged in foraging. The town was surrounded by woods and there were many farms on the slopes. The troops were principally encamped on the south of the town, at dangerous positions, but were so tired when they arrived that they were allowed to rest in the first places they reached. Failly, who commanded, fancied himself in perfect security, and had no apprehension of attack. Suddenly, just after the church clock had struck mid-day, a cannonade began. The panic was indescribable, but the chivalrous French spirit asserted itself, and the best preparations were made for defence which circumstances allowed. But no resistance was possible, and everything fell into the hands of the Prussians—tents, baggage, even the wounded—and prisoners were made in crowds. The fifth corps was entirely defeated. The first corps had just crossed the Meuse at Remilly and were pursuing their road to Carignan, when they heard the cannon of Beaumont. They could not retreat, however, because the Emperor was with them, and they could not desert him. The seventh corps was at Stone when they heard the sound of the battle, about six miles from Beaumont, but they dared not disobey orders, and had to continue their march. It is not necessary to pursue the dolorous story. The day of Beaumont was fatal. Eighteen hundred men were killed and wounded and 3,000 taken prisoners.

After the battle the Emperor might have escaped to Mézières and secured his personal safety, but he refused to leave the army. He reached Carignan at 4.30 p.m. on August 30th, and sent a reassuring dispatch to the Empress; but MacMahon was aware that the Army of Châlons had been overtaken by the forces of the enemy in far greater numbers than his own. The march to

Montmédy had become impossible, and all idea of relieving Bazaine at Metz was at an end. The choice remained between fighting a battle at Mouzon and retreating westwards without fighting, to prevent the army, if possible, from being surrounded. The Marshal therefore concentrated his forces at Sedan, which could only be effected by a night march. Every preparation had been made for the Emperor's passing the night at Carignan, but at 11 he left unexpectedly by railway for Sedan, which is about twelve miles off; the troops, marching through the night, reached their encampments at Sedan on the morning of August 31st, some arriving as late as 9.

We must now consider the position of Bazaine in Metz, which MacMahon and Palikao were so anxious to relieve. The Prussian army of the siege, gradually strengthened by the arrival of reservists and other soldiers, contained now more than 150,000 combatants. It invested the city on both sides of the Moselle and was stationed in trenches, batteries, and parallels, often double or three-fold in depth, the artisans within the lines being utilised for the investment. The outposts were pushed forward as far as the fire of the forts permitted; indeed, they were generally within reach of the heavy ordnance, only the reserve being entirely out of range. The whole length of the line of investment was about thirty miles. Observatories were erected on all lofty points, and connected by telegraph with each other and with the different headquarters, so that any weakness in the blockade could be immediately repaired. The fortress was well supplied with ammunition, but not so well with provisions, as the city contained, besides the army of Bazaine, the inhabitants of the city and those of a great part of the surrounding country.

Considering these difficulties, it is creditable to Bazaine that he was able to make a sortie on August 26th when MacMahon's army was marching from Reims to Rethel. His object was to get possession of Thionville and force his way to Châlons by the passes of the north, but after a few attempts he became convinced that the Prussians were stronger than himself, and he determined to postpone any other efforts until the ground should have recovered from the effects of heavy rains. However, on August 31st he made a powerful sortie with the object of driving the Prussians back or, at least, replenishing his commissariat. He advanced by the right bank of the Moselle, and succeeded in getting as far as Columbey, but he was defeated by Manteuffel. The French army was driven back to Metz on September 1st, and its surrender was merely a matter of time, as provisions were becoming scarcer,

and after the last sortie the besieged began to slaughter their horses.

Sedan was one of the worst places which could have been chosen as a refuge for a defeated army. It was surrounded on the south, north, east, and west by a series of hills which dominated the river, the city, and fortress. To the east stretched the last spurs of the Argonne from Remilly to Donchery, which offered a favourable spot for placing artillery, and there were similar heights on the north-east. To the north the hills were of a different description, as they were separated from each other by deep ravines. Important points on this side were the plateaux of Illy, on the summit of which was a Calvary, the peninsula of Iges surrounded by the Meuse, and the heights of the Ardennes, which marked the Belgian frontier. If the enemy occupied these heights he would be master of Sedan, of the army, indeed, of everything, and would be able to cut off the French retreat. MacMahon's only hope lay in seizing these eminences, destroying the bridges across the Meuse at Bazeilles and Donchery, marching along the defile between the Meuse and the frontier, and so reaching Mézières and Paris. This was the last chance of safety, but the Germans were using these remaining hours of grace in a manner to make it impossible for the French to profit by it.

King William arrived at Buzancy on August 30th, and in the evening was informed of the victory of Beaumont. Orders were immediately given to the two Crown Princes to close all avenues of retreat for the French, the Saxons those on the east, the Prussians those on the south and west. Bismarck reminded King Leopold of his duty to disarm any Frenchman who crossed the frontier. Sedan being too small to contain the retreating army, the fifth corps took up a perilous position at Vieux Camp, the seventh corps on the slopes of Algerie, and the twelfth corps at Bazeilles. Ducrot was still on the march. At 9 a.m. Wimpffen suddenly arrived from Paris, having travelled thither from Algiers. He had with him an order to supersede Failly in the command of the fifth corps. MacMahon was much distressed at this, and considered that Failly had been badly treated. Wimpffen also had with him a letter, of which he said nothing, which gave him the command of the whole army in case MacMahon should be disabled. At 9.30 the Marshal ascended to the summit of the citadel; the view to the north and to the north-east was cut off, but in other directions he saw quite enough to convince him that he had no time to lose if he intended to reach Mézières. He

ordered the bridge at Donchery to be destroyed, but this was not done.

About 10 o'clock on the morning of August 31st news was brought to the Emperor that the enemy were close to Donchery and advancing to Mézières, but the Emperor still believed that a retreat to the west was possible, nor was MacMahon less obstinate in his conviction that there was no pressing danger. The officer who brought the news found, on his return, that the road by which the Emperor wished to withdraw his army was so encumbered by fugitives as to be useless. Early in the morning the Bavarians were approaching Bazeilles, and had prevented the destruction of the bridge. Other misfortunes occurred. MacMahon had expected to find four days' provisions in Sedan. They were indeed there, but the greater part was in railway wagons. At the first sound of the firing the station-master had lost his head and sent them all off to Mézières. This increased the urgency of departure. The Marshal hoped that the Meuse would protect him, but the bridges still existed, which allowed the advance of the enemy. The bridge of Douzy over the Chiers was left standing, like the bridge of Bazeilles. As soon as the sappers, sent to destroy the bridge at Donchery, got out of the carriages, the train steamed off to Mézières with their powder and tools, so that nothing could be done. As the day advanced, the net gradually closed round the devoted army. At 5.30 a kind of council was held, when it was found that, although MacMahon was determined to get away, he did not know by what route he should effect his object. When night fell the French army remained in the position in which they happened to find themselves, the fires of the Belgian troops marking the line of the frontier. Moltke had only one anxiety—that his prey might escape him in the night. If the morning found the French still where they were his triumph was assured.

On September 1st, 1870, the French army at Sedan was confined within a space of four miles and a half from north to south and two miles from east to west. Sedan lies on the right bank of the Meuse with the suburb of Torcy on the left bank, defended by a *tête-du-pont*. The village of Bazeilles is on the right bank, and so is Balan, a suburb of Sedan, above the town. On the east are the villages of Givonne, Daigny and Moncelles, and on the north-west those of Illy and Floing. The ground between Sedan and Bazeilles, on the right bank, is low, whereas on the opposite side the high ground comes down to the bank of the river between Remilly and Wadelincourt. The wood of

Garenne, which played an important part in the battle, lies to the north of the town. Sedan is seven miles distant from the Belgian frontier.

The right wing of the French held Balan and Bazeilles and was opposed to the Bavarians; then came the first French corps at Givonne and Daigny, opposed by the Prussian Guard and the Saxons of the twelfth corps. The positions of Illy and Floing to the north of Sedan were defended by the seventh French corps and two cavalry divisions and were attacked by the eleventh and fifth corps, together with some cavalry. The fifth French corps was posted just outside Sedan to act as a reserve. But the three main posts of the French position—Bazeilles to the south-east, the valley of the Givonne, and the positions of Floing and Illy —were all exposed to the attack of the German troops, marshalled for the purpose by the consummate skill of Moltke.

The battle began before daylight, at 4 in the morning of September 1st, by the Bavarians under Von der Tann advancing to attack Bazeilles. The village was most obstinately defended in the streets, houses and gardens, both by the soldiers and the inhabitants, and was only captured after a severe struggle. At 5 Lebrun sent word to MacMahon that he was severely attacked and that a great battle was imminent. MacMahon rode out to see for himself, and as he was reconnoitring from a point of vantage, with a field-glass in his hand, the splinters of a shell wounded him in the thigh. He fell from his horse and became insensible. The wound was not dangerous, but it entirely incapacitated him for performing the duties of command, and he was carried back into Sedan. This happened at 6.15. The tidings were brought to the Emperor as he was dressing, and his eyes filled with tears. He mounted his horse and rode along the Daigny road to Bazeilles.

When MacMahon found that he was wounded, he nominated Ducrot as his successor, a man of great energy and fine and decisive character. He saw that the one chance of safety lay in reaching Mézières, where he would find the corps of Vinoy and a good supply of provisions, and be in communication with the northern fortresses. He had desired to begin the march on the day before, but as soon as he heard that he was in command he said there was not a moment to lose and that the plans already formed must be carried out. The army did not like the notion of a retreat, but Ducrot was perfectly right. He explained that the attack was merely a feint, and that the real struggle was to come in the opposite direction. It is still disputed among military

experts whether a retreat would have been honourable, and there is no doubt but that it would have been very difficult. At this moment Ducrot received a letter from Wimpffen informing him that he (Wimpffen) had been appointed to the command by the Minister of War at Paris, and that he was strongly opposed to a retreat. A heated personal interview ensued. Ducrot, who knew the Prussians and the ground, insisted that they were being surrounded. Wimpffen, who knew neither, maintained that Lebrun must be supported at all hazards in his contest against the Bavarians. Ducrot, obeying the orders of Palikao, rode away, declaring that all was lost.

Wimpffen was brave and energetic, but penetrated by the ideas of Palikao. He still believed that the proper course was to press on to Carignan and thence to Montmédy, in the hope of joining Bazaine, and regarded the defeat of the Bavarians at Bazeilles as the first step in the operation. He said to the Emperor, whom he met in the valley of the Givonne, "Don't be distressed, your Majesty; in two hours I shall have thrown the enemy into the Meuse." As he rode away, he heard a voice behind him, "Pray God that we are not thrown into the river ourselves." His idea of retreating to Carignan was purely chimerical, when the Saxons had, after superhuman efforts, obtained possession of the ridge of Villers and Cernay and the valley of the Daigny and Givonne, and had joined the Bavarians, who had become masters of Bazeilles; and, when these two victorious arms had united to drive the French out of Balan, the issue of the battle could be no longer doubtful.

Just as Wimpffen was making efforts to throw the Prussians into the Meuse, Von der Tann was reinforced by the arrival of the fourth Prussian corps, while the Saxons held Moncelle and the valley of the Givonne. The struggle in Bazeilles became more and more severe. At this time occurred the incident known as "*la dernière cartouche*," in which an isolated house was held by fifty men and three officers against masses of the enemy. They fought until only a single cartridge was left, and when that was fired the few survivors surrendered. Bazeilles was captured at mid-day.

During the battle the Crown Prince took his stand a little to the south of the village of Donchery, and the King of Prussia established himself at a point a little farther to the east, from which the whole field was visible. This stationary position of the two commanders was of great advantage, both for receiving reports and sending orders. After the capture of Bazeilles, the French

artillery had been compelled to retire to a new position at Balan, and all possibility of their being able to break through on this side was at an end.

At this moment the Emperor rode back to Sedan, passing through Balan. He found that he was neglected on the battle-field, and that his physical powers were exhausted. He had to force his way through crowds of running troops, who were seeking refuge in the fortress, while shells were falling in the streets. As he rode into the town, one of the projectiles exploded in front of him and killed his horse.

Meanwhile the battle began to rage in the direction of the north-west. The Prussian troops approached by the difficult road which Ducrot would have followed had he been able to carry out his plan of retreating to Mézières. The French divisions holding Floing and Illy were exposed to an awful fire of artillery, and by noon all hope of escape was closed. Illy was then taken by the advance of the Prussian Guards, the iron ring closed more pitilessly round the fortress, and the end was at hand.

What was the condition of things in Sedan? All night no one had slept for terror. At dawn of September 1st men began to creep away to Bouillon. As the sun mounted, the roar of guns spread from south to north, from north to east, and then all round, and the streets swarmed with wounded soldiers. About noon, accompanied by his staff of aides-de-camp, the Emperor rode in, a death's head at this feast of horrors. It was said that for four hours he sought death; certainly he had done nothing to avoid it. He would have set out again, but it was impossible to leave the town. He knew that all was over, that further resistance was useless, and hoisted the white flag on the summit of the citadel, but no one heeded it and it was pulled down.

Wimpffen, persisting in his delusions, begged the Emperor to place himself at the head of his troops and cut a passage out of Sedan. Napoleon, better informed, refused. Wimpffen, attempting the mad enterprise himself, forced his way with a body of men through the Bavarians, but behind the Bavarians he found the solid Saxons and then realised that the battle had been lost and won.

Ducrot sought his master at the palace, as all headquarters of the Emperor were called during the time of war.

"How I wish I had listened to you!" said the Sovereign; "the retreat by Mézières was our only chance of safety." Silence followed, broken by the roar of cannon.

"How can we stop this firing?" continued the master. "I

have hoisted the white flag; I wish for an interview with the King of Prussia. I think I might obtain favourable terms."

Ducrot shook his head, remarking that he had not much confidence in the generosity of the enemy. He suggested a sortie in the night, but the Emperor said, "All our chances are lost."

The storm of cannon-balls became heavier and heavier, and a shell exploded in the courtyard.

The Emperor dictated to Ducrot these words, "The white flag having been hoisted and negotiations opened with the enemy, firing must cease all along the line."

But who was to sign it? Ducrot refused, on the ground that Wimpffen was Commander-in-Chief. But where was Wimpffen? Eventually Ducrot carried off the order, looking for someone to sign it.

Lebrun arrived and a similar conversation took place. He said, "If you wish the firing to cease, you must send a message to the enemy by a bugler and a white flag. The message must carry a request for an armistice, signed by the general commanding."

The paper was drawn up and Lebrun, like Ducrot, looked for someone to sign it. Both were unsuccessful. Faure refused the request of Ducrot, and Wimpffen that of Lebrun.

Napoleon was in despair. Neither Ducrot nor Lebrun returned; Wimpffen had disappeared from view, and general after general was killed. At last some Prussians came, summoning the fortress to surrender. Then Napoleon wrote with a firm hand:

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,—

"Not having been able to die in the midst of my troops, there is nothing left me but to render my sword into the hands of Your Majesty.

"I am, Your Majesty's good brother,

"NAPOLEON."

Reille took this letter to the King, who did not know that his "good brother" was in Sedan, and who answered:

"MY BROTHER,—

"While regretting the circumstances in which we meet, I accept Your Majesty's sword, and request that you will appoint one of your officers, and furnish him with the necessary powers to treat for the capitulation of the army which

has fought so valiantly under your command. I, for my part, have appointed General Moltke to this duty.

"Your loving brother,

"WILHELM."

Whom should the Emperor appoint to represent him? With great difficulty Wimpffen was persuaded to accept the duty, and he left for Donchery. The discussion about terms of surrender lasted two hours.

Moltke said, "The whole army must be prisoners, with arms and baggage; the officers will be allowed to retain their swords, but they will be prisoners like the rest."

Wimpffen tried to obtain easier terms, but Bismarck replied that France had declared war, and that the whole army must be transported to Germany; then he added that, as a condition of peace, Germany would demand the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, and an indemnity of 4,000,000,000 francs.

To a suggestion of further resistance Moltke replied, "You have no provisions and no munitions of war; your army is decimated. You may verify our position: we can destroy you in two hours."

In fact, Sedan was menaced by 500 cannon.

Wimpffen, however, threatened to renew the struggle.

"As you please," said Moltke; "the armistice will end at 4 o'clock to-morrow afternoon; at that hour I will re-open fire."

At 6 next morning, September 2nd, Napoleon set out to visit King William. Bismarck met him just before he reached Donchery, and they went into a weaver's cottage by the roadside. Napoleon asked for easier conditions, and Bismarck referred him to Moltke, who asked whether he were prepared to negotiate; but the Emperor answered that he was prisoner of war and could do nothing. He begged to see the King, and this was allowed, after the capitulation had been signed. The interview took place at the Château Bellevue, close to Frénois, and lasted twenty minutes. Nothing was settled, except that Napoleon was to go to Wilhelmshöhe, the former palace of his uncle, Jerome, King of Westphalia.

The Emperor left on the following day, September 3rd, for Wilhelmshöhe. He slept the first night at Bouillon, in a little inn, and as he drove to the door tears coursed down his cheeks. The French army, now prisoners, were shut up in the Peninsula of Iges, surrounded on three sides by the Meuse, on the fourth by

a canal; 21,000 prisoners had been made during the battle; to these were now added 83,000. Their condition was very miserable; they were without shelter, straw, and huts, and had only scanty provisions. On September 6th they began to leave for Germany, 2,000 men at a time. A few, but only a few, succeeded in escaping.

CHAPTER IX

THE WAR WITH THE REPUBLIC

THE earliest news of the defeat of Sedan reached Paris on the afternoon of the fatal day. Next day, September 2nd, a telegram arrived: "Great disasters; MacMahon killed; the Emperor prisoner; where the Prince Imperial is, unknown." On September 3rd the extent of the catastrophe was revealed. The Emperor telegraphed to the Empress, "The army is defeated and captured. I am myself a prisoner."

On September 4th the momentous decision had to be made whether the Empire should continue or not. Perhaps, could Palikao have seized the occasion, the Regency might have been preserved, but the opportunity was lost. The Chambers met towards the previous midnight, and the news of disaster was confirmed. Thereupon Jules Favre proposed that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his dynasty should be considered as deposed, that a provisional government should be formed, and that Trochu should be continued as Governor-General of Paris—a proposal less astonishing in itself than the torpor with which it was received. The Ministers met in council at the Tuileries at 8 on the morning of the 4th. There was great difference of opinion. One remarked that the Emperor alone could abdicate, that the Empress could not, since her power was derived from him alone. The Empress was strongly opposed to anything which might cause civil war; if she had to disappear, she said she would rather do so peacefully. It was proposed to commit to the Chamber the election of a Council of Regency. The dispatches which reached the Empress during the day announced the increase of popular excitement in Paris and the fact that the Republic had been proclaimed at Lyons.

About 10 o'clock bodies of workmen gathered in the centre of Paris. In the Place Vendôme there was a cry of "*Déchéance! Déchéance!*" National Guards also appeared in the Rue Royale and the Rue de Rivoli, for the most part without arms. It is probable that these movements were organised by the advanced Liberals, such as Delescluze and Blanqui. It is well known that, in the Revolution of 1789, few popular movements of any kind,

such as the march to Versailles and the Massacres of September, took place without being organised and paid for. Palikao said that he was sufficiently strong to put down any hostile agitation, and could dispose of 40,000 men, but this number was greatly exaggerated. Indeed, the only man on whom he could depend was Trochu, who was by no means popular at Court, being especially disliked by the Empress. He was a friend of the Opposition, however, and much beloved of the people. It is believed that, at this time, he might have saved the dynasty had not Palikao offended him by attempting to entrust the defence of Paris to his subordinate. Nor had Trochu the magnanimity to offer his services unreservedly to the Sovereign, so that on September 4th, although he did nothing to stir the *émeute*, he allowed it to proceed unchecked.

When the Chambers met on September 4th there were three proposals before them—those of the Government, of Jules Favre, and of Thiers. Palikao, in the name of the Government, proposed to establish a Council of Government and National Defence. The Council was to be composed of five members to be elected by an absolute majority of the legislative body, while the Council was to nominate Ministers, with Palikao as Lieutenant-General. A grave defect in the motion was that it made no mention of the Regent.

Jules Favre simply proposed *déchéance*—that is, deposition of the Napoleon dynasty, as he had done a few hours before. Thiers advocated the creation of a Committee of Government and National Defence. The question of *déchéance* was left open. The majority was in favour of Thiers' proposition, but before the vote could be taken the Chamber was attacked by the mob. There is no need to describe the scene, which followed the course of all Paris revolutions. The Empress, like Louis XVI. and Louis Philippe, was opposed to the shedding of blood, and the troops and police retired, leaving the mob masters of the situation. A cry arose that the members should quit the Palais Bourbon and proceed to the Hôtel de Ville, and thither accordingly they went, Jules Favre, a man of lofty stature and unblemished character, leading the way.

Trochu, the most popular man in Paris, was sent for, and came with some hesitation. He refused to act without consulting Palikao, his superior officer, whom he found completely crushed, seated with his face in his hands, having just heard of the death of his son at Sedan. After listening to Trochu's statement, he said, "If you do not take the direction of affairs, everything will be

lost; if you do, everything will be equally lost, but at least the army will follow you." Trochu took this as consent on Palikao's part, and returned to the Hôtel de Ville. A new Government was formed, of which he was the head. Jules Favre was Minister of Foreign Affairs, Le Flô of War, Fourichon of the Navy, Crémieux of Justice, Gambetta of the Interior, Picard of Finance. It assumed the title of "The Government of the National Defence."

While this was going on, the Empress remained at the Tuileries, surrounded by about twenty faithful servants. She heard the cries of the mob in the Rue de Rivoli, and saw, in the distance, the surging crowds in the Place de la Concorde. About 2 p.m. two of the Ministers arrived in the Tuileries, together with Metternich and Nigra, the Ambassadors of Austria and Italy. They had heard on the way the tumultuous shouts of "*Déchéance!*" and "*Vive la République!*" and advised the Empress to seek safety in flight. When she heard what had passed in the Chamber, she was indignant at the desertion of Deputies who owed everything to her. She then asked a friend if the Tuileries could be defended without employing force, and he replied in the negative. "Then there is nothing more to be done," she answered, "for I will not have a civil war." The servants of the household began to run away, as rats desert a sinking ship. Pietri, the Minister of Police, arrived, and said: "We are betrayed. All resistance is impossible, and the forces on which we relied are leaving us. The safety of Your Majesty necessitates an immediate departure."

The Empress bade farewell to her friends, most of whom wished to accompany her; but she said that it would be impossible. She was left alone with Metternich, Nigra, the two Chevreaus, Pietri, and her reader, Madame Lebreton. Eventually she found an asylum in the house of her faithful friend Evans, the American dentist, the most upright of men, who, admitted to the friendship of almost every reigning house in Europe, remained until his death the trusted confidant of all, as he had been the trusted confidant of Heine in his youth. He took the Empress and her companions, with infinite wisdom, to Trouville, where his wife was staying, avoided those mistakes which ruined the flight of the old monarchy to Varennes, and, on a stormy night, one of the most tempestuous of the century, the night on which the *Captain* foundered, conveyed the Imperial party in a private yacht to Cowes.

It is needless to describe the dying agonies of the Senate and the legislative body. These were neither very long nor very dignified. Thiers expressed the general feeling when he said:

"We have only a few moments to pass together. We will not dissolve, but retire each one to his own house, to live as good citizens devoted to our country. We, indeed, neither resist nor assist those who are fighting against the enemy. We can only say, 'God help them!'"

Paris gave itself up to scenes already too common in its history. With characteristic levity the ensigns of the Empire—the eagles and the crowned N—were destroyed; omnibuses ran as usual; shops and cafés were open; cries of "*Vive la République!*" alternated with the playing of the *Marseillaise*. The police were absent, and in the streets soldiers and prostitutes indulged in public debauch, as they had done in the Palais Royal at the beginning of the century, before the arrival of Napoleon as First Consul. At night the theatres were open and there was almost an illumination.

When history narrates these epochal catastrophes, it is difficult to realise how little they interrupt the general course of human affairs. On Sunday, June 18th, 1815, when the fate of the world was being decided a few miles off, at Waterloo, the cafés along the boulevards of Brussels, which led to the battlefield, were all open, and the crowds, who sipped their sugared water, gazed upon the passage of wounded soldiers and fugitives as an amusing sight.

The Imperial family was once more in exile—Napoleon at Wilhelmshöhe, the Prince Imperial and the Empress at Hastings, and Prince Napoleon at Florence, whence he was soon expelled, though his wife drove out of the Palais Royal in Paris in her own carriage like a true Princess. Pietri, Palikao, Chevreau, Rouher, Gramont and Benedetti sought safety in emigration. But the German peril was at the gates. If it had been forgotten in the moment of exultation, it now returned as a burden of sorrow, sounding through all the chants of triumph. On September 4th King William was at Réthel, on September 5th at Reims, and in a week's time he would be at Paris.

The German army received its marching orders on the evening of September 2nd, and next morning advanced in different directions on Paris, embarrassed with 120,000 prisoners. They were to be within ten leagues of the capital by September 14th. The Third Army was to escort the prisoners to Pont-à-Mousson and, having handed them over to the troops before Metz, join the Crown Prince. The army of the Crown Prince of Prussia was to march to Versailles, that of the Crown Prince of Saxony to St. Denis. Their routes intersected each other at Reims, but all passed with-

out disaster. The march proceeded quietly and regularly. Preceded by the trusty Uhlans, their mounted scouts, they moved in open order, always within reach of Moltke, who could direct them where he pleased. After the surrender of Reims on September 5th, Laon was occupied on September 8th, but a terrific explosion of a powder magazine killed 50 Germans and 300 *Gardes mobiles*.

As the armies approached Paris they met with a certain amount of resistance, and a few combats took place, which were of no great importance. Versailles was occupied on September 19th, and the defiling of the troops through the town lasted from 10 in the morning till 5 in the afternoon. Versailles remained the headquarters of the King and the Crown Prince of Prussia till the close of the war.

In the investment of Paris the Crown Prince of Saxony occupied the right bank of the Seine and the lower Maine from Argenteuil by Montmagny and Blanc-Mesnil, and through the wood of Bondy to Gournay; the Crown Prince of Prussia occupied the left bank of the Seine from Gournay to Bonneuil, Choisy-le-Roy, Thiais, Chevilly, Sceaux, Meudon, Sèvres and Bougival. The two armies touched each other at the peninsula of Argenteuil. The forces taking part in the investment, which eventually reached the number of 250,000, were divided in such a way that the Prussians occupied the north and west, the Bavarians the south, the Saxons the east; while the Würtembergers were stationed before the Paris forts. After the combats of Petit-Bicêtre and Chatillon on September 19th, the investment was complete, six army corps occupying a space of fifty miles and standing in some places within the fire of the fortifications.

Paris was now a fortress of the first rank, its river line of defences being composed of ninety-four armed bastions, and the second line by a circle of advanced forts, well provided with garrisons and guns, one of which, Mont Valérien, was regarded as impregnable. Besides these, the hills surrounding Paris were furnished with entrenchments and redoubts, all connected with each other. Bismarck had no desire to storm the capital, but determined to invest it and trust to the effects of famine. He wished, it is said, to allow the Parisians to "stew in their own juice," a very brutal expression, perhaps not historically accurate. He believed that, if all supplies of food were carefully cut off, a population of 2,000,000, many accustomed to luxury and self-indulgence, could not hold out for very long. Great pains were, therefore, taken to make the lines of investment impenetrable.

But Paris and Metz were not the only cities which were being besieged by German armies. Toul, an ancient city of Lorraine, which with Metz and Verdun formed the "Three Bishoprics," the first territory ceded by the Teutons to the French, capitulated on September 23rd, after a terrible bombardment. The possession of this city opened up for the Germans direct railway communication with the Rhine. Four days later, on September 27th, Strassburg, the great frontier city of the Rhine, the most important acquisition of Louis XIV., fell into the hands of the Germans, having held out since August 10th. In the bombardment great pains were taken to spare the cathedral, which was only slightly injured. On the other hand, the public library, consisting of about 300,000 volumes, many of exceptional value, was entirely destroyed.

A natural result of the fall of the Empire was the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome and the establishment of Rome as the capital of Italy. Indeed, an announcement of this policy had been made by Ollivier on July 31st, 1870. It was obvious that the Papal troops were quite unable to protect the Papal territory. On August 29th a public declaration was made by the Ministry at Florence that the capital would be transferred to Rome before the end of September. On the 1st of that month Victor Emmanuel proposed to the Pope that Rome should be occupied by the Italians on the following conditions: The Pontiff was to retain his sovereignty over the Leonine city—that is, over the portion of Rome situated across the Tiber and occupied mainly by St. Peter's and the Vatican, and over all the ecclesiastical institutions in the city. The incomes of the Pope, the Cardinals, and all the Papal officers and officials were to remain unchanged. The Papal debt was to be guaranteed to the Pope, and the Cardinals were to retain their present immunities, even if not residing in the Leonine city. All nations were to be freely admitted to Rome, and the Catholic clergy throughout the whole of Italy were to be immune from government supervision, and the laws with regard to military service, inheritance of estates, and municipal government were to be modified so far as Rome was concerned. Unhappily the Pope refused to accept these offers, and the division between Church and State in Italy still continues.

On the morning of Sunday, September 11th, the Italian troops entered Roman territory, and Viterbo was occupied without opposition. The garrison of Rome numbered 9,000 men of different kinds, and the gates were barricaded and strengthened by earth-

works. The garrison had sixty guns, and the extent of walls to be defended was thirteen miles long. The storm began on September 20th, but after three hours' fighting breaches were made at each of the points attacked, and when the Italian troops began to charge with the bayonet the Papal troops ran away. Then Keyler, the commandant, hoisted the white flag, and negotiations for surrender were begun. The Italians lost 21 killed and 117 wounded, the Papal troops 6 killed and 20 or 30 wounded. A plebiscite for the annexation of the Papal territory to Italy was taken on October 2nd, with the result that 136,681 voted "Yes" and only 1,507 "No." The transcendent event, the completion of Italy by the crown of Rome, the dream of so many generations, the goal of the strivings of so many patriots, the cause for which so many men had suffered and died, was accomplished by a *coup de main*, which, in the general turmoil of European affairs, passed almost without notice.

After Werder had captured Strassburg, he was sent to conquer the southern portion of Alsace, from Schlettstadt to Belfort, and drive the *mobiles* and the free corps out of the passes of the Vosges, in which they were conducting a guerilla warfare. They had collected together from all parts, and their operations were conducted from the lofty Plateau of Langres, which played so important a part in the war of 1814. These antagonists are the most difficult to deal with in the invasion of a country. They come into existence from the necessity of the case, yet cannot be treated as belligerents and must be put down with severity. They inflicted serious losses on the regular troops, and the measures needed for their extermination constitute a stain on the conduct of the war. Great Britain had experience of them in the South African War, in which the measures adopted for their suppression only produced additional irritation, and she allied herself with them in Spain against Napoleon, when they were called patriots and resisters of tyranny and oppression. They were for many years the curse of La Vendée, where they were also assisted by the British Government until they were put down by the genius of Napoleon.

Certainly the conduct of the war by the German armies forms a striking contrast to the wild attacks of these undisciplined combatants, and even to the behaviour of the French regular troops. The German operations were a triumph of reason, calculated effort, and unbroken discipline. Every loss was rapidly repaired; roads, bridges, railways were promptly mended; a man lost by death, disease, or desertion was immediately replaced; hundreds of

thousands of armed warriors obeyed the order of a single mouth, the thought of a single brain. Disobedience and mutiny were unknown. The French, clinging to the old ideas of chivalry and dash, confident in the strength of outworn principles and ideals, were no match for the cultured, spectacled, serious masses of a national army, which now came down upon them with resistless might, but also with the moderation and self-command which should always be at hand to temper the exercise of power. The order imposed by Moltke on the general conduct of the war was shown in the detailed execution of it, in the discipline of the corps, the organisation of the field force, the accuracy of field telegraphy, the faultless commissariat, the quality of the food supplied, in which the famous "pea sausage" played an important part, the rapid communication by field-railways, the admirable sanitary arrangements, and the devotion of men and women of all classes in the work of the hospitals and the care of disease.

War is a hideous thing, but it loses much of its horror when directed by organised reason and intelligence. The first Napoleon was the incarnation of order, no person having ever manifested in such harmonious equilibrium the spirit of calculation and the energy of passion; but he had to build upon a foundation which was not strong enough to bear the weight of his ideas. When he saw that his last hope had been defeated at Waterloo, he said, "It has always been the same since Crécy!" Bismarck and Moltke were able to act upon a surer foundation; the victories of Sedan and Paris were won, not in the playing fields of public schools, but in the classrooms of gymnasiums and on the benches of universities.

We have already recorded that, on October 5th, King William moved his headquarters to Versailles. In these gilded saloons the aged monarch slept on a field-bed, the General Staff developed their plans for the administration of a conquered France, Bismarck plied his diplomatic arts to prevent the interference of Europe with his plans. The halls and galleries, silent for years, echoed once more to the throng of princes and courtiers. Unfortunately, during the siege of Paris the lovely country which stretches between the château and the capital was gradually turned into a howling desert. St. Cloud, the scene of so many historical events, was set on fire by the French, and only with difficulty and danger could the Germans save any part of the edifice and the costly works of art it contained. Malmaison, inseparably connected with the name of Josephine and the First Con-

sulate of Napoleon, was ruined in a sally by the French on October 21st.

A new character was given to the struggle by Léon Gambetta, a man of commanding ideas and fiery eloquence, who always kept the leaders of the Great Revolution before his eyes. He left Paris in a balloon, and reached Tours on October 7th, where he joined the provisional Government. He spared no effort to rouse the country against the invaders and compel the retirement of the besieging army. For this purpose France, with the exception of Paris, was divided into four governments—the north, under Bourbaki, with Lille for its capital; the south, under Fiérick, who had his headquarters at Le Mans; the centre, under Palikao, in Bourges; and the last, under Cambriêls, in Besançon. Eleven camps of instruction were also formed against the enemy. Two armies, which bore the names of the Loire and the Seine, were to advance upon Paris and assist in sorties organised by Trochu.

In accordance with this policy sorties were made on October 13th and October 21st, the first in the south and the second in the west, and the more important attack on Le Bourget, in the south-east, which took place on October 28th and caused great sensation in Europe. The French succeeded in driving the Germans from Le Bourget and holding it for two days, but they were eventually driven back after an obstinate engagement. There was great difficulty in keeping up communication between the capital and the provinces, because all the telegraph wires had been destroyed by the invading army. This difficulty was surmounted to a great extent with admirable ingenuity by the use of carrier pigeons and balloons.

In forming his plans for the relief of Paris, Gambetta had counted on the co-operation of Bazaine, who was shut up with his army in Metz, but before the organisation of the Army of the Seine was completed Bazaine capitulated. On October 11th he sent one of his adjutants, Boyer, to the headquarters at Versailles to propose terms. He demanded for his army a free departure with arms and baggage, with the obligation not to take part in the war for three months, while Metz preserved the right of defending herself. At the same time private negotiations were conducted between Bazaine and the Empress Eugénie in England, with the object of employing the army of Metz for the restoration of the Empire. The history of these negotiations is imperfectly known, but it is probable that Bazaine was deceived by Bismarck for his own purposes. These negotiations came to no result, and Bazaine

was at last forced to capitulate on similar terms to those which had been granted to the French army at Sedan. If he had only held out for a fortnight longer the course of the war might have been materially altered. As it was, Metz and its fortifications were delivered to the enemy, with arms, munitions of war, and provisions; and the whole army, including three marshals—Bazaine, Canrobert and Lebœuf—with 6,000 officers and more than 150,000 soldiers, became prisoners of war. The disarmament took place on October 27th and 28th, in a meadow on the road between Jarny and Metz. A catastrophe of this kind has seldom been recorded in the history of any European war.

In the last months of 1870 the northern half of France, from the Jura to the English Channel, from the frontier of Belgium to the Loire, was one vast battlefield. Of the troops set free by the capitulation of Metz, part remained behind as a garrison under Zastrow, having also the object of attacking Thionville, and part marched to the north under Manteuffel, to occupy Picardy and Normandy and prevent Bourbaki from approaching Paris. Another portion joined the Second Army, which, under the command of Prince Frederick Charles, had its headquarters in Troyes. This army was supported on the right by Von der Tann and the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and on the left by Werder, who was on one side opposed to the French Army of the Loire and on the other to the volunteer corps of Garibaldi. Other detachments went to strengthen these armies, which were besieging Paris, and were also sent against the forces in the north. The result of the various movements was that Soissons fell on October 16th, Verdun on November 8th, Thionville on November 24th, Pfalzburg on December 12th, Montmédy on December 14th, and Mézières on January 2nd, 1871, the garrisons of all these towns being sent as prisoners to Germany. One fortress, the little castle of Bitsch, nestling among the mountains of Alsace, was never taken, and did not come into the possession of the Germans till the peace.

We have already mentioned that Werder had great difficulty in dealing with the mutinous districts of the Jura and the Vosges, in consequence of the resistance of the inhabitants. These were joined by Garibaldi and his two sons, Ricciotti and Menotti, who were accompanied by a motley crew of Republicans of all nationalities—Italians, Spaniards and Poles. Lyons, with the camp of Santonay and the industrial town of St. Étienne, was a centre of rebellious excitement. The red flag floated in the streets,

and the Socialists, who got command of the town, established a reign of violence and terror. Garibaldi, who had been brought from Caprera to France in a French ship, proceeded by way of Marseilles to Tours, where he received the command of all the free corps on the Vosges. He established his headquarters in Dôle on October 14th.

In the chilly days of November and December, when Treskow began the siege of Belfort, a violent struggle took place in Burgundy, round Vesoul and Montbeliard, Gray and Dijon. The last-named city, the old capital of Burgundy, was taken on the last day of October, by Prince William of Baden, and this success assisted the capture of Belfort, bravely defended by its commandant, Denfert-Rochereau. When Treskow entreated him not to increase the horror of the war unnecessarily, he replied that the best method of effecting that would be the retreat of the Germans. Dijon was held with difficulty and had to be evacuated more than once, while the night attack on Châtillon by Ricciotti Garibaldi, which cost considerable loss to the Germans, showed the dangers to which the invading army was exposed. It seemed possible that the line of the Rhine might be reconquered, and the valleys of the Black Forest exposed to attack.

Gambetta now set himself to involve the whole French people in the struggle against the Germans, and make the annihilation of the enemy a national duty. The character of the war became very bloodthirsty, and the attacks of guerilla combatants upon the German troops had, as we have said, to be put down by severe reprisals. In the night of October 7th a squadron of Prussian hussars was attacked by free corps at Athis and almost entirely destroyed. An example was necessary, and the town was burned. The neutral Powers were horrified at these measures, which, however, were shown to be absolutely essential.

In October some cavalry regiments were sent in a southerly direction to explore the country between the Seine and the Loire, make requisitions, and fall in with the rearguard of the Army of the Loire under La Motterouge, who was marching to the relief of Paris. The Crown Prince, learning that this force was in Toury, which lies between Orleans and Étampes, sent against them General von der Tann, with the first Bavarian army corps and some North German troops. They came up with the rearguard of the retreating French at Artenay on October 10th, compelled them to fight in the forest of Orleans, and, on the following day, took possession of Orleans. Motterouge was deprived of his

command by Gambetta, who gave it to Aurelle de Paladines, who had served in Africa, the Crimea and Italy.

The new commander got together the various contingents which had been formed and practised in the several camps of instruction, and set himself not only to recover the line of the Loire, but to cross the stream at various points and carry out the original design of a march towards Paris. Although great pains were taken to conceal these movements, they came to Von der Tann's knowledge. In order that his flank might not be turned, he evacuated Orleans on November 8th, leaving his sick behind, in charge of the municipality, as he hoped to be able to return. Wittich, who had been sent against Châteaudun and captured it with difficulty, defended as it was by *Gardes mobiles* and free corps under the command of Lipowski, a Pole, received orders to retreat to Chartres. A severe battle took place at Coulmiers on November 10th, in which the French were much superior in numbers, and Von der Tann had some difficulty in effecting his retreat to Tours, where he was joined by Wittich. In the fight, which lasted from daybreak to dusk, the French lost 2,000 killed and wounded, and the Germans only a little more than half this, showing the difference between seasoned troops and hot, inexperienced levies.

The victory at Coulmiers caused great rejoicings to the French and some discouragement to the Germans. Gambetta, to whose energy and genius it was mainly due, did everything in his power to increase the forces at his disposal, and unite the whole strength of the south and north in common action. He summoned up, as it were, from the soil new forces from the south. He hastened in person to the camp of Conlie, in Brittany, and succeeded in reconciling the two generals, Charette and Kératry, who had quarrelled. But his principal hopes for the salvation of France and the deliverance of Paris from the iron ring which enclosed her, lay in the Army of the Loire and the energetic leadership of Aurelle de Paladines. But, as before, enthusiasm and zeal were no match for discipline and experience. The German troops in the vicinity of the Loire were united in a single army under the command of Frederick Francis, Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. A week after the battle of Coulmiers he inflicted such defeats at Dreux, Châteauneuf, Bigny, and in the forest of St. Jean, upon *Gardes mobiles*, who under Fiéreck were attempting to join the Army of the Loire, that he not only prevented the threatened junction, but created such dismay among the young recruits that Kératry laid down his command and Fiéreck had to be super-

seded. Some detachments retired by way of Nogent-le-Rotrou to Le Mans, where they were followed and watched by the Germans.

The Grand Duke now received orders to march farther to the east and join the Second Army under Prince Frederick Charles. This resulted, on November 28th, in the indecisive Battle of Beaune-la-Rolande, north-east of the Forest of Orleans, in which the French were as numerous as the Germans. Both sides were aware of the importance of the battle and the influence it would have on the progress of the war. It was therefore contested with the utmost energy, and the losses on both sides were correspondingly heavy. The Germans, however, had the best of it, and the French were prevented from carrying out their design of proceeding to Paris by way of Fontainebleau. Further attempts to push through to the west were repelled in a number of engagements fought by the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin between Artenay and Châteaudun, the most important being the Battle of Loigny, on December 2nd, the great day of the fallen Empire. The French were compelled to retreat with serious loss, but the Germans also suffered considerably, their difficulties being enhanced by the endless labour caused by the nature of the muddy soil, now thoroughly soaked with rain, and the cold winter which had begun to make itself felt.

Trochu, who commanded at Paris, was not ignorant of the efforts which were being made to relieve him. He did his best to second them by repeated sorties to the south and west, and desired to effect a junction with the Army of the Loire in the Forest of Fontainebleau. But the possibility of relief from the side of the Loire was gradually coming to an end. The day after the Battle of Loigny, the French were driven back from Pougny, and the result of four days' fighting on the bank of the Loire and the edge of the thick forest which protects Orleans was that the French were eventually compelled to abandon their positions and retire to the south, the Germans reaching Orleans on December 4th. Trochu's attempts to break through the lines of investment at the same time and join the Army of the Loire were also repulsed. It is impossible to contemplate without a deep sense of pathos the result of the passionate efforts of the French, everywhere crushed by the iron hand of the relentless foe, like the struggles of a boar in the folds of a python.

By the capture of Orleans a large number of prisoners and much booty fell into the hands of the Germans, and what remained

of the Army of the Loire retreated down the river to Blois. Bishop Dupanloup was taken in his palace, and his cathedral was turned into a receptacle for captives. Gambetta narrowly escaped being captured on his way from Tours to the field of battle. He was dissatisfied with the manner in which Aurelle de Paladines had conducted the campaign, and relieved him of his command. He now conceived the plan of forming his levies into two divisions, one of which should operate towards the east under the command of Bourbaki, who had relinquished the command of the Army of the North to Faidherbe, while the other, under Czerny, should undertake the duty of expelling the enemy from the lower and middle Loire. For the purpose of conducting these operations with greater freedom, the seat of the Government was removed, on December 10th, from Tours to Bordeaux, and was followed there by a portion of the Diplomatic Body.

The struggle of the French against the invaders became more and more severe. The feeling of desperation grew stronger, and this was enforced by the pressure of the French Government, which drove combatants into the field and extracted money from all quarters. Chanzy, the commander of the second Army of the Loire, conducted a splendid resistance against the troops of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin at Meung, Beaugency and Marchenoir, and gained considerable advantages, until Prince Frederick Charles, who had at last driven back Bourbaki, came to the Grand Duke's assistance. Chanzy was driven back towards Blois and Tours, both of which were soon occupied. Chanzy now retired to Vendôme and Le Mans, in the valley of the Sarthe, to strengthen the Army of the West, while Bourbaki was driven to the south, and the whole country as far as Bourges and Nevers was occupied by German troops. The great object had been to prevent the Army of the Loire from reaching Paris, and this object was attained. Orleans, Chartres and Beauvais were used by the invading army as places of concentration of their forces directed against the south, west and north. About Christmas there was a cessation of hostilities to give the troops rest. Von der Tann established a kind of winter quarters in Orleans. Men and horses needed repose, and their equipment repairs, while the shoes of the infantry had been destroyed by constant marches in the snow and rain. The French were even in worse plight; the inhabitants had fled in terror, and the wounded, overflowing the neighbouring hospitals, had to be taken as far as Bayonne, Biarritz and Pau. It was sometimes difficult to get the *mobiles* to stand their ground.

After a fortnight's rest the united armies of Prince Frederick Charles and the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, numbering more than 70,000 men, advanced against Chanzy. In the midst of the paralysing cold of an unusually severe winter the Germans pursued the French over fields whose surface was covered with snow and slippery ice. Shot at by the sharpshooters of the free corps, who lay in ambush behind every hedge and every wall, the Germans moved slowly by painful efforts, hill after hill and field after field, but a decisive battle took place at the gates of Le Mans on January 11th and 12th, 1871, and the camp of Conlie was captured on January 15th. Chanzy was compelled to retire to Laval, where he attempted to reorganise the relics of his army, and the Germans pressed forward to Alençon.

The attempts to reach Paris by the armies of the south and west were seconded by the effort of the beleaguered forces to break through the lines of investment and join their deliverers. For this purpose batteries armed with large pieces of field ordnance had been erected on the heights of Mont Avron to the east of Paris, in front of the forts of Nogent and Rosny, in order to bombard the villages occupied by the troops of Saxony and Würtemberg. Ducrot had selected this region as best adapted for a successful outbreak, and he issued a proclamation declaring that he would return from the attack either a conqueror or a corpse. He made frequent assaults on the Germans to the south and north to divert the attention of the enemy, while he passed beyond Vincennes, carrying his main force in ironclad trains, to reach the point against which his efforts were directed. Under the protection of a terrible cannonade from Mont Avron and the forts of Charenton and Nogent, he threw eight bridges across the Marne and attacked the villages of Brie, Champigny, Villiers, and Noisy. On November 30th the Germans were able to defend their positions for a whole day, but were eventually compelled to evacuate Brie and Champigny, which, however, were shortly afterwards recovered. In their engagements in the two days' battle of Villiers, Cornilly, and other combats, the Germans lost about 6,200 men, and the French enjoyed the triumph of marching some hundreds of German prisoners through the streets of Paris, but they lost on their side 12,000 men and more than 400 officers.

The hopes of the defenders of Paris to obtain relief from the south gradually disappeared, while cold and hunger produced their inevitable results. But the beleaguered city continued to look for assistance from the north and north-west, from Normandy,

Artois and Picardy, the free corps of French Flanders and the "Wild Boars of the Ardennes." Since October considerable forces had been collected in these regions, supported by the strong places of Lille and Amiens, first under the command of Bourbaki and then of Faidherbe. The fact that La Fère, St. Quentin and Péronne were in the hands of the French hampered the concentration of the German forces, and made an advance upon Paris possible at any moment. The combat of Formerie between Rouen and Amiens on October 28th, 1870, showed how much the organisation of the French forces had improved. But Manteuffel and Göbe, by superhuman efforts, gradually became masters of the Valley of the Somme, and Amiens was captured after a great battle on November 27th, after which the Germans proceeded to the conquest of Normandy.

Rouen fell on December 6th, and three days later, by the conquest of Dieppe, the Germans reached the shores of the English Channel, the French taking refuge in Le Havre, where the soldiers arrived in the most miserable condition without clothes and without shoes. The peasants took refuge in the same place, although their peace was afterwards disturbed by patrolling Uhlans. Ten days later the repulse of a sortie, organised by Trochu on a large scale at Le Bourget, already the scene of hard-fought engagements, gave the Germans and the French the opportunity of celebrating their Christmas in comparative peace. Christmas Eve was marked by the long-protracted and sanguinary Battle of Hallue. At Bapaume, on January 2nd and 3rd, 1871, the victory remained uncertain, the French retreating to the north and the Germans to the south. Rouen had to be carefully watched by Bentheim, and many prisoners were taken. The Germans learnt from them that the population was becoming tired of the war and that the *mobiles* had to be driven into the field by force. The stores of the French became gradually less. Roncy was captured on January 8th and Péronne on January 10th. The departure of Manteuffel for the Army of the East inspired Faidherbe with new courage. Reinforced by fresh arrivals of marines and *Gardes mobiles*, he determined to make an attack on the lines of investment; but he suffered a serious defeat at St. Quentin on January 19th, and that important fortress was lost to the French. Gambetta now went to Lille and did his best to rouse the spirits of the northern army. But it was all in vain. The troops were clad in rags and wooden shoes, and the people were gradually losing their spirit. Gambetta went by way of Calais to Bordeaux to exert in another direction the efforts of a heroic defence. Longwy fell on January 25th,

and the eyes of Europe were turned to a new scene of conflict on the Jura and the Saône.

The bombardment of Paris, which had long been deferred, was now begun on the day after Christmas Day, and increased tenfold the distress of the besieged citizens. The Parisians had believed that an effectual bombardment at so great a distance was impossible, but when shells were seen to fall in the heart of Paris, in the Luxembourg, in the churches of St. Sulpice and the Panthéon, when persons were killed in the Rue de Bois and the Faubourg St. Germain, there was a general outcry against the barbarians who had the audacity to destroy the metropolis of civilisation. Trochu was now driven, against his better judgment, to make one last effort on January 19th, the day after the King of Prussia had been proclaimed German Emperor in the Mirror Gallery of the Palace of Versailles. The whole of the French forces, 100,000 strong, marched in the direction of Meudon, Sèvres, and St. Cloud for the final struggle. Vinoy commanded on the left, Ducrot on the right, while Trochu conducted the whole advance from the commanding position of the Observatory. By 11 a.m. the redoubt of Montretout and the villas had been taken, but Ducrot was hindered in his advance by the barricades which had been erected in the streets of Paris, and was unable to give support at the proper time. After an obstinate fight of seven hours the French were driven back into Paris, with a loss of 7,000 men, and next day Trochu demanded an armistice to bury the dead. After long discussions a convention was signed providing for a suspension of hostilities from January 28th to February 19th. It was stated at Berlin in the succeeding winter, on the authority of Moltke, that until this last sortie had been made and failed the success of the investment of Paris was still regarded as uncertain, and that the King's baggage stood ready packed at Versailles in order that he might depart at any moment if it were necessary to do so.

Whilst events were passing on the Seine, the Loire, and the Somme, and in the east of France, the new German Empire, which was to take the place of the Holy Roman Empire of ancient days, to realise the aspirations of many centuries, and make Germany a single nation, was slowly coming into being. North Germans and South Germans were now fighting together for a common cause against a common enemy, and differences of race and creed had disappeared on the field of battle. Surely the time had come when this union should be politically consummated, when the Main should no longer separate communities which God and

Nature had joined together; when Germany should take its place among the consolidated nations of the world. Baden was the first to show the way. She was followed by Bavaria, Würtemberg and Hesse; and in November, 1870, the Ministers of these four States conferred with Bismarck as to the best means of enlarging the North German League so as to include the South. Some difficulty was found with Bavaria, a country with a strong national life, differing from Prussia in religion and sentiment, and proud of its individuality. But by mutual concessions these difficulties were overcome, and both Bavaria and Würtemberg were allowed certain privileges with regard to military service, taxes, post and telegraphs. A treaty was signed with Bavaria on November 23rd and with Würtemberg on November 25th.

These treaties had now to be confirmed by the Parliaments of the South and the North. No difficulty was made in Carlsruhe, Stuttgart, Darmstadt or Berlin, the necessary majority of two-thirds being readily obtained. A great advance in political wisdom was apparent since 1848 and 1849. It had been recognised that compromise is the essence of government, and that strict and pedantic adherence to outworn precedents makes progress impossible. In Munich, however, strong opposition was met with, partly from the Ultra-Catholics and partly from the Democrats, the first not liking to submit to the headship of a Protestant sovereign, the others holding that the basis of freedom lay in particularism, and that it would be fatal to individual liberty to submit to the stern rule which made Prussia a military nation and held the community together with an iron hand. Many had also dreamed of a future in which Bavaria should be at the head of a South German Confederation, Catholic and cultivated, sociable and unrestrained, free from the narrow formalism which characterised the North.

For many weeks the excitement of these debates held Germany in suspense, and it was feared that the cause of German unity might spell shipwreck to Bismarck. It was said that eighty-five members of the Bavarian Chamber had sworn never to consent to the Treaty of Versailles, or sanction the admission of the country into the North German League. King Ludwig was at this time Sovereign of Bavaria, one of the most brilliant and attractive personalities that ever occupied a throne. Splendidly handsome, full of enthusiasm for art and music and all lofty ideals, he was now beginning a career which was to end in gloom and sorrow. Instinct with the idea of renewing a German Empire of which his ancestors had so often been the head, he addressed

a demand to King William to assume that position, with the assurance that the Upper House of his country was in favour of the step, though even then it was doubtful whether the patriots in the Lower House would give their consent.

When it was known that the Reichstag in Berlin had agreed to the new order of things, and that the proposal of the King of Bavaria had met with the general approval of the princes, it was determined to send a deputation to Versailles to congratulate the King. Thirty members of the Reichstag, with the venerable President Simson at their head, carried to their Sovereign the wish of the nation that he would accept the dignity offered him, and give to the ancient title of Emperor a new lustre. This was the second time that Simson had made a similar offer. In 1849 a small majority of the Frankfort Parliament had begged the King of Prussia to assume the crown of the German Empire, and the same offer was now made by the German people and its princes after a series of brilliant victories.

On December 18th, 1870, the deputation made its request to the King, who personally acceded to it, and it was arranged that the new order of things should begin on January 1st of the coming year. The public and solemn assent to this act was given in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles on January 18th, 1871, the 117th anniversary of the day when the first King of Prussia, Frederick I., received the crown in the old capital of Königsberg and opened a new epoch to the glories of his House. It is needless to describe the historic scene when, in the sanctuary of that proud palace in which French Sovereigns and Ministers had so often plotted for the ruin of the Germany they despised, a new European Power was created which should compel France to take a second place in the counsels of the world. It came as a cheerful piece of news on January 22nd that the Bavarian Parliament had accepted the proposal of the new Empire with a sufficient majority.

The line of demarcation established by the Convention cut through the Departments of Calvados and Orne, and left in the power of the Germans the Departments of Indre-et-Loire, Sarthe, Loir-et-Cher, Loiret and Yonne. It then passed to the north-east, but did not include the Departments of Pas-de-Calais and Nord. The cessation of war in the Departments of Côte-d'Or, Doubs, Jura, and at Belfort was deferred for the present. Arrangements were made for the election of a National Assembly, which was to meet at Bordeaux and to decide the question of war and peace. The whole of the Paris forts were to be immediately surrendered and the fortifications dismantled. All the French

troops in Paris were to be considered prisoners, with the exception of 12,000, who were to be left for the security of the capital. They were to remain for the present within the walls of the city, their arms being surrendered. The National Guard and the gendarmes were allowed to retain their arms for the purpose of preserving the peace, but all the free corps were disbanded. Measures were taken for the provisioning of Paris. No one was allowed to leave the capital without the joint permission of the French and Germans, and the municipality was to pay a contribution of 200,000,000 francs within fourteen days. All German prisoners were to be immediately exchanged for a corresponding number of French.

The Convention was carried out with difficulty; the forts were evacuated and occupied by Germans, arrangements were made for the elections, and outbreaks of patriotic fury were prevented. Gambetta attempted to exclude from the franchise for the election of the new Assembly anyone who had served under the Empire. Some objection was taken to this, but Jules Simon and Arago left for Bordeaux to carry out the work according to the conditions of the Convention. Gambetta retired; his military dictatorship was at an end. The arrival of provisions for the starving capital was hailed with enthusiasm, but the Republicans and advanced Democrats began to cause disturbance. They would not accept the situation, attributing defeat not to the superiority of the enemy, but to the incompetence of the Government. The largest number of votes was given to the extreme candidates—Victor Hugo, Delescluze, Ledru Rollin, Lockroy, Floquet, Louis Blanc, Rochefort, Gambetta, and other members of the International. The coming Commune began to announce itself.

The bloodshed was not at an end. Werder had, for a long time, his headquarters in Dijon, from which centre he contested several engagements in November and December, 1870. Garibaldi directed his operations from Autun and, joining with General Cremer, attempted to drive the Germans out of Burgundy and relieve Belfort. The battle took place at Nuits, famous for its wine, on December 18th, and the Baden troops sustained the hottest part of the fray. The French were compelled to retreat in the evening, having lost 2,000 dead and wounded, besides leaving 700 prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The losses of the Germans were also very severe. Gambetta now formed a plan by which Bourbaki, perhaps the most competent of the French generals, should, with that part of the Army of the Loire

which, after the second conquest of Orleans, had retired to Bourges, move eastwards towards Nevers and, gathering what reinforcements he could, throw himself on the German communications, set Belfort and the Upper Rhine free, and carry destruction into the hills of Baden and the Black Forest. Telegraph wires were to be cut, railways broken up, and bridges destroyed, so that the retreat of the Germans towards the Rhine might be cut off. In pursuance of these plans, the bridge over the Moselle at Fontenay was broken down on January 22nd, 1871, and railway communications were interrupted for ten days.

The only barrier to the carrying out of these designs, inspired by the genius of Gambetta, was the force of Werder, who was posted at Dijon with 28,000 men, composed of contingents from every part of Germany. Whilst Bourbaki was approaching in rapid marches by way of Besançon and Montbeliard to raise the siege of Belfort and invade Alsace, Werder was compelled to evacuate Dijon, which was immediately occupied by Garibaldi. Proceeding by forced marches past Gray, Vesoul and Lure, after three days Werder got in front of the enemy, whom he defeated on January 9th at Villersexel, on the Oignon, losing 27 officers and 619 men. He then occupied a favourable position on the wooded heights beyond the Lisaine, and arrested Bourbaki's march, at Héricourt. Three days' obstinate struggle, on January 15th, 16th and 17th, gave Manteuffel time to come up from the north, and the victories of Werder at Héricourt and of Göben at St. Quentin were the first gifts of honour which the newly-proclaimed Emperor received at Versailles. Bourbaki had intended to march from Besançon in a southerly direction towards Lyons, but it was too late. Manteuffel arrived to the assistance of Werder, with two army corps—the Pomeranians under Fransecky and the Westphalians under Zastrow.

Kettler was left behind at Dijon to watch Garibaldi, posted there with 25,000 volunteers, and hold him in check; whilst the larger portion of the army marched between the forces of Garibaldi and Bourbaki by way of Gray to Dôle, an important junction of three railways, thus cutting off the supplies of food and clothing which were intended for the hungry and frozen soldiers of Bourbaki. Whilst Garibaldi fought against Kettler on January 21st, 22nd and 23rd, under the impression that he had the whole of Manteuffel's army in front of him, Bourbaki was gradually surrounded by the troops of Werder, Zastrow and Fransecky in such a manner that they had no alternative but cross the frontier into Switzerland.

By the Convention of Paris, the Departments of the Côte d'Or, Jura and Doubs had been excepted from the armistice, in order that Bourbaki might have an opportunity of relieving Belfort. When Jules Favre made these conditions, he did not know that Bourbaki was separated from Garibaldi, and that his army was in the Jura in a miserable condition, without clothes or ammunition. After an engagement at Salins on January 27th, Bourbaki's troops were attacked not far from Pontarlier on January 29th and driven to the frontier, where 10,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the Germans. The last two days of January witnessed the Battle of Frasne, which caused still greater losses, and Bourbaki was reduced to such a state of despair that he attempted his life. But the wound was slight, and he was conveyed to Lyons, where he speedily recovered.

His place was taken by Clinchant, who, on February 1st, had the alternative of a capitulation like that of Sedan or of crossing the neutral frontier. He chose the latter, and Europe witnessed the spectacle of an army of 65,000 men in the most miserable condition, half-starved and scarcely like human beings, crossing the frontier and laying down their arms, the Swiss doing their utmost to supply their needs. General Cremer, with a small force of cavalry, contrived to reach the soil of France. An eye-witness tells us that when the French arrived in Switzerland their clothes were rent and dropping off them, their hands and feet were frost-bitten, their shrunken features and uncertain gait told of gnawing hunger, their deep coughs and hoarse voices bore witness to long nights spent on snow and frozen ground. Some had tied bits of wood under their bare feet to protect them from stones; others wore wooden sabots; hundreds had no socks, and such as were worn were only of thin cotton. For weeks none had washed or changed his clothes or removed his boots. Some had lost their toes; for three days they had neither food nor fodder served out to them, and before that only one loaf was allowed among eight men. This was the fourth French army which had been rendered useless for further combat since the Germans had invaded France in August, the others being those of Sedan, Metz, and Paris. Belfort, which had been so nobly defended by Denfert-Roehereau, capitulated by order of the French Government on February 16th, and the garrison, in recognition of their bravery, were allowed to march out with the honours of war.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable wars in history, marked by twenty-three battles and an endless number of other engagements. Never before had such large masses of men been

seen in conflict. The losses of the Germans were calculated at 5,254 officers and 112,000 men, while those of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners almost defy enumeration. The number of German prisoners captured by the French did not exceed 10,000, whereas at least 400,000 unarmed Frenchmen crossed the Rhine as captives.

CHAPTER X

THE COMMUNE

THE National Assembly at Bordeaux consisted of 750 Deputies, elected in Cantons from a list of candidates for each Department. The general desire was for peace. The peasants had chosen Orleanists and Legitimists, as being men well known and of position, who could be trusted and were in favour of peace. They formed the majority of the Assembly, numbering 400 against 350. The Departments of the south-east, where the war had been most severe, returned Republicans, and in Paris many Revolutionaries were chosen. There was not a sufficient number of Monarchists to outweigh the Republicans, but they were determined not to submit either to Gambetta or to Paris, and therefore they left the choice of the form of government to the future.

Jules Grévy, a Republican and an opponent of Gambetta, was made President, and Thiers was placed at the head of the Executive, as he had been elected in twenty-six Departments and was very popular in consequence of his protest against the war. He was, indeed, master of the situation. He selected for his Ministers moderate Republicans, who belonged to the peace party, and announced that his policy would be confined to reorganisation, the restoration of credit, and the revival of industry. On February 26th Thiers and Jules Favre signed the preliminaries of peace, which were ratified by the Assembly on March 1st by 546 votes to 107, with 23 abstentions. Napoleon III. was formally deposed and declared responsible for the ruin of France.

On this same day the German troops marched through a portion of the capital. The *amour propre* of France had been so far considered that an occupation of Paris had been given up, but the march had been conceded by Thiers as a ransom for Belfort. Prussian and Bavarian troops marched from Mont Valérien, through the Arc de Triomphe and the Champs Élysées. The Palais de l'Industrie and the Cirque Impérial were assigned to the German troops, and a strong French force guarded the line which separated the occupied districts from the remainder of the city. The day passed without serious incident, but was kept throughout

Paris as a day of mourning. Neither the Emperor nor the Crown Prince accompanied the troops. As soon as the ratification of the treaty had been notified by Favre to Bismarck, Paris was evacuated and the march home begun. The headquarters of Versailles were broken up on March 7th.

As soon as the preliminaries had been ratified, four of the Revolutionary Deputies for Paris resigned, refusing to sit in an Assembly which had surrendered two provinces, dismembered France, and ruined the country. It was inevitable that a conflict should break out in the Bordeaux Assembly between the Revolutionaries of the towns, especially of Paris, and the Deputies for the country districts. The decree allowing the Prussians to enter Paris roused intense indignation in the city, and there were signs of a coming storm. The cannon which had been purchased by the citizens for the defence of Paris were removed to Montmartre and Belleville, but the people had the good sense not to attack the Prussians. Another cause of offence was that the Bordeaux Assembly determined to sit at Versailles and not at Paris. Moreover, the commercial interests of the capital were neglected by the Assembly refusing to sanction the postponement of rent and of payments due for commercial transactions which had been granted during the siege, and the payment to the working men as National Guards, which cost a considerable sum, was stopped.

When Thiers arrived at Versailles on March 15th he sent troops to bring back the cannon from Montmartre, and three days later the soldiers made common cause with the people. Lecomte, who commanded the troops, was shot by the mob, and so was Clément Thomas, who happened to be passing. During the day the insurrection grew, and Thiers and the other members of the Government left Paris, intending to return with an army and destroy the rebels who would pillage Paris and ruin France. Thus on the morning of March 19th Paris was without regular government, and all authority passed into the hands of the old war party—the National Guards and the revolutionary Republicans. A Central Committee of the Federation of the National Guards, which had been formed at the end of February and chosen on March 15th, installed itself at the Hôtel de Ville and sent representatives to the different Ministries.

On March 19th the red flag floated from the Hôtel de Ville, and at half-past eight the Central Committee of the Commune held their first meeting in the room from which Trochu used to give his orders. The president was a young man of thirty-two—Edward Moreau, a commission agent. The Committee spent their

time organising the elections and providing for the carrying out of public affairs, and sat till 1 o'clock. At 2 the proclamation they had drawn up was posted in the town: "Citizens, the people of Paris, calm and impassive in their strength, have awaited, without fear as without passion, the shameless fools who wish to touch our Republic. Let Paris and France together lay the foundation of a true Republic—the only government which will for ever close the era of Revolution. The people of Paris is convoked to make its elections." This was signed by twenty obscure persons.

Twenty thousand men were encamped in the square before the Hôtel de Ville, with pieces of hard steel at the ends of their muskets, and fifty cannon and mitrailleuses were drawn up in front of the building. At the same time a meeting of the heads of battalions of the National Guard and of the mayors and deputies of the Department of the Seine was being held at the Town Hall of the third arrondissement. The Committee fixed the date of elections for the following Wednesday, declared the state of siege at an end, abolished court-martials, and gave an amnesty for all political causes and offences. At 8 p.m. it received a deputation from the mayors and deputies, of which Clémenceau was the best-known member. The discussion was stormy, and lasted till 10.30. The Commune proclaimed its programme—the election of the municipal council, the suppression of the Prefecture of Police, the right of the National Guard to elect its officers, the proclamation of the Republic as the legal government, the remittance of all rents due, an equitable law on over-due bills, and the exclusion of the army from Parisian territory. There was yet a third meeting of mayors and deputies of the several arrondissements; this included Louis Blanc, Carnot and Floquet. At its close the Central Committee held a heated debate which lasted far into the night.

Next morning the Central Committee was summoned to leave the Hôtel de Ville, but they refused to yield, and arranged the election of the municipal council for March 22nd. The Committee also managed to get 1,000,000 francs advanced for current expenses. March 21st was the day of trial for the Committee. The Place Vendôme was occupied by their soldiers, and an attack was made upon them by those who desired to support the authority of the Assembly. Firing took place, and a certain number were killed. Paris was divided between the friends of the Committee and the supporters of the Assembly. The night passed quietly; the Place Vendôme was defended by

barricades, and the battalions of the Hôtel de Ville were strengthened. It was impossible to hold the elections on March 22nd, and they were deferred until March 26th. The mayors of the Department of the Seine organised themselves against the Committee, and sent a deputation to the National Assembly at Versailles; but when they found that union with the Assembly would lead to civil war, they returned to Paris and eventually came to terms with the Committee.

The elections were held on Sunday, March 26th, a day of quiet, with order and regularity; and the Commune, the government of Paris by its own municipality, was proclaimed. The majority of the Central Committee were Republicans and Socialists, but they did not put forth any programme of social reform. Their one desire was to defend what they called Republican principles, and the autonomy of the Commune, against those whom they designated as the "Men of Versailles," the only people from whom an organised government could be expected. The newly-elected General Council of the Commune consisted of ninety members; of these, fifteen, the most moderate, retired a few days after their election. The rest belonged to the party of the insurrection and retained their seats. Among them were a few members of the original Central Committee, but there were associated with them representatives of all the extreme doctrines which had been disseminated among the lower classes of Paris since the fall of the Empire. There were followers of Blanqui, either pure and simple, or with a difference; advocates of a democratic dictatorship; Radicals like Félix Pyat and Delescluze, who sprang up in the last years of the Empire and wished to revive the Jacobin tradition of 1793; June Socialists; "Reds," who were ignorant both of the theory and practice of government, but who had a desire for the existence and the opportunities of the revolution; and seventeen members of the International, who favoured sweeping social changes, to be carried out by peaceful means. The last were the members of the Committee who had the clearest ideas of what they wanted and from whom most had to be expected. Although the General Council was thus finally constituted, the General Committee did not altogether surrender its powers, but continued to act in order to serve as a bond between the Council and the National Guard, over whom it continued to have considerable influence. The Commune was never able to divest itself of the double authority of the General Council and the Central Committee.

The General Council began its work on March 29th. It appointed committees to carry out the various branches of government, with full powers—an executive committee, a finance committee, committees of war, justice, public security, subsistence, labour, manufactures, commerce, foreign relations, public service, and education. It remitted all rents due in October, 1870, and January and April, 1871, and gave a respite of three years in respect of commercial obligations. It abolished conscription and established compulsory military service for all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty, adopted the Republican calendar and the red flag, and declared all the acts of the Government of Versailles to be null and void.

There can be no doubt that the leading members of the committees laboured hard in their several departments to realise the ideals they set before themselves. It was impossible, in the short time at their disposal, and in the circumstances, to do much; but they set before the people of Paris a high standard of independence and hard work. The names of those engaged in this work and of the members of the International are little known. The Republicans were more familiar. Foremost amongst them was Delescluze, the intimate friend, first of Ledru Rollin, then of Rochefort, Flourens, Raoult-Rigault, Cluseret and Félix Pyat. Blanqui had been chosen, but he was a prisoner at Versailles and could not take his seat. He was represented by Paschal Grousset, a man of culture and refinement, who had charge of foreign affairs. Rochefort was a member, but he had sufficient insight to distrust the success of the movement, and did not take an important part in it. Jourde was a good Minister of Finance.

But however excellent the intentions of the Communal Government may have been, it was not likely that they could be effectually carried out. There was a lack of unity and organisation, and an absence of discipline and knowledge of affairs; conflicting orders were given, confused and difficult to accomplish; much was destroyed, little constructed. The committees at first established were changed, both in the persons of whom they were composed and in the work they were to undertake, while their methods were modelled too much after the example of 1793. They made domiciliary visits in search of suspected persons, and filled the public offices with their own adherents. Among the mayors and municipal officers were seen citizens like Malou, Tolain, Heligon, Murat, sitting by the side of millionaires like Tiraud, distinguished barristers like Herisson, statesmen like

Clémenceau, men of letters like Henri Martin. But the instruments of which they made use were far from creditable. Twenty or thirty thousand criminals served in the National Guard; a corps of women was formed, which contained, together with the famous women of the markets, a number of very doubtful characters. There was little security of property in the city; the National Guard thought more of attacking Versailles than of keeping order, and the so-called police were themselves among the worst offenders. Passes and certificates of security were bought and sold.

On April 3rd the *Gardes Nationaux Fédérés*, the soldiers of the Commune, attempted a sortie in retaliation for an attack made by the troops of Versailles the evening before, and marched upon Versailles in three columns. They occupied an important flanking position against Versailles, in the neighbourhood of Asnières and Neuilly, and protected the passage with strong barricades. This success stimulated the Commune to further efforts. The soldiers of the Commune who were taken prisoners were shot without trial, the Government treating the Communards not as political rebels, but as criminals. The Commune retaliated by seizing certain people of good position, who were suspected of sympathy with Versailles, and said that any execution of a soldier of the Commune would be followed by the shooting of these hostages. They also arraigned the heads of the Versailles Government — Thiers, Dufaure, Picard, Sommer — before their courts and confiscated their property. As we have said, Paschal Grousset undertook Foreign Affairs, and Cluseret and afterwards Rossel represented War, assisted by the Pole Dombrowski.

The principles of the Commune spread to the provinces. Lyons, St. Étienne, Creusot, Narbonne, Marseilles, Toulouse, Limoges, all set up Communal governments, which, however, had little strength and did not last long. They indulged in shouts of "*Vive Paris!*" but had no power of control, and could not assist the city they regarded as their head. Therefore the Government of Versailles had before it the simple task of reducing Paris, and when the army of Thiers, which was mainly composed of soldiers who had returned from captivity in Germany, was sufficiently concentrated, the second siege of Paris was begun.

Attempts were made at this time to bring about a reconciliation between Versailles and Paris. A so-called League and Union, formed among the citizens of Paris for the preservation of

municipal rights, conducted this work, assisted by the Freemasons; and on April 11th, 1871, a deputation from Lyons visited Versailles and then Paris, but to no purpose, as the Government of Versailles would make no terms. The movement, however, had the effect of inducing the Commune to declare its objects, which was done in a document called a "Testament." Their aims, it seemed, were to establish the absolute autonomy of the Commune throughout the whole of France, which should secure to every Frenchman the full exercise of his rights and inclinations as man, citizen and workman; but their chief end was to abolish the centralisation which had been the curse of France for so many years, and to convert the country into a loose federal State, a confederation of completely independent town republics, of which the communes should form organic cells. Despotic, arbitrary, unintelligent and costly centralisation would thus be replaced by a free union of all local authorities, which should direct the independent operations of individual forces towards a common end—namely, the prosperity, liberty and security of all. A National Guard, composed of all citizens, was to take the place of the standing army, and public business was to be transacted by elected officials. It was, indeed, an exalted ideal, the direct negation of everything which had distinguished France for eight hundred years. She was no longer to be the *Grande Nation*, distinguished by splendour and éclat, a brilliant court and conquering army, but a democratic Switzerland, divided into cantons and communes, the individual freedom of which was only limited by the necessities of combination for the purposes of existence.

Supplemental elections, held on April 16th, added twenty-one members to the Council, and on April 20th, the date of the Testament, the executive was reorganised. Each of the nine special committees was replaced by a delegate, who acted as a Minister, and the nine delegates together formed what was practically a Ministry. On March 28th, after a parade at Fort d'Issy, the majority carried by forty-five votes to twenty-three the appointment of a Committee of Public Safety, consisting of five members, such as had existed in the great Revolution.

The troops of the Commune offered a brave resistance to the army of Versailles, but MacMahon gradually made himself master of the outer works of defence, though each success served to stimulate the terror of the Communal government and urge it to fresh acts of violence and atrocity. The need of money was

supplied by the confiscation of public and municipal revenues, obtained by requisitions upon the Bank of France, the Post Office, the railway and telegraph companies, and the rich merchants. The separation of Church and State was decreed, and the possessions of the Church were declared to be public property. On May 8th Thiers issued a proclamation calling upon Paris to free herself from the tyranny of the Commune and re-establish peace, order and prosperity. In answer to this, the property of Adolphe Thiers was declared to be confiscated, but the many treasures of art his house contained were, by friendly influence, safely deposited in the public buildings. Other attempts at indiscriminate plunder were fortunately checked; Beslay contrived to save a large portion of property preserved in the Bank of France, and Jourde provided that the restoration of all the property deposited in the Mont de Piété, the State Pantechnicon, should be confined to the articles belonging to the poor of the value of less than 20 francs.

The leaders of the Commune determined that if they fell Paris should fall with them, and that the army of Versailles should only conquer its ruins. The *Cri du Peuple*, a newspaper founded by Blanqui and edited by Jules Viller, said, on May 19th: "Our walls may fall, but no soldier shall enter Paris. If M. Thiers is a chemist, he will understand what we mean. The army of Versailles must understand that before Paris surrenders it will dare everything." As danger threatened, the General Council, the Committee of Public Safety, the Central Committee, and the National Guard, which had so long contended against each other, drew closer together, and a Scientific Committee was established to assist the Barricade Committee, to examine how far the destructive forces of science could be used in the service of the Revolution.

As MacMahon gradually became master of the bridge of Neuilly and other points in the neighbourhood of the fortifications, the fever of resistance became more pronounced. On May 18th the column in the Place Vendôme, which symbolised the victories of Napoleon, was pulled down. On May 21st the Paris troops advanced without fighting to the Point du Jour, and occupied the western districts. Fierce fighting continued for seven days, from May 21st to May 28th, the so-called "Bloody Week." The army of Versailles gave no quarter, and the Commune was stimulated to reprisals. The hostages were put to death, among them Darboy, Archbishop of Paris; Abbé Allard; President Bonjeau; and the universally-respected Curé of the Madeleine,

Duguerry. The principal buildings of Paris were drenched with petroleum, and either wholly or partially burnt, including the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Luxembourg, the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, the Ministry of Finance, and the Cour des Comtes.

The work of retaliation and repression was carried on with terrible severity. The city was gradually conquered from the Point du Jour to the Père la Chaise, district by district, barricade by barricade. On May 31st Thiers proclaimed that the full penalty would be exacted and, in fact, no quarter was given. Men were put to death after a pretence of trial, or without any trial at all, by officers and soldiers. It was admitted at Versailles that 17,000 persons were killed; as a fact, the number reached at least 20,000. Besides these, 38,568 persons were arrested, of whom 1,058 were women and 651 children; and of the number arrested 1,179 died in consequence of bad treatment. The prisoners were tried by court-martial and condemned to death or penal servitude. The number of the condemned reached 13,450, of whom 2,710 were sentenced to death and 7,500 to transportation. The court-martial continued to sit as late as 1876. The effect of these measures was to wipe out the Revolutionary and Socialist parties; the only parties that remained were Monarchists and Republicans, the former being divided into Legitimists and Orleanists, since the cause of the war had destroyed all chance of a Bonapartist restoration.

By the elections which took place on May 1st, the moderate Republicans obtained a majority. But the decrees of banishment against the Houses of Bourbon and Orleans were recalled, and the Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville were actually elected to the Assembly. In October, Aranda was chosen President of the General Council of the Oise, a very influential position. In the supplementary elections of July 28th the Republicans were successful in twenty-five out of thirty-nine Departments, and of twenty-one Deputies returned from Paris sixteen belonging to the Union of the Press, and the followers of Thiers, were elected. The fact that a loan was subscribed many times over showed the inexhaustible wealth of the country and the confidence with which it was regarded by foreign nations. The war indemnity could now be paid and the evacuation of the country by the army of occupation secured. A proclamation of the Comte de Chambord in favour of the white flag weakened the Legitimists and strengthened the hands of the Republic, and gave Thiers the

support of all sensible and practical people. On August 21st an enactment was passed, by 491 votes to 94, providing that the head of the executive should take the title of President of the French Republic, that he should have the power of appointing and dismissing his Ministers, and the right to address the Assembly whenever he pleased; but that the individual Ministers, the Cabinet as a whole, and the President himself should be responsible to the Assembly. This meant the formation of a moderate Republic, equally opposed to Monarchy and to advanced Republicanism. This was a provisional constitution; the final and definite constitution was not formed till 1875.

During the very height of these disturbances the Peace of Frankfort was signed on May 10th by Bismarck on behalf of Germany and by Jules Favre and Pouyer-Quertier on behalf of France. The arrangements with regard to the payment of the indemnity of five milliards and the tracing of the frontier between Belfort and Thionville received the approval of the German Emperor and the French Assembly. The final closing of the war was received with the greatest joy, not only in Germany itself, but in all parts of the world inhabited by Germans. A South German paper wrote: "The dove of peace which was sent out from the German Ark has at length returned with a fresh olive branch. The sound of the cannon and the tocsin no longer summon us to the murderous field of battle; they have become heralds of peace. The flood of war has overwhelmed many of our dear ones, but our land and people stand as if refreshed with morning dew, ready for the work of our hands and for the seed-time of culture. The general feeling of the great majority of our people is thanks and praise to God that, together with peace abroad and at home, we have laid the foundations of a strong Fatherland and of civic freedom. We know that in this battle of giants our people have won spurs of honourable knighthood, an equality of rank with the first nations of the world. But this exalted rank lays heavy duties upon us. Let us first think of our duties towards the dead, who fell in this holy war upon the field of victory."

The first German Reichstag, or Parliament, met in Berlin on March 21st, 1871, containing representatives from every part of Germany, both north and south of the Main. Their first duty was to consider how the government of Alsace and Lorraine could best be carried out, and then to take care of those wounded and invalided in the war and the families of the dead. A sum of

12,000,000 marks was voted as a present to the generals and statesmen who had contributed in a conspicuous manner to the successes of their country, and a similar sum to the governments of the separate States as assistance to the support of the reservists and others who were liable to military service.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I

GLADSTONE'S MINISTRY, 1868-74

THE British Parliament elected in 1865 was dissolved by proclamation in November, 1868. The question before the country was the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church. Although Gladstone himself was defeated in Lancashire, the voting was favourable to the Liberal Party, the Liberals being returned with an overwhelming majority. This was a surprise to the Conservatives, just as the election of 1874, which closed Gladstone's Ministry, was a still greater surprise to the Liberals. On December 2nd Disraeli sent a letter to his supporters in both Houses of Parliament, announcing his intention of resigning before Parliament met. The Queen at once sent for Gladstone, and he had no difficulty in forming a Government. Lowe became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Childers, First Lord of the Admiralty; Goschen, President of the Poor Law Board; Bright, President of the Board of Trade. The seals of the Foreign Office were given to Lord Clarendon, those of the Colonial Office to Lord Granville, of the War Office to Cardwell, of the India Office to the Duke of Argyll. Lord Justice Page Wood, a man of the highest character, which shone conspicuously on his spiritual face, became Lord Chancellor, with the title of Lord Hatherley. Although a strong Churchman and a man of deep piety, he had no objection to the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

Parliament met on December 10th, but the Queen's Speech was not delivered until February 16th, 1869. The Queen did not open Parliament in person, and therefore was not compelled to read a speech which announced legislation on the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland and heralded a measure to which she had previously been strongly opposed. The Irish Church Bill was brought forward on March 1st. It provided that from and after January 1st, 1871, the Church of Ireland was to be entirely disconnected from the State, and that its government was to be entrusted to a body in the composition of which the clergy and laity of the

Church should be agreed, and that this body should be incorporated by law. For the purpose of disendowment the property of the Church was to be vested in commissioners appointed by Parliament for ten years, private endowments given to the Church of Ireland after 1660 being excepted. The fabrics of churches and parsonages were to be handed over to the governing body already mentioned. Full compensation was given to all vested interests. The State was no longer to subsidise either the Catholic Church through the grant to Maynooth College, or the Presbyterians through the Regium Donum; but compensation for the loss of these sums was to be made from the funds of the disestablished Church. Gladstone estimated the whole value of the existing endowments at £16,000,000. Of this sum £8,500,000 were to be given back to the Church under its new constitution, and the remaining £7,500,000 were to form a compensation fund for the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering not met by the existing poor law.

There was little opposition in the Commons to a measure of which the country had expressed its approval: the Bill was read a second time before Easter by a majority of 118, and the third reading was passed by a majority of 114 on June 1st. But the Bill had to pass the ordeal of the House of Lords, where the decisive struggle had to take place. It was determined to contest the second reading in the Upper House. Although the Queen was strongly opposed to the measure, she did not desire to see a violent conflict between the two Houses, and wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to remind him that the Bill had been carried by an overwhelming majority through the House of Commons, which had been specially elected to express the feeling of the country in the matter, and that it was not likely that a fresh election would have a different result. Eventually, after a debate of four nights, at 3 o'clock in the morning on June 19th, the second reading of the Bill was carried by 179 votes to 146. By this wise resolve, preferring the welfare of the country to its own predilections, and the will of the nation to its own private opinions, the House of Lords voted in a manner worthy of its best traditions. It should have been evident to the peers that by such behaviour alone could the continued existence of a hereditary chamber be preserved. But having gone so far, they were not prepared to go farther, and so altered the Bill in Committee that the Irish Church remained in possession of £13,000,000 instead of £8,500,000, while other important changes were also made.

Gladstone refused to accept these amendments, and the Bill was returned to the Lords much in the same state as that in which it had been first introduced in the Commons. There was a deadlock; but the spirit of political wisdom and compromise which has permeated the history of the United Kingdom for so many years, and made it a model of instruction for the world, once more prevailed. On July 21st a meeting was held at the Colonial Office attended by Lord Granville, Lord Cairns, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and when the peers met on the following day they found the matter had been arranged. The compensation offered had been slightly increased, and the application of the surplus was left to the decision of Parliament.

There can be no doubt but that the disestablishment of the Irish Church has been a success, and justified the prevision of those who carried it. Under its new conditions the Church has been, if more clerical, more prosperous than it was before, and the Church of England has been rather strengthened than weakened by its severance from a sister whose indefensible position was the cause of constant irritation.

The budget had been introduced on April 8th. The financial condition of the country was not very favourable, as the Abyssinian expedition had cost £9,000,000. Robert Lowe framed his measure with wonted cleverness and ingenuity, but roused, after his manner, a great deal of unnecessary opposition; yet the budget was eventually found not to be so eccentric as it appeared at first sight, and was passed quietly into law. The year 1869 also witnessed a measure which was a first step towards the organisation of secondary education, but which has not been much developed since. Probably the only sound policy is to abolish the distinction of secondary education altogether, and leave but two classes, elementary and superior—the education of the common school and the education of the University, just as changes have abolished the second class on most British railways and left first and third classes to fight it out side by side.

But the great triumph of Liberalism under Gladstone's Government was secured in 1870—a year of far other memories on the Continent—by the passing of a Land Act for Ireland and an Education Act for England. The first was a step towards Home Rule as the only remedy for Irish difficulties, and the second has more profoundly modified the whole condition of England, intellectually and socially, than any other measure ever passed by Parliament.

An Irish Land Bill, which had been discussed in the Cabinet during the autumn of 1869, was introduced into the House of Commons on February 15th, 1870. It recognised that the Irish farmer had an estate in his holding, and extended to the whole of Ireland and gave the sanction of law to the Ulster custom of tenant right. It gave compensation to tenants who were turned out of their holdings for any other cause than the failure to pay their rents, and provided that they should receive the value of their unexhausted improvements. Hitherto all that had been done by the tenant for the soil in the absence of the landlord led merely to the raising of his rent, a grievance which did not practically exist in England and was peculiar to Ireland alone. It also made it easier for those who held the soil to become the possessors of it. Before this an enterprising tenant might turn a barren desert into a fruitful farm, and for his trouble and enterprise would have to pay a higher rent for the land, the value of which he had largely increased, or be turned out of his holding without receiving any pecuniary advantage for what he had done. This now became impossible. The burden of showing that he had made the improvements was laid upon the landlord, otherwise it would be presumed that they had been made by the tenant. Contracting out of this arrangement was illegal for all whose rent was under £50 a year. On the other hand, the landlord could avoid all claims to compensation by granting a lease for thirty-one years.

The principle of the Bill met with little opposition in either House. In the House of Commons only eleven members voted against the second reading, and in the House of Lords the Bill passed that stage without a division. It was more difficult to get it through Committee. Some amendments were made in the Upper House, but were not accepted by the Government, and the Act eventually passed much in its original form. The Land Act of 1870 was a step in advance in the settlement of Irish grievances; it checked arbitrary eviction, and recognised the principle that the tenant was part owner of the soil. But the fact that it was not a complete remedy for the evil which it attempted to remove was shown by the passing of a Coercion Act for Ireland. This Act declared the use of firearms to be illegal in proclaimed districts, allowed dwelling-houses to be searched for arms, or for evidence of the authorship of threatening letters, and the arrest on suspicion of persons wandering about at night. It also provided that agrarian murder might be punished by the levying of compensation on the district in which it occurred, for

the seizure of intimidating newspapers, and for a change of the place where offences were tried. On the other hand, the Fenians in prison were released on condition that they left the country, a limitation of very doubtful wisdom.

The Education Act of 1870 is a landmark in English history. Its effect went far beyond the expectations of those who carried it. The passing of it was mainly due to the statesmanship and foresight of William Edward Forster, and it will always be associated with his name. Forster announced that the object of the Bill was to cover the country with good schools. The existing schools, called Voluntary because they were partly maintained by voluntary subscription, belonged to religious bodies, such as the Church of England, the Roman Catholics, the Wesleyans, and the Jews. They received grants from the State if they satisfied the requirements of the inspectors of the Education Department, but were greatly deficient in number for the needs of the population, and this deficiency it was the object of the new Act to remedy.

To effect this, England and Wales were divided into school districts, generally conterminous with the borough and the parish. If it were found that sufficient accommodation was not supplied in these districts for children between the ages of five and thirteen, and if after six months the need was not met by voluntary efforts, a School Board was to be established with power to levy a rate. Unfortunately, in England, all educational legislation has been made a battleground for conflicting sects. It may be doubted whether Englishmen care for education at all in the sense in which it is cared for by Germans and Swiss. Englishmen are so gifted naturally, and are able to do so much by their own intelligence, that they distrust and even despise the routine which their foreign rivals impose upon themselves. It is said that Germans always begin at the beginning, Englishmen in the middle; that Germans will never take the second step till they have taken the first, but that Englishmen always prefer to break the line of ignorance. Consequently it was impossible to carry compulsory education at that time, although it has since been recognised that such a condition is absolutely necessary for the creation of an educated population. Forster left the question of religious training to the direction of the local authority, which might have any religion taught or no religion taught at all, as it pleased.

The Bill was strongly opposed by the Birmingham Education League, which, in that fortress of Radicalism, supported free, compulsory, and secular education, with School Boards everywhere

and no Voluntary schools. Gladstone intervened, however, as a mediator, and the Bill passed its second reading. Three months were allowed to elapse between the second reading and the Committee stage, during which time there was a great deal of private discussion. On June 16th, an amendment was accepted by the Government, proposed by Cowper-Temple, who was an English Churchman and a Whig. It provided that no Catholic or distinctive religious formulary should be taught in a Board school, and that a Voluntary school should receive no assistance from the rates. This clause has been famous ever since, and the author of it has given his name to a form of religious teaching which is moral and edifying, but which is not conveyed by any special religious formulary. The amendment also contained a clause which relieved voluntary subscribers in respect of their contributions, and was favourable to the Church of England. This facilitated the passing of the Bill, and the Cowper-Temple clause was carried by 252 votes to 95. What was called a "Conscience Clause" also provided that religion should be taught either at the beginning or the end of the school day, so that those might absent themselves who wished to do so. A single School Board was established for the whole of London, and this great measure finally became law on August 9th.

In the days of Gladstone retrenchment was a watchword of the Liberal Party, and the Prime Minister did his best to make it effective. The Navy Estimates in 1870 were the lowest since 1858, and the Army Estimates had been reduced by more than £2,000,000 since 1868. This economy was mainly brought about by the withdrawing of British troops from self-governing colonies. In this year the Canadian Rifles, the Cape Mounted Rifles, and the West India Regiment were disbanded. These reductions of expenses produced a surplus of more than £4,000,000, which was spent in reducing the income tax to 4d. in the pound, lowering the duty on sugar by 50 per cent., abolishing the remaining burden on newspapers and on railway passengers, and in the institution of halfpenny postcards, which the Prime Minister used very largely in his private correspondence.

Another triumph of the Liberal Government in 1870 was the reformation of the army by Cardwell, who was Minister of War. When he assumed office the army was under the dual control of the War Office and the Horse Guards. The Commander-in-Chief, who sat at the Horse Guards, and was appointed by letters patent for life, dispensed patronage and exercised power without consulting the War Minister, who was responsible to the House

of Commons. This was a survival of the time when the army was supposed to be under the personal control of the Sovereign. Cardwell saw that it was necessary that the War Office should be under a single head. The first step was made by removing the Commander-in-Chief from the Horse Guards to the War Office, which was done by an exercise of the Royal prerogative, but against the private wishes of the Queen. He then proceeded to alter the terms of service for which a soldier enlisted, and to establish a reserve. Before 1847 a man enlisted for life or for twenty-one years; in 1847 enlistment for ten years was allowed, against the opinion of the Duke of Wellington. Now, in 1870, twelve years was fixed as the longest and three years as the shortest period for which a man might enlist; and it was calculated that in ordinary circumstances six years would be spent in active service and six in the reserve. This reconstruction of the army was due to the victory of the Prussians over the Austrians at Königgrätz. The success of the Prussian army, which before the war had been regarded by competent military observers as little better than an exalted militia, had shown that a soldier serving only two or three years with the colours could become the most formidable combatant in Europe. It is noteworthy that a reform originating out of the war of 1866 should have been consummated on the verge of the still greater conflict of 1870.

This era of reform beheld a great change also in the appointments of the Civil Service. By an Order in Council, dated June 7th, 1870, all public offices in the State, excepting the Foreign Office and the Education Office, were thrown open to competition, a change which had been advocated for nearly twenty years by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote. Hitherto all appointments had been made by private patronage, the exercise of which was a great burden on those to whom it belonged, and a very inefficient method of choosing public servants. The change has, no doubt, been beneficial; but it has had the result of limiting the ambitions of the ablest men the Universities produce and driving them to prefer a modest certainty to an honourable struggle, besides filling the public offices with men who are too able for the work they have to do, and are apt, therefore, to display more ingenuity in contrivance than common sense in everyday administration. On the whole, however, the change has been advantageous, and the country has gained by the application to the whole Civil Service of the principles which have made the Civil Service of India the most efficient, the most intelligent and the purest bureaucracy in the world.

The session of 1870 was indeed memorable, and in recalling its achievements, Mr. Herbert Paul says: "Between February 8th and August 10th Parliament took the first step, the step which counts, in remodelling the agrarian law of Ireland, established a permanent system of education in England and Wales, introduced into the army the principle of a short enlistment and a reserve, formed a code of neutrality in time of war, erected a scientific theory of naturalisation, provided for the extradition of criminals, and abolished the punishment of the innocent with the guilty by the forfeiture of the felon's estate: of an activity so various and so successful, scarcely an example can be found since the days of the Great Parliament, which assembled in 1640 after eleven years of barren personal rule. Although Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, especially Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Forster, were the principal agents in producing this splendid result, the entire credit does not belong to them. It was shared by their followers, by the Conservative Party, and by the House of Commons as a whole."

This record of reforms was increased in the following year by the abolition of the purchase of commissions in the army. To us, indeed, it seems almost incredible that such a system could ever have had a vogue. The sale of commissions which had originally existed had been regulated by Royal Warrant in the reign of Charles II. The system was abolished by William III., but was resumed after his death. Although prices were fixed by statesmen, sums largely in excess of the legal amount were given and received, and, in 1871, both regulation prices, which were legal, and over-regulation prices, which were not only illegal but criminal, were charged as a matter of course. An Act of George III. abolished the selling of offices in other departments, but gave to the Crown the discretion of retaining the practice in the army if it should think fit, and this discretion had been regulated by a warrant sanctioning and regulating the practice. It became apparent that no effective reorganisation of the army was possible without the abolition of this practice. As Gladstone said, the nation must buy back its own army from its own officers. Purchase, indeed, was unknown at any time in the Navy, the Engineers and the Royal Artillery. In the army it did not extend beyond the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

This reform had been taken up as a special question by George Otto Trevelyan, the son of Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had reformed the Civil Service. As compensation must be voted to those who lost money by the change, a Bill was introduced into

the House of Commons, where it met with the most violent opposition. Having passed the Commons with great difficulty, the Bill went to the Lords in the beginning of July, and again encountered the most determined hostility. A dilatory motion proposed by the Duke of Richmond was supported by Lord Salisbury, who said that "seniority tempered by selection meant stagnation tempered by jobbery." The motion was carried by 155 votes to 130. The Prime Minister now found himself face to face with the House of Lords—not for the first time. So the Cabinet determined on drastic action. As purchase had been originally established by Royal Warrant, it could be abolished by Royal Warrant. On July 18th, therefore, the Queen signed such a warrant, abolishing purchase in the army from November 1st, 1871. She made no difficulty about it after she had received a minute from the Cabinet intimating their unanimous approval. By the abolition of purchase the efficiency of regimental officers was greatly improved.

Another important step in army reform was the division of the country into territorial districts, each of which contained a battalion of the line, two regiments of militia, and the volunteers of the district, all under the command of a lieutenant-colonel. A system of what were called linked battalions was also introduced, by which half a regiment was maintained at home and half abroad, the officers and men being interchangeable.

In the same year religious tests for degrees were abolished. It is difficult for anyone not intimately acquainted with the conditions of University life to understand what injustice was imposed by the existence of these tests. Dissenters might gain the highest honours of the Universities, but could not take degrees unless they were prepared to sign the Thirty-nine Articles. But when this disability was removed others still remained. In many colleges fellowships could not be held unless the holders were prepared to take holy orders after a certain number of years, and a large number of the highest posts were reserved for clergymen. A community in which academical distinction ought to be the determining consideration in promotion was mainly a clerical body. The result of this was profound. The taking of orders was, with the less serious-minded men, regarded with levity, and even with blasphemy, and the more serious were hindered from taking orders at all. In some cases they resigned their fellowships and embraced a life of poverty; in others, by refusing to serve the Church, they lowered the intellectual standard of the ministry. It was long before Gladstone could bring himself to

see the essential justice of the reform. But he did so by 1871, and the Abolition Act of this year served not only to make the Universities national institutions, but gave renewed strength and vigour to the Church itself.

The harmonious march of reform was interrupted by the eccentricity of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Robert Lowe. In the budget of 1871 he had to provide for an extra charge of £3,000,000, caused by the greater expense of the army and the abolition of purchase. The easiest mode of doing this would have been to raise the income tax to 6d., but the Chancellor preferred more tortuous methods, and among them the imposition of a tax on lucifer matches, a halfpenny a box for wood and a penny for wax. A good classical scholar, he proposed to mark the stamp by which the tax was imposed by a Latin motto, "*Ex luce lucellum*" ("A little gain from light"), a frivolous proceeding which tended to make the new tax ridiculous as well as odious in the eyes of those who had no sense of humour. A storm of indignation arose, a procession of match-makers marching by way of protest from the East End to Westminster. The tax was withdrawn and the income tax was raised.

Another important indication that a new era had dawned was found in the Act for the legalisation of trade unions, which gave effect to the report of the Royal Commission appointed to examine the subject which was published in 1869. The most prominent advocates for new methods in dealing with this question were Frederic Harrison and Thomas Hughes. Bruce, the Home Secretary, brought in a Bill to amend the law. By it trade unions were declared to be neither criminal conspiracies subject to prosecution, nor illegal combinations incapable of prosecuting those who defrauded them. They were to be registered in such a way as to allow them to bring dishonest officers to justice, and, on the other hand, were not to be saddled with the legal liabilities which attach to corporations. The Bill should have stopped there, but unfortunately it attempted to deal with the practice of picketing. It went so far as to make peaceful picketing impossible; as Mr. Sidney Webb said, in its eyes a strike was lawful, but anything done in pursuance of a strike was criminal. The picketing clauses were made into a separate Bill, and the measures passed the House of Commons without difficulty. They finally became law after the Lords had very seriously increased the severity of the picketing clauses. A similar solicitude for the working members of the population was shown in the institution of Bank Holidays, by the closing of banks on Easter Monday,

Whit Monday, and the day after Christmas, generally known as Boxing Day. The fourth Bank Holiday, the first Monday in August, was not instituted until later. The closing of banks led to the closing of shops and to a general national holiday. The author of this excellent measure was Sir John Lubbock, banker, philanthropist, and distinguished man of science, who afterwards bore the title of Lord Avebury.

This beneficent legislation, which leaves a white mark in the pages of British history, did not tend to make the Ministry popular; and on October 28th, Gladstone, who was member for Greenwich, addressed an audience of 20,000 persons on Blackheath. This audience was not friendly, as it contained many who had been discharged from the Woolwich dockyards. Lord Morley has described how, in the cold mist of the October afternoon, Gladstone stood bareheaded, pale and resolute before a surging mass, few of them friends, many of them furious at neglect or discharge by an economising Government. At first he could hardly make himself heard, but after half an hour of interruptions he prevailed. The speech lasted two hours, and at the end he had deserved and won applause.

But his office was not a bed of roses. It is difficult to maintain the spirit of a nation at the level of that of a great Minister in a great Cabinet. The Court was also a subject of anxiety; the Queen lived in retirement, and there was a breath of Republicanism in the air. Public opinion did not understand the crushing work which the administration of a great Empire implies, nor realise that the necessary occupations of the head of the State left little time for public functions or for society. Sir Charles Dilke, member for Chelsea, having professed Republican sentiments, the Queen good-naturedly remarked that she had stroked his hair when he was a boy, and supposed she had not stroked it the right way. Gladstone did all he could to induce the Queen to spend less time at Balmoral, but she did not like him, and complained that he addressed her as if she were a public meeting. The sympathy and sentiment of the nation, however, were aroused by the serious illness of the Prince of Wales in December, 1871, and the public thanksgiving for his recovery which followed early in the next year. But a difficult situation continued, and the deep veneration which was felt for the Mother Sovereign in every part of her dominions was not generally realised until the outbreak of sorrow which followed her death and made her funeral memorable.

There can be little doubt but that the unexpected fall of the

Gladstone Ministry in 1874 was mainly due to its best and most memorable act—the treaty of arbitration with America with regard to the *Alabama* claims. On February 1st, 1871, the two Governments agreed that a Joint Commission should be appointed to discuss the questions pending between the two countries. The British commissioners acted in a very friendly spirit, expressed their regret for the escape and depredations of the *Alabama*, and abandoned all claims for indemnification for the Fenian raids into Canada, and in consequence of this the treaty was ratified before the end of May. The five arbitrators, appointed by Great Britain and America, by the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Republic, and the Emperor of Brazil, met at Geneva.

The American case was published in January, 1872. It was found, to the dismay of all lovers of peace, that it contained a demand not only for the payment of direct claims, but of indirect claims of a vague and shadowy nature, which, if admitted, might exceed the whole amount of the National Debt. The storm aroused by these preposterous claims nearly wrecked the treaty; but, through the moderation of Lord Ripon and W. E. Forster, the decision whether they were valid was left to the arbitrators. Charles Francis Adams proposed that the court should declare the indirect claims to be outside the scope of International Law. This was agreed to, and the news that the treaty was saved reached the British Cabinet on July 19th.

The hearing of the case began at Geneva in the beginning of July, and the finding was issued in the middle of September. The damages were estimated by America at £9,500,000, and the amount actually paid was £3,250,000, which the Americans found great difficulty in distributing among the persons supposed to have been injured. The amount awarded was excessive, and could not be supported by legal argument. But the matter had passed out of the domain of law into that of politics, and it was worth while to make even a large payment to settle a disastrous quarrel between two peoples who ought to live together in peace and amity, and to offer to the world an example of the manner in which such differences should be arranged. But these doctrines were beyond the appreciation of public feeling in England. A sullen discontent against the award was aroused in the country, and it was made worse by the decision of the German Emperor, which was adverse to Great Britain, in the matter of the San Juan dispute. Even if this decision were right, however, anyone acquainted with public feeling at Berlin at this time must admit

that the Americans were much more popular than the British, owing to the severe neutrality of Great Britain in the Franco-Prussian War, and could have predicted the result of the arbitration before it was declared.

During the session of 1872 the Government steadily lost ground, partly from the reasons we have mentioned, partly from discontent at smaller matters, such as the appointment of Sir Robert Collier to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and of Mr. Harvey to the Rectory of Ewelme. Disraeli said at Manchester: "As I sit opposite the Treasury bench, the Ministers remind me of one of those marine landscapes, not very unusual on the coasts of South America. You behold a range of exhausted volcanoes; not a flame flickers upon a single pallid crest, but the situation is still dangerous. There are occasional earthquakes, and ever and anon the dark rumblings of the sea." One of these earthquakes was the Ballot Act, which, promised in the Queen's Speech of 1870, was rejected by the Lords in 1871, and finally passed in 1872. Although in some particulars it was not consistent with sound political theory, and with the highest standard of political morality, which demands that an elector shall not be ashamed to declare his opinions in public, the Ballot Act has been a success and strengthened the parliamentary system. No one would now propose to abolish it.

The Government eventually fell on the question of Irish University Education. On his entry upon office in 1868 Gladstone had determined to devote himself to the removal of Irish discontent. He had disestablished the Irish Church, reformed the land laws, and now intended to deal with the problem of higher education. The granting of Home Rule, which was part of the same scheme, was to come at a later period. The University of Dublin, which was really the same as Trinity College, had opened its doors to Catholics as early as 1794. A few attended, but all places of honour and emolument were reserved for members of the Irish Church, which had been disestablished in 1869. Mr. Gladstone's Bill, which attempted the solution of the difficulty, was introduced on February 13th, 1873. It proposed to establish a new University of Dublin, which was to be a teaching as well as an examining body. It was to include Trinity College, the Catholic University of Dublin, and the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Belfast, which were unsectarian. The money for its endowment was to be found by Trinity College, the Consolidated Fund, and the Irish Church surplus, and was to amount to £50,000 a year. But to these arrangements, which

were not very wise or statesmanlike, two were added which made it impossible that the Bill should pass. By one of these any teacher might be dismissed who, in speech or writing, wilfully gave offence to the religious opinions of any member, and by the other the University was to have no chairs of theology, modern history, or of moral and mental philosophy. The colleges of which the University was composed might, indeed, teach these subjects, but they would not be taught authoritatively by the University.

Mr. Gladstone's speech in introducing these measures was so persuasive that it was thought on all hands that the Bill was sure to pass. It was wrecked, however, by the opposition of Cardinal Cullen, the head of the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland. The Cardinal said that the Bill was in flat opposition to what the Catholics had been working for in Ireland for years. It continued the Queen's Colleges and set up another Queen's College in the shape of Trinity College with a large endowment; it perpetuated the mixed system of education to which he had always been opposed, while no endowment or assistance was given to the Catholic University; the Council could appoint professors to teach English literature, geology or zoology who might be dangerous men in Catholic eyes. The Bill was rejected by 287 votes to 284, its principal opponents being Fawcett, Patrick Smyth, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice and Disraeli.

After this division Gladstone was of opinion that the Cabinet ought to resign, and as they agreed with him he went to the Queen for that purpose. The Queen, of course, sent for Disraeli; but he was unwilling either to accept office in the present Parliament or summon a new one. Thus, a week after their defeat, the Liberal Cabinet determined to remain where they were, although nothing could be worse for the country than the continuation in power of a weak and discredited Ministry. Even in this condition they were able to pass the Judicature Bill, which was due to the genius and industry of Lord Selborne. His plan was to unite all the superior courts in one Supreme Court of Judicature and give to every court the power of administering equity. The Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer remained as divisions of the High Court, but the judges of one division had power to sit in any other. He also established a Court of Appeal, consisting of nine judges and sitting in three divisions, whose decision should be final.

In July, in consequence of some irregularity in the public accounts, the details of which need not detain us, the Cabinet

was remodelled, and Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as Prime Minister.

It was natural that Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, should desire to construct a great budget and carry out ideas which had long been in his mind, but which he had not been able to bring to maturity. He proposed to abolish the income tax and the duty on sugar, and make up part of the deficit by raising the succession duties and the duty on spirits. He could not, however, obtain all the money he required unless he could reduce the Estimates for the army and navy. To this Cardwell and Goschen strongly objected, and Cardwell said that he could only give way if the country sanctioned the new policy. This confirmed the Prime Minister in his determination to dissolve, a step he had, for other reasons, long contemplated. He felt it was intolerable to carry on a Government unless not only the House of Commons but the country was firmly on his side. This was not the case, for, since 1872, the Opposition had won twenty seats, and the latest contest, at Stroud, proved unfavourable. It was understood that Parliament was to meet on February 8th, and members of Parliament, and even members of the Government, were taking a comfortable holiday.

Suddenly, on January 24th, 1874, Gladstone's address to his constituency appeared in the morning papers, and the world knew that a dissolution was imminent. The result of the election was a great surprise, both at home and abroad, but it was decisive. Gladstone had been informed by Lord Wolverton, the chief whip, that he was sure of an increased majority, and the Diplomatic Body had informed their Governments that the Liberals were sure to win. The Conservative majority was fifty, exclusive of the Irish Home Rulers, who held aloof from both parties. Gladstone, following what he believed to be the proper constitutional usage, was reluctant to leave office without meeting Parliament, but yielded to the advice of his colleagues, and on February 17th this memorable Government ceased to exist. It perished because it was too good for the age and the circumstances with which it had to deal; but the spirit of human actions, even when they fail, often lives after their seeming decease, and leads to greater successes than their premature triumph might have achieved.

CHAPTER II

RUSSIA AND THE EAST

THE policies pursued towards Europe by the Emperor Nicholas of Russia and his son Alexander II. were very different. The former attempted by aggressive means to raise Russia to a position of supremacy; the latter endeavoured by a course of important internal reforms to elevate his country to an equality with other civilised peoples, and emulate the example of Peter the Great by bringing his empire into close connection with the rest of Europe. The first of such measures was the liberation of the serfs, which, whatever inconveniences it may have brought with it, was absolutely necessary if Russia were to fall into line with European civilisation. The second was the introduction of universal military service for fifteen years, which served, as it has served in Germany, to elevate the intelligence of the nation and form the basis of a national education. Other steps were the extension of the railway system, both for industrial and military purposes; reform of the taxes, by which the privilege of exemption was taken away from the nobles and approach made towards establishing equality of rank; reform of law and justice; encouragement of commerce and industry; and the improvement of education and culture.

Alexander also contemplated, what his successor Nicholas II. brought to being, the extinction, or at least the diminution, of war, by the general adoption of principles of International Law. For this purpose a congress, held at Brussels in 1874, laid the foundations of an improved international code for the conduct of wars. These efforts to reduce armaments and mitigate the evils of war do not produce immediate effect and are often misunderstood. They are attributed to a crafty device to induce Powers to deprive themselves of the means of defence in order that they may fall an easier prey to their neighbours. But the seed, once sown, begins to grow, and the bread is cast upon the waters, although someone else may find it after many days.

Alexander pursued a similar magnanimous policy in his relations with the East. The friendship formed with Turkey by the assistance of the Grand Vizir, Mahmoud Pasha, was not

interrupted by the sudden fall of this Minister; indeed, in the difficult question in regard to the Bulgarian Patriarchate, which arose shortly afterwards, both Powers adopted a similar policy. The Bulgarians were the most active and most promising branch of the southern Slavs. They are more solid, more laborious, and more trustworthy than the Servians.

It is difficult to unravel the intricacies of the origin of the races inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula. The history of any one of these peoples written by any other is too much infected by racial jealousy to be trustworthy. The Servians maintain that the Bulgarians are not Slavs at all, but a Mongol race who have adopted the Slavic language and customs; the Bulgarians declare that they are Slavs who were conquered by Mongols, and received their name and a certain tinge of their language. However this may be, those who have most carefully studied the situation are of opinion that, if Constantinople is to be held by any of the Balkan races, the Bulgarians have most claim to it and would occupy it with the greatest advantage to the civilisation of the world. The Bulgarians professed the Eastern form of Christianity, generally known as the Greek Church, and were under the authority of the Greek Patriarch who lived in the Fanariote Quarter of Constantinople, so called after the Fanar, or lighthouse, the most conspicuous building in it. As the Greeks were their principal rivals, were of an overbearing disposition, and always laid claim to the possession of Constantinople, which the Bulgarians desired for themselves, and as the Bulgarian Church was an ancient and distinguished community, dignified by a literature, churches and traditions of its own, they wished to have an independent Patriarch and throw off the yoke of the Greeks; and the Sultan and the Tsar were agreed in granting these privileges.

During the reign of Alexander the Russians extended their confines far over the plains of Central Asia. This development began with the conquest of Siberia, which was inaugurated by Peter the Great and continued by Nicholas I. Step by step Russia advanced into the country of the Kirghizes, defending its acquisitions by building fortresses as it proceeded, and in 1843 the great horde of that people submitted to Russian authority. This was succeeded by long wars with the Khan of Khokand, in the 'fifties and 'sixties, which had the object of extending Russian power in the valley of the Syr Daria, the ancient Jaxartes, and of conquering the important commercial city of Tashkend. When the country was subdued, it was incorporated with the Russian

Empire under the name of Turkestan in 1865. The two following years witnessed the defeat of the Emir of Bokhara and the annexation of his dominions, Samarkand, the capital, falling into Russian hands in May, 1868. The Emir was wise enough to see that resistance was useless, and that his best hope lay in a close friendship with the victorious foe.

Still more important was the campaign against the Khan of Khiva, the last portion of Turkestan which remained unsubdued. These conquests were not like the exploits of the ancient Persians, mere military manifestations for the glory and interest of the Sovereign. They were brought about by inevitable circumstances. It is impossible for a civilised Power to be the close neighbour of an uncivilised Power without feeling the necessity of extending its frontiers. The conqueror who attempts to introduce civilisation and good government into a country which has not known them finds his roads of communication broken up and his criminals and conspirators gladly received across the border, and reprisals are forced upon him, and war tends to annexation. The Russian military stations in Turkestan were perpetually harassed by the raids of the undisciplined tribes of the valley of the Oxus, south of the Aral Sea. They were obliged to put them down by force, and in the conflict which ensued the Khan of Khiva seized some Russian subjects and refused to give them up. This was regarded as a cause of war. The Khan was compelled to submit, and the influence of Russia in Central Asia was largely increased. The advance of Russia caused Great Britain some alarm with regard to her position in India, and Count Shuvalov was sent to London to give explanations. He succeeded in persuading the British Government that Russian conquests in Khiva threatened no danger to India, but were merely measures of absolute necessity for the preservation of those districts Russia had already conquered. He also said that if the Russian advance in Central Asia, which was in the interest of peace and civilisation, was unopposed by Great Britain the Russians would not object to an extension of British influence on the side of Afghanistan. However, Great Britain thought it prudent to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with Afghanistan, pay the Ameer a yearly subvention, and promise to protect his country against aggression if he would take her advice.

In 1873 General Kaufmann was placed in command of an expedition against Khiva, which was to attack it from four sides. His march, which lasted from April to June, lay through a desert country, swept by storms of wind and sand, against which tents

offered no protection. The heat was intense and there was no water, but the Russian soldier is patient and enduring, and trained by long practice to bear hardship. Khiva was defended by a force of 20,000 Turkomans, but after a siege and bombardment Kaufmann entered it as conqueror on June 10th. In the meantime Skobelev, who afterwards became so famous, was exploring the bed of the Oxus and the district towards the east. The Khan had escaped to the desert, but returned and made peace, on payment of a war indemnity of 2,000,000 roubles and the cession of the country on the right bank of the Amu Daria, the ancient Oxus. Thus the Khan of Khiva became a vassal of Russia.

By this exploit the power of Russia in Central Asia was enormously increased, and Great Britain had reason to complain that the trust which Russia had imposed upon herself in previous negotiations had been greatly exceeded. Indeed, this sudden and momentous development of Russian territory and influence gave some excuse for the anti-Russian policy of Beaconsfield, and a struggle now ensued between Great Britain and Russia for the subjection of the tribes which lay between their respective frontiers. In 1875 and 1876 Kaufmann and Skobelev entirely subdued the Khanate of Khokand, and annexed it to the Russian Empire under the name of Ferighan. In 1880 and 1881 Skobelev reduced the wild and untamable horse-riding hordes of the Tekke Turkomans, and penetrated as far as Merv, a town fifteen or twenty days' journey from Khiva, which some Englishmen have described as the key to India. The territory of Khuldja, which had formerly belonged to the Chinese, was also conquered, but the greater part of it was afterwards given back to them, and the island of Sakhalin was conquered from Japan. A similar struggle was going on in Persia, where, since 1848, Nasraddin had been Shah. Moreover, the Russians had started the Trans-Caspian railway from the Caspian Sea to Samarkand. It was mainly constructed by General Annenkov, and was completed in 1888; the Trans-Siberian railway was also begun.

A league was formed between the Emperors of Germany, Austria and Russia, with the immediate purpose of preserving peace in the Balkan Peninsula, but with certain ulterior objects. There was, at this period, a Panslavic movement which aimed at uniting all branches of the Slavic race under the Tsar of Russia. This was opposed to the interests of two of the three Powers mentioned, but the Tsar hoped that if he gave way on this point his Imperial brothers might be willing to further his ambitious

designs in other directions. At this time a spark was kindled in Bosnia and Herzegovina which, gradually spreading, eventually set Europe in a flame. Ever since the Peace of Paris the Turkish Government had been falling into a state of decadence.

The Crimean War had left Turkey weaker than it found her. The " Sick Man " was not cured, but every day approached nearer to dissolution. The non-Mohammedan races under the dominion of the Sultan aimed more and more at independent government, with a persistence which rendered all efforts of the Christian West futile, while the Porte tried to pacify them with deceitful promises. Foreign intervention became a necessity. In 1860 the Emperor Napoleon was compelled to prevent by arms the common murders of the Druses and Maronites which drenched the Lebanon with blood. A French general marched into Damascus and enabled the Turkish pasha to inflict the penalty of justice on the murderers, while the Government at Constantinople was compelled to grant a constitution to the Lebanon, which would prevent such atrocities in future.

On June 26th, 1861, Abdul Medjid died, and was succeeded by his brother Abdul Aziz. After initiating a few reforms he fell into a condition of slackness and apathy, and was swayed by favourites who squandered the finances. A conviction grew up in Constantinople that the Turkish Empire could only be saved from ruin by the adoption of reforms on the European model and by an approach to European culture. These views were put forward by the great statesman, Fuad Pasha, who, in the summer of 1867, accompanied his Sovereign in a journey to the Courts of Paris, London and Vienna and, under cover of the impression which this journey made upon the mind of his master, induced the Sultan to grant equal privileges to his Christian and Mohammedan subjects and release the Government from the hampering principles of the Koran. His efforts were not altogether in vain, and a good deal was effected of a reforming character. But the ignorance of the officials, the prejudices of the people, the fanaticism of the Old Turkish party, the hatred of the army towards Christians, and the hopeless condition socially and financially of the Empire made it doubtful whether reform were possible at all. Unhappily, Fuad Pasha died at Nice on February 11th, 1867, and the reforms came to an end.

One of the greatest difficulties of the Porte lay in the desire of her vassal states for independence. In January, 1859, Moldavia and Wallachia joined together under the title of the Principality of Roumania. The Diet, paying no attention to the protests of

the Porte against the union, chose as sovereign Alexander Cusa, descended from an unimportant Boyar family, who had risen by his own abilities and character. He was not a success. In May, 1864, tired of the opposition of the Diet to his wilful and extravagant rule, he imitated Louis Napoleon by demanding a plebiscite, which abrogated the Constitution; but in less than two years he was deposed by a conspiracy at Bucharest on February 23rd, 1866, and died at Heidelberg on May 15th, 1873. A German Prince, Charles Antony of Hohenzollern, brother of the Hohenzollern whose candidature for the throne of Spain was the cause of the Franco-Prussian War, was elected in his place, and as King of Roumania met with universal praise, while his gifted and beautiful Queen was recognised as a crowned genius.

Servia had attempted to liberate herself from the fetters of Turkish supremacy since the beginning of the century. Milosh Obrenovich, the founder of a line of national Princes, went farther and endeavoured to get rid of the Russian patronage, exercised through the National Party and the Senate in Belgrade, which possessed a predominant power. He was unable to effect this and, on July 13th, 1839, abdicated in favour of his eldest son. Milan, who was in bad health, died, and his brother Michael Obrenovich was made Prince. He was even less capable than his father of overcoming the obstacles which beset his path, and, after having for three years done his best to withstand the intrigues and conspiracies of the opposite party, also was forced to leave the country in September, 1842, whereupon the Skupshina, the National Assembly, declared that the family of Obrenovich were deposed, and summoned Alexander Karageorgievitch to the throne, and he was confirmed by the Sultan. The Emperor Nicholas was very angry at these proceedings, but when he was assured that the position of Russia as protector of the Christians in Servia would not be affected he gave his consent.

The Crimean War was helpful to Servian independence. Prince Alexander declared his neutrality, and the Porte was obliged to permit him to train an army in order to defend it. The Peace of Paris also tended in the same direction. Servia remained subject to the Porte, but it became perfectly independent in administration, legislation and religion. Further, it acquired freedom of commerce and navigation under the guarantee of the Powers. The Turks continued to garrison the Turkish fortresses, but were not allowed to interfere with the administration of the country—a dual control which held within itself the seeds of disorder. Arrangements rendered necessary by the war and carried still

farther after the peace had the effect of weakening the supremacy of the Sultan, of increasing the national conscience, and preparing for the complete independence of the country. A national militia was formed with the acknowledged purpose of assisting the Christians against the Turks if the occasion arose, and no attention was paid to the protests of the Porte.

The national party of the Young Servians, supported by the Senate and the cultured classes, looked towards Russia as the head of their national inspirations and their religion. On the other hand, Prince Alexander leaned more upon the support of Austria. The opposition to him became stronger and, in 1858, he was compelled to summon a Skupshina, which on December 23rd deposed him. He took refuge in Austria, and the banished Prince Milosh Obrenovich was summoned to the throne. He died next year and, on September 26th, 1860, the crown came to his son, Michael III., who declared it hereditary in his House. He tried to increase the national army and also, with the help of the Powers, to drive the Turks out of the country, excepting those who garrisoned the fortresses. This arrangement only lasted till March, 1867, when the fortresses were evacuated by the Turkish troops, and the suzerainty of the Porte was reduced to a shadow.

On June 10th, 1868, one of those tragedies occurred which have so often disgraced the annals of Servia. As Michael was walking in the Park of Topshider, in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, he was attacked by three insurgents armed with revolvers and killed, a relation who was with him being fatally wounded. Popular opinion ascribed this murder to the intrigues of Alexander Karageorgievitch. If this were the case, the plot failed. Milan Obrenovich, the youthful cousin of Michael, succeeded, and Radovonovitch was condemned to death and three others to five years' imprisonment. Michael's tragic death caused universal sympathy. During his reign he had set himself free from Turkish influence, had driven the Turks from the country, and had secured the possession of their fortresses. He had done his best to introduce European culture, and had placed the constitution on a firm basis. He fell a victim to the barbarism which he had attempted to destroy. After four years of regency there followed a period of peace and prosperity, in which the constitution was established on a parliamentary basis. Milan assumed the government in August, 1872, it being well known that he was under the influence of Russia. Montenegro and Herzegovina were also occupied in settling themselves under the protection of Russia. Danilo, Prince of Montenegro, was

murdered on August 12th, 1860, and was succeeded by his brother's son, Nikola.

The kingdom of Greece also was not without its troubles. King Otto had proved a very bad ruler, but for thirty years the sceptre was held by his trembling hands. Bavaria had paid a large sum to maintain the security and dignity of his throne. But the defects of his personal character prevented the Greeks from feeling gratitude, and the injudicious conduct he had shown after the crisis of the Crimean War estranged the affections of his subjects, especially the army. The gradual dismemberment of Turkey encouraged the Greeks to hope for an addition to their country, an enlargement they were hardly likely to obtain under this feeble monarch. A conspiracy was formed, the head of which was the aged Admiral Canaris, so distinguished in the War of Liberation. In February, 1862, a military rising occurred in Nauplia, which, however, was put down in April, though the lack of energy displayed by the King in suppressing it encouraged others to follow the example. In October, as the King was occupied in a progress round the Peloponnesus, risings took place in Patras and Corinth and eventually in Athens itself. A provisional Government was established, and when the King heard of it he returned to the Piræus. Here he was advised by his ambassadors to abandon all idea of resistance, and from Salamis he issued a proclamation announcing his intention of returning to his own country. He went on board an English ship which brought him to Trieste.

There was some difficulty in finding a successor. Prince Alfred of Great Britain was first chosen, and crowned as King of Greece by his fellow midshipmen on board his ship with a bunch of tallow candles, but he refused the honour. The Tsar wished for the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Prince Eugène, the step-son of Napoleon, who was also favoured by France. It was then determined to return to the old decision which excluded the families of the principal European Powers, and when the British Government announced its intention to strengthen the new kingdom by the cession of the Ionian Islands, the choice of a Sovereign was left to it. After searching in vain in the favourite preserves of the House of Coburg, and proposing in turn to the King of Portugal and Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the choice eventually fell on the brother of the Princess of Wales, who, on June 5th, 1863, became King of Greece with the title of George. King George married a Russian princess, as was right and proper, and the principal objects of his reign were to acquire a better frontier on the north and obtain possession of Crete, which ought

to have belonged to Greece from the beginning, and would have done so but for the prejudice and obstinacy of the Duke of Wellington.

After the Treaty of Frankfort the condition of the Turkish Empire became worse, and the desire of her Christian subjects for independence grew stronger. The relations between the Christians—responsible for the payment of taxes and the performance of services—and their Mohammedan masters gradually became less endurable, as the financial condition in Constantinople assumed the proportions of a national bankruptcy, and the Turkish tax-farmers in the provinces resorted to the most oppressive means to extort the money necessary to pay themselves and the troops. In July, 1875, an armed insurrection, caused by these abuses, broke out, first in the Herzegovina and then in Bosnia. The women, children and old men, with their cattle and other scanty possessions, took refuge in Austria and Montenegro, while the men and youths opened an irregular warfare against the Turkish troops, who were commanded by Mukhtar Pasha, a natural son of Abdul Aziz. The rising, which might have been put down by energetic methods rapidly applied, gained strength through the laziness and carelessness of the Turks; and the insurgents, reinforced by volunteers from Servia and Montenegro, took up strong positions in the passes and ravines.

At the suggestion of Austria the Powers attempted to mediate by means of a consular deputation. The insurgents were informed that they must not expect assistance from a Christian Power, and must lay their grievances before Servar Pasha in Mostar, while the Ottoman Government was advised to remove abuses and execute reforms. The mediation had no result. The insurgents knew by experience that they could place no confidence in any promises from Constantinople unless guaranteed by the Powers. Austria, Russia and Germany gave their sanction to a note drawn up by Count Andrassy with the object of putting an end to the insurrection, by obliging the Turks to grant reforms to improve the condition of the Christians, and to this note Italy and France gave their adhesion. But Great Britain kept aloof. A Tory Government was now in power, and Disraeli cherished such jealousy of Russia that he was afraid the Tsar might drive the Turks out of Europe and seize Constantinople for himself.

The winter passed in this manner, but unrest spread throughout the Balkan Peninsula. At length, on January 31st, 1876,

Great Britain gave her adhesion to the Andrassy Note, which was now presented by Count Zichy to Raschid Pasha, the Foreign Minister of the Porte. The note was considered by a Council of Ministers, and the ambassadors were informed that the Porte accepted the suggestions with regard to the equality of Christians before the law, the abolition of tax-farming, and improvement in the condition of the peasantry, and for this purpose an Irade, or Circular Note, was issued on February 23rd, promising an amnesty to the insurgents, a safe return to the emigrants, and remittance of the tithe for one year and of other taxes for two years. The insurgents, however, declined to lay down their arms or return to their homes unless the concessions of the Porte were guaranteed by the Powers. This, of course, was impossible, so the Andrassy Note failed. Hostilities began anew, the excitement spread to Bulgaria, and Prince Milan in Belgrade began to show sympathy with his brother Slavs, hoping that, in the general confusion, he might be recognised as Sovereign of Servia and Bosnia. A secret society, called the Omladina, was established in the Balkan Peninsula, similar to the Hetairia in Greece, for the purpose of spreading the Panslavic propaganda.

Through this increase of Panslavic sentiment, Austria, which had hitherto occupied the principal place in the negotiations with Turkey, began to take a subordinate position, as the Hungarians had more sympathy with the Turks than with the southern Slavs. Although the Hungarians had suffered many hardships from the Turks in ancient days, yet they had never forgotten the defeat of Villagos, and their hatred of Russia and fears of an increase of the Slavic element in their own country were stronger than the recollection of their own past history. Thus Russia now took the first place in the movement. The southern Slavs in Bulgaria, Bosnia and Servia were bound to her not only by ties of race, but also of religion. The Russians were delighted to think that the races in the Balkan Peninsula were looking to them for protection, and the Tsar was proud to appear as the representative of Europe before the Turks, to defend the cause of humanity, Christianity and civilisation. The insurrection, which had begun in the Herzegovina and Bosnia, spread still farther in the spring. When in April, 1876, the Turkish commander wished to provision the fortress of Nicsics, which was being besieged, his army was intercepted at the Duga Pass.

In May the insurrection spread to Bulgaria, and there was danger of the whole of European Turkey being in a blaze. In the middle of May a conference, held at Ems, between Bismarck,

Gortshakov and Andrassy, resulted in a memorandum being presented to the Porte by the three Powers, saying that they regarded the request for a guarantee as reasonable, that there should be an armistice for two months, and that if at the end of that time satisfactory arrangements had not been made, the three Courts would take steps to enforce their wishes. Great Britain declined to join, and Russia was designated as the instrument to be employed to execute the judgment. But just at this time certain occurrences at Constantinople turned the attention of the world to matters of greater importance.

All these events—the uprising of the Christians, the support given by the Prince of Montenegro to the insurgents of Nicsics, and the rebellion of the Bulgarians—had stimulated Mohammedan fanaticism and the hatred of the Turks against the Russians. Even before the Conference of Ems quarrels had arisen at Salonica between Christians and Mohammedans, which led to the murder of the German and French consuls, while a few days later there was an outbreak of fanaticism against the Sultan in Constantinople, Abdul Aziz being considered the cause of all the mischief. On May 11th the softas, or pupils of the Moslem theological seminaries, came together, and passing in long procession before the palace of the Sultan demanded the dismissal of the Grand Vizir Mahmoud Pasha, and the Sheikh-ul-Islam. The Sultan gave way, but the riot was not at an end. On May 30th his own ministers, with the consent of the new Sheikh-ul-Islam, pronounced his deposition, and declared his heir, Murad V., to be Ruler of the Faithful. When he heard of this, on June 4th, Abdul Aziz, as was publicly announced, put an end to himself by opening his veins. But it was afterwards discovered that he had been killed by a number of high officials, among whom was Midhat Pasha; eunuchs and palace officials held him fast while he was stifled by chloroform, and then a Jewish doctor, a pervert to Islamism, opened his veins.

Under Murad V., who was a nonentity, the country was governed by the Grand Vizir Rushdi, the War Minister Hussein Avni, and the cultured Midhat, who by many was thought a charlatan. Their plan was to establish parliamentary government on the British model, with equal rights for all religions, but at the same time to regenerate the Ottoman Empire and make it independent of external influences. The Koran and the harem were to cease to rule, and a new Eastern Empire was to be established on the Bosphorus. But this were as profitable as to graft an apple on an oak tree; nations, like individuals

are too much bound by their past to profit by these sudden conversions.

The Bulgarian atrocities, which horrified the conscience of Europe, took place at the very time this new era was called into existence, and showed that, however the Turks might change their principles, their actions remained the same. "You may change a man's skin," say the Italians, "but you will never change his vices." The spirit of Mohammedan fanaticism, instead of being pacified by these proceedings, was roused to more violent passions, which were intensified by the dispatch of the British fleet to Salonica. On June 15th Raschid Pasha and Hussein Avni, two of the murderers of Abdul Aziz, were themselves murdered at a Council of State by Hassan Bey, the brother of one of the slain Sultan's favourite wives. The Bulgarian insurrection, which had broken out prematurely, was put down by Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks with the utmost severity and cruelty. In Batak, on May 12th, there was an indiscriminate slaughter. Thousands of Christians—men, women and children—were murdered, mutilated and violated, and more than a hundred villages were burned. The news of these barbarities reached England on June 23rd. Further investigations made matters worse instead of better. The question occupied the attention of Parliament, Gladstone being indignant, and Disraeli, shortly to become Lord Beaconsfield, indifferent.

We will desert a strictly chronological order and speak of the effect on Great Britain later. Milan of Servia and Nikola of Montenegro made common cause with the insurgents in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, with the object of securing these provinces for themselves. They reckoned upon the support of Russia, and especially of the Panslavic party in Moscow. At the end of June Milan crossed the frontier with his army; but Great Britain continued to play an unworthy part. She sent her fleet into Besika Bay, ostensibly to prevent bloodshed, but really to protect the Turks from the attacks of Russia. On August 31st Murad V., who had been found imbecile, was deposed, and his brother Abdul Hamid put in his place. Milan was declared King of Servia by Russian influence on September 16th, but before the end of October his army had been so completely beaten by the Turks that the road lay open to Belgrade.

In the meantime the details of the Bulgarian massacres had begun to make way in England. On September 6th, Mr. Gladstone published a pamphlet, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, which was sold at the rate of 10,000 copies

a day. He declared he could not longer bear in silence his share of responsibility for the Crimean War. There was not, he said, a criminal in a European jail, or a cannibal in the South Sea Islands, whose indignation would not rise at the sight of what had been done by the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. He demanded the entire withdrawal of the administrative rule of the Turks from these provinces. The words which follow have become famous: "As an old servant of the Crown and State, I entreat my countrymen, upon whom, perhaps, far more than upon any other people in Europe it depends, to require and insist that our Government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in another, and shall employ all its vigour to concur with the other States of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner—namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned."

On September 18th, when the excitement of this pamphlet was at its height, the appearance of Mr. Walter Baring's report on the massacres added fuel to the flames. He put the number of Bulgarians massacred at 12,000. The case of Batak was even worse than the report. The inhabitants had been summoned to give up their arms, and were assured that if they did so their lives would be spared. They obeyed and were all murdered; 1,200 were burned alive in a church. Lord Derby, who felt the shame and infamy more keenly than other members of the Cabinet, ordered Sir Henry Elliot, the British Ambassador at the Porte, to inform the Turkish Government that their atrocious crimes had roused the anger of the British people, and that the Powers could not be indifferent to such abominations. He was instructed to ask for a personal interview with the Sultan, and demand the punishment of the murderers, especially Achmet Aga, to which request, it is needless to say, the Turks paid no heed.

Unhappily, this honourable expression of opinion about the conduct of Turkey was checked by the stupid jealousy which had been the curse of British policy in the East. It was thought part of Great Britain's duty to defend Constantinople against capture by Russia, whereas a saner policy teaches that Russia is the natural heir to the Byzantine Empire, and that, if she had become mistress of Constantinople a hundred years before it would have

been better for Great Britain and better for the world. It was idle for statesmen to attempt to pervert what all the forces of Nature were clamouring to have done. The Tsar, however, gave the British Ambassador his word of honour that he had no designs on Constantinople, nor any intention of annexing Bulgaria.

The Emperor Alexander now determined on more energetic measures. He could not see with indifference Servia destroyed, Bosnia and Herzegovina wasted, the Bulgarian Christians murdered. The result of conferences at Livadia was that on October 31st, 1876, he gave Turkey the alternative of war with Russia or a cessation of hostilities within two months. The latter, after some delay, was agreed to by Midhat. But this policy met with strong opposition from Great Britain. At the Guildhall Banquet on November 9th Lord Beaconsfield delivered a speech of a threatening description. He said that there was no country so well prepared for war as England, because there was no country whose resources were so great, and he added that in a righteous cause England would begin a fight which would not end until right had been done. Naturally the Tsar was very angry at this. "Why," he asked, "should there be war with England, and what was the righteous cause?" He had assented to a congress proposed by England, of which the object was peace. Lord Salisbury, who had been deputed to attend the conference, left England on December 5th, and the conference opened on December 12th.

In London a memorable meeting was held in St. James's Hall, on December 8th, to protest against war with Russia. Among the conveners were men of letters who did not as a rule take any part in politics, such as William Morris and Robert Browning, John Ruskin and Edward Burne-Jones. Carlyle wrote advising that the unspeakable Turk should immediately be struck out of the question and the country left to honest European guidance, delaying which could be profitable and agreeable only to gamblers on the Stock Exchange, but distressing and unprofitable to all other men. The Duke of Westminster, who presided at the morning meeting, advised that the fleets and armies of Great Britain should be sent to Constantinople, not in opposition to Russia, but for the coercion of the Turks.

The conference sat in Constantinople from December 12th to the 20th. It consisted of representatives of the great European Powers without any member from Turkey. It decided that reforms should be introduced into the Turkish administration of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria, and that a force of 6,000 Europeans should see that they were carried out. If it rejected

this proposal, the Ottoman Empire should be at an end. Unfortunately, the Powers were not agreed on the policy they should pursue, and Lord Salisbury was instructed to oppose occupation. The manner in which the Porte met the proposals was characteristic. The day before the conference met Midhat was appointed Grand Vizir, and Safvet Pasha announced the establishment of a Parliamentary Government. By this instrument all provinces of the Turkish Empire were to enjoy equal rights; therefore it would be impossible to accept the proposals of the conference, by which certain provinces were to be treated in an exceptional manner. The advent of this precious document was announced to expectant Europe by a salvo of artillery; but its only result was, on December 28th, to prolong the armistice and postpone the danger of immediate war. The demands of the Powers instantly took the form of an International Commission nominated by them, and the submission of the appointment of Governors-General to their approval. On January 20th, 1877, these points were finally rejected by Safvet Pasha, and Lord Salisbury declared the conference to be at an end. Shortly after this, on March 1st, Midhat, the reputed leader of the reform party, was banished, and Edhem Pasha took his place.

Although the conference had failed, owing to the disagreement of the Powers, the Emperor of Russia determined to proceed with the beneficent work of protecting the Christian subjects of the Porte from intolerable oppression. He sent Shuvalov and Ignatiev to London, with the result that a protocol was signed at the British Foreign Office on the last day of March. It declared that if the reforms promised by the Turkish Government were not effectively carried out the situation would become intolerable. On April 10th the Porte repudiated the protocol as inconsistent with the Treaty of Paris, and after a short delay Russia declared war. Alexander avowed that he was acting as the representative of Europe, but Great Britain declined to endorse this view.

CHAPTER III

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

AFTER the Emperor Alexander had decided upon war, he left St. Petersburg, and on April 23rd arrived at Kishinev, the headquarters of his army. On the following day he issued a manifesto announcing to the world that he undertook the war in order to obtain for his fellow Christians living in Turkish territory the securities which were absolutely necessary for their future welfare. On the night of April 23rd he crossed the Pruth and entered Roumania, with whose Government he had made a convention which enabled him to march upon the Danube. The Emperor accompanied the army, not with the idea of taking the command, which he left in the hands of Duke Nicholas, but to stimulate the courage of the soldiers, and he remained in Ploesti, where his headquarters were stationed. Azakov wrote in a Moscow newspaper, "The Russian banners are moving on the other side of the Danube, for the purpose of restoring freedom and the rights of humanity to the Christian races of the Balkan Peninsula, hitherto enslaved and persecuted, despised by the Powers of Europe, who are so proud of their civilisation. The slumbering Orient is awake; not only the Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula, but the whole Slavic world awaits its regeneration. This is the dawn of a new, an entirely new, epoch—a dawn which announces the coming of a new day for the Slavic race."

It is desirable to give some account of the organisation of the Slavic armies. The Russian army was organised in army corps. It was recruited by a system of compulsory military service which had been introduced in 1874, in consequence of the lessons of the war of 1870, but had not been completely developed when the present war broke out. In each army corps there were two infantry divisions, each composed of two brigades. Each brigade contained two regiments, each regiment three battalions, each battalion five companies. An army corps also had a division of cavalry, composed of two brigades, each containing two regiments; one brigade had a regiment of dragoons and a regiment of lancers, the other a regiment of hussars and a regiment of Cossacks. The cavalry division, besides, had two horse artillery

batteries, each consisting of six four-pounder guns. The army corps had, further, two brigades of artillery, one containing three nine-pounder batteries, the other three four-pounder batteries, so that an army corps at full strength held 25,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 108 guns; but in actual service the corps were seldom, if ever, complete. The Cossacks were a peculiar part of the Russian army. They had an organisation of their own—a compromise between the national customs and the arrangements of a modern army. They were, as Maurice says, a semi-regular force of national horsemen, provided their own horses and equipment, and rendered military service in lieu of taxes, the Government supplying them with arms and ammunition. They were intelligent, accustomed to rely on their own resources, and made good scouts, when placed under suitable officers, but were deficient in discipline. They were organised in squadrons 100 strong, called sotnias.

The Turkish army was composed entirely of Mohammedans, Christians not being permitted to serve, but paying a poll-tax instead. The army consisted of four classes of soldiers, each with a different obligation. A Mussulman had first to serve in the *nizam*, or active army, in which the infantry served for four years and the cavalry and artillery for five; he then passed into the *ithick* for two more years' service; from this he went into the *redif* for eight years, and then into the *mustaphiz* for six years. The army was divided into seven army corps, formed on a territorial basis: two of these were in Europe and five in Asia. The whole organisation of the Turkish army was very loose, but it was now in a better condition than usual, having been employed in 1875 and 1876 against Herzegovina and Montenegro. The soldiers were excellent, but their commanders were corrupt. They looked upon their commands merely as sources of income, and were given to peculation. They depended for their advancement, and even for the maintenance of their position, on Court intrigue; but, at the same time, the pashas were aware that if they did not do their duty they would inevitably lose their heads.

The Russian army contained fourteen army corps, to which must be added a special corps of Bulgarian refugees, under Russian officers, so that the total force available at the beginning of the operations was about 200,000. It was commanded by the Grand Duke Nicholas, the brother of the Tsar, a man to whom the reorganisation of the army was principally due. His Chief of Staff was Nepokortshitzki, who was sometimes called "the Russian

Moltke." On April 18th the Roumanian army was mobilised for the first time in its history, and comprised 32,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 84 guns.

The chief command of the Turkish army was given to Abdul Kerim Pasha, who was seventy-one years of age and belonged to the old school. Maurice says of him that he thought slowly, spoke little, never set his foot to the ground, and hardly ever put his horse out of a walk. He had been educated in a military college in Vienna, had commanded the Turks in the war against Servia, but seldom left his house in Sofia. His second in command was Ahmed Eyoub Pasha, who was a born fighter but had had no scientific training as a soldier. Abdul Kerim had under his command an army of 170,000 men, in very scattered positions, and the Turks had another 150,000 still more widely dispersed in different parts of the Empire. There was a quadrilateral in Turkey, as there was in Venetia, consisting of the fortresses of Rustchuk, Schumla, Varna and Silistria, and Abdul Kerim's plan was to entice the Russians into it and destroy them; but the Russians were equally anxious to avoid the trap. On May 22nd Prince Charles of Roumania, with the consent of his Chambers, declared the country to be independent of the Porte, and, placing himself at the head of his army, marched into the field to fight against the Sultan who had been his suzerain. At the same time Russian troops crossed the Turkish frontiers into Asia, captured Bayazid without opposition, and stormed Ardahan on the upper waters of the Kur.

Between June 21st and 28th the Russians successfully crossed the Danube, partly by boat and partly by a pontoon bridge constructed not far from Galatz, and became masters of a number of important places in the Dobrudsha, while the Turks retreated to the Wall of Trajan, which extends from Tchernavoda to Kustendji. This passage of the river, which had been made with astonishing ease, cost the Russians only 800 men, and they thoroughly deserved the success which they had won. Their plans had been well thought out, and every precaution had been taken to mislead and deceive the enemy. When ready to strike, they had struck with energy and decision, whereas the Turks adopted a system of passive defence and waited for the blow to fall. The Turks ought, if they had desired to prevent the passage, to have guarded the river by constant patrolling and been prepared to concentrate at any point on which the attack might be made. Instead, they allowed themselves to be easily deceived by the adroitness of the enemy. The Turks had an overwhelm-

ing force of gunboats on the Danube, which proved to be of no service. There was no connection either between the different flotillas themselves or between the army and the navy, and this lack of understanding, enhanced probably by jealousy between the services, led to inaction and defeat.

A last attempt was made by Russia to stop the war even at this stage by urging the British Cabinet to put pressure on the Turks to grant effective reforms in the Balkan Peninsula; but Sir Henry Layard, at this time British Ambassador at Constantinople, declared that the Porte would never consent to a course of action the result of which would be to change Bulgaria into an autonomous, although vassal State, to recognise the independence of Roumania and Servia, and to enlarge the territory of Montenegro. The Russians, therefore, were left to do the work by themselves. Towards the end of June their main army crossed the Danube at Simnitza and Sistova, and compelled the Turks to retreat, partly to Nikopolis and partly to Tirnova. The Tsar himself advanced to Tirnova, the administrative capital of the ancient Bulgarian kingdom, and from this centre of memories and hopes issued a manifesto to the Bulgarian Christians, telling them that the hour had come to free them from Mussulman tyranny.

In the first days of July the Russians were in possession of all the country between Sistova and Gabrova at the foot of the Shipka Pass, so that the Grand Duke Nicholas could transfer his headquarters to Tirnova, and Prince Cherkaski, the well-known Slavophil, could begin the organisation of Bulgaria as an independent State. The Russians in Moscow thought the war would be a parallel in success to the Franco-German War of 1870, and that Bulgaria would be a new Alsace. On July 16th, four days after the arrival of the main army at Tirnova, Nikopolis fell into Russian hands, and the attack on the Shipka Pass, the passage over the Balkans which opened the road to the valley of the Maritza and Constantinople, began under the direction of the gallant Gourko.

The pass was defended by Raouf Pasha, who placed his headquarters at Slivno and had at his disposal twenty-one battalions of infantry, twelve squadrons of cavalry, and two and a half batteries of artillery. On July 13th a small body of Cossacks and other troops crossed the summit, bivouacked on the southern slopes of the Balkans, and descended, next morning, into the beautiful valley of the Tundja. The drop from the summit of the pass to its foot is one of 3,000 feet in five miles, so that it was

necessary to dismount the greater part of the cavalry, and employ them in lowering the mountain-guns over the rocks and through thick brushwood. When the Turks knew that the pass was being attacked both from the north and the south, they determined to evacuate it, and Gourko's victorious cavalry took possession of Eski-Sagra, Karabunar and Jamboli till, on July 25th, they reached Harmanli, which lies between Adrianople and Philippopolis and encamped in the valley of the Maritza. It seemed as if the campaign would be over in a few weeks, and the Russians could march as conquerors into Constantinople. They were naturally seconded in their efforts by the Bulgarian Christians, who had many wrongs and insults to avenge.

It might have been thought that the Russian advance would be hailed with joy by all friends of liberty and progress throughout the world. But the members of Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet were of a different opinion. They were full of dismay at the Russian success, and did not recognise the full evil and enormity of Turkish rule. They strengthened the British squadron in Besika Bay and offered to send ships into the Bosphorus or to occupy Gallipoli. But Turkey would not consent to this, except under an offensive and defensive alliance, and so far the Tories were not prepared to go. They would not make war against Russia unless Austria would join them. Andrassy thought it better policy to preserve the Triple Alliance, and an interview with Bismarck in Berlin confirmed him in this opinion.

The view taken by the Liberals could not be better explained than in the magnificent speech made by Gladstone on May 7th, 1877. He said: "There were other days when England was the hope of freedom. Wherever in the world a high inspiration was entertained, or a noble blow was struck, it was to England that the eyes of the oppressed were always turned, to their favourite, their darling home of so much privilege and so much happiness, where the people who had built up for themselves a noble edifice would, it was well known, be ready to do what in them lay to secure the same inestimable boon for others. You talk to me of the established tradition and policy with regard to Turkey. I appeal to an established tradition, older, wider, nobler far—not a tradition which disregards British interests, but which teaches you to seek the protection of these interests in strengthening the dictates of honour and justice." He added, in conclusion: "I believe, for one, that the knell of Turkish tyranny in these provinces has sounded; so far as human eyes can judge, it is about to be destroyed. Its destruction may not come in the

way or by the means which we should use, but, come from what hands it may, I am persuaded that it will be accepted as a boon by Christendom and the world."

However, at this time the future of the Turkish arms began to brighten. It was recognised by the Turks that their disasters were due to the incompetence of their commanders and the inefficiency of the War Department in Constantinople. Abdul Kerim and Redif Pasha, the Minister of War, were accordingly dismissed from their offices and sent in banishment to the island of Lemnos, while Chalib Effendi, the new Sheik-ul-Islam, stirred the religious feelings of the Moslems and talked of proclaiming a holy war by unfurling the banner of the prophet. The command of the army on the Danube was given to Mehemet Ali Pasha, the descendant of a Huguenot family which had emigrated from France to Magdeburg, and Osman Pasha, who had been commandant of Widin, took up a strong position at Plevna with 30,000 men and surrounded it with earthworks. His army was gradually increased until it reached the number of 50,000.

The occupation of Plevna was of great importance, both to the Russians and the Turks. It is situated on the Vid, which is here 60 yards wide, and six roads radiating from it open communication with all parts of Bulgaria. Osman reached Plevna from Widin early on July 19th, having in six days and a half marched 110 miles through difficult country, his troops suffering much from heat and want of water. He was attacked by the Russians under Schildner-Schuldner on July 20th, but gained a complete victory. Indeed, if his soldiers had not been tired out by long marches and want of sleep, he would have entirely destroyed the enemy. The failure of the Russians was due to the fact that they underrated the strength of the foe. They threw themselves upon the Turkish earthworks without previous artillery fire or other preparation. They lost 74 officers and 2,771 men killed and wounded, the Turkish losses being slightly less.

Krüdener was now bidden drive back Osman at once, but he did not consider himself strong enough to attack. He was, however, overruled by the Grand Duke Nicholas, who ordered an immediate assault. Krüdener now commanded a force of about 25,000 men. It was decided to make the attack on July 30th, by two columns, one moving from the north-east and the other from the south-east, the general reserve in the rear forming a connecting link. The battle ended in total failure, Krüdener losing 168 officers and 7,167 men—nearly a quarter of his whole force. Osman had used up all his reserve during the battle, and had

no fresh troops to conduct a pursuit. Indeed, he was probably not aware of the extent of his victory, as darkness prevented him from seeing the disorder of the Russian retreat.

When the news of the defeat reached Nikopolis and Sistova it created the utmost alarm. The report that the Turks were approaching caused a wild panic, the bridges at Sistova being blocked for hours by fugitive Bulgarians, who, along with wounded men and camp followers, sought the protection of the northern side of the river. If Osman had been in a condition to pursue, it is difficult to conjecture what the result would have been. The Grand Duke Nicholas was forced to retreat, and moved his headquarters from Tirnova to Biela, and then to Gornia Studena, where he was joined by the Tsar. It is said that the Turks behaved in a barbarous manner towards the wounded Russians, although the Porte had acceded to the conditions of the Geneva Convention.

The town of Plevna now occupied a place in the Russo-Turkish War similar to that which Metz had held in the war between France and Germany. Public feeling in St. Petersburg and Moscow was depressed, especially as telegraphic news from the seat of war was scanty and uncertain, and foreign newspapers were generally favourable to the Turks. It seemed undignified that the Tsar should be at headquarters without taking command of his army; and the Grand Duke Nicholas had not exhibited those abilities in the conduct of the war which were expected from him when he was appointed. Moreover, financial difficulties supervened, and paper-money sank in value. The Guard was withdrawn to the Danube and the reserves were called out, even though it was the time of harvest. Happily for the Russians, Osman made no attempt to advance, contenting himself with strengthening Plevna by a very large circuit of earthworks, and converting it into an impregnable fortress by numerous well-equipped batteries. On their side, the Russians brought new army corps into action and entered upon an alliance with the Roumanians to secure their help in their operations. Prince Charles placed himself at the head of his troops and took an active part in the various sanguinary attempts to drive the Turks out of Plevna. It became obvious to the Russian Government that the war must be pursued with energy, and that the Tsar must not return to his capital save as a conqueror. But, in spite of the brilliant capture of Lovcha by Skobelev, which formed a turning-point in the campaign, and the third battle of Plevna, fought on September 11th, 12th and 13th, which was mainly an

attack on the Grivitza redoubts, the siege of Plevna still continued. During these three days the Russians lost 300 officers and no fewer than 12,000 men killed and wounded, while the Turkish losses were not more than 3,000.

In the meantime the fire of war was raging in other places besides the Balkan Peninsula. In Armenia the Turks held their own, and successfully defended Kars and Batoum against the assaults of the enemy, and compelled General Tergukasov to evacuate Bayazid. He was, however, able to effect a masterly retreat to his own country, although his march was threatened by a Mohammedan rising in Abkhasia and Daghestan. The army of the Caucasus was not able to effect anything until it had received reinforcements in the late autumn. Then it was competent to defeat the Turks in a series of battles before Erzerum and storm the fortress of Kars, where 17,000 men, among whom were two pashas and 800 officers, as well as 300 guns and 20 banners, fell into their hands. The Grand Duke Michael, the Governor of Tiflis, was able to enter the city in triumph.

Nor had the Turks any success in Montenegro. Mehemet Ali and Suleiman Pasha attacked Prince Nikita from three sides, and did their utmost to crush the rebellion in the Black Mountain, but they met with serious defeats. On September 6th Nikita, who had been long blockading the fortress of Nicsics, compelled it to surrender, took the Duga forts, and turning towards the sea, occupied the port of Spizza and the defences of Antivari.

Bulgaria was the only portion of the theatre of war in which fortune smiled upon the Crescent. Here the Turks were able to drive the invaders back from their positions south of the Balkans. When Suleiman Pasha left Montenegro and, joining the troops of Raouf, marched into the valleys of the Tundja and the Maritza, Gourko was forced to abandon his position in Eski-Sagra, and retire with his cavalry to Kazanlik, and thence to the Shipka Pass. As the Russians retired, the Turks followed them, burning and wasting the country. Eski-Sagra and Kazanlik were given to the flames, and the inhabitants were murdered with indescribable horrors. Then Suleiman, with admirable strategy, placed his forty battalions right across the path of the Russians and barred their further advance; but he could not drive them from their entrenchments, and they became again masters of the summit of the pass. The struggle continued for weeks. Both sides fought with the utmost energy, and the losses on both sides were very great, but the Russians were still masters of the pass at the end of the year.

POSITION OF PLEVNA

In northern Bulgaria the fortunes of war wavered on the Lom and the Jantra, inclining now to one side, now to the other. Mehemet Ali, the Franco-German, whose real name was Charles Detroit, held his own against the foe with the army of the Danube, but could not drive the Russians across the river. The fact was, he had completely lost heart. He could not trust his subordinates, and knew that intrigues against him were rife at Constantinople, where the party of Suleiman were gaining the upper hand. Every pasha in the army had some friend at Court, who kept him informed of what was going on, and when they knew that Mehemet was declining in favour they became insubordinate and rendered effective command of the army impossible. At last the expected blow fell. On October 2nd Suleiman arrived on the field with an order from the Sultan giving him the chief command, and Mehemet Ali was recalled to Constantinople. Suleiman was not, however, more successful here than he had been in his other enterprise, and the Russians still held their own on the Lom and the Jantra.

A radical change now took place in the fortunes of the siege of Plevna. Todleben, who had won unspeakable glory at Sebastopol, was recalled from the retirement into which he had been forced by the jealousy of the Slavs against a German to conduct the blockade of Plevna. Prince Charles of Roumania still remained in nominal charge of the western army, but the conduct of operations was left entirely to Todleben. He effected reforms in the command of the army: Skobelev was placed at the head of the sixteenth division, and Gourko was given control of all the cavalry of the western army. In order to raise the spirits and strengthen the moral tone of the men, a large number of promotions and decorations were distributed amongst those who had distinguished themselves.

Osman, on his side, was not less busy with arrangements for provisioning Plevna, and repairing the losses the troops had suffered. He saw that the object of the Russians was to cut his communications and establish a complete blockade, and therefore he utilised every opportunity to obtain food and forage. But he knew that his position was hopeless, and that if he remained at Plevna he would be either starved out or captured by an overwhelming force. It was almost impossible to preserve his connection with Sofia, and therefore he asked permission to fall back on the Etropol Balkans, where he would be able to manœuvre with freedom. But he received the answer, dictated by an ignorance of the situation and the art of war, that Plevna must

be held at all costs. It was not seen that Plevna was important only so far as it was a danger to the Russian communications, but that as soon as the investment was complete it would cease to effect these ends. The Sultan thought that Plevna had become a watchword of Turkish success in the eyes of Europe, and must, therefore, be held to the last.

On the other hand, Todleben determined that no further attack should be made on the fortifications of Plevna, but that recourse should be had to blockade alone. For this purpose it was essential that he should receive every available man. The first necessary step was to cut communication between Plevna and Sofia, and to occupy the left bank of the Vid. This was committed to the competent hands of Gourko, who succeeded in effecting his object on November 1st. A week later Skobelev occupied the Green Hill to the south of the town, and thus rendered the investment of the doomed fortress closer still.

Indeed, matters were becoming desperate. In the middle of November it was necessary to put the beleaguered soldiers on half rations, and even this had to be reduced. By November 27th Osman came to the conclusion that his supplies would not last much more than a fortnight. There was no forage for the animals, no medicine or bandages for the sick and wounded; the men's clothing was in rags; there was barely sufficient food for cooking; and the cold was intense. Osman heard of no preparations for his relief; therefore, on December 1st, he summoned a council of war, at which it was determined that an attempt should be made to break through the lines of investment. The only side open to him was the west. In this direction he might hope to reach the Isker in one march, and then occupy Sofia and come into touch with the relieving army which was assembling in the Etropol Balkans. He resolved to move at the end of the first week in December.

Suleiman Pasha, who commanded the relieving force, had earned a great reputation by the rapidity and skill with which he had transferred his forces from Montenegro to Roumelia. But the command of the armies of the quadrilateral demanded qualities which he did not possess. His subordinates intrigued against each other and against him, and he was obliged to employ a large portion of his army in garrison duty. It was, therefore, some time before he could organise an attacking force such as could deliver a rapid and decisive blow against the enemy. He had an army of 14,000 men at Rustchuk, a field army of 40,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 111 guns, about 15,000 men at Eski-

Djuma, 5,000 men at Osman Bazar, and about 30,000 men in other garrisons. He spent the whole of October and the greater part of November in comparative inactivity; but towards the end of the latter month he was positively ordered to relieve Osman Pasha. He determined to attack the left flank of the Tsarevitch, who commanded the Russian forces, and destroy the bridge across the Danube which the Russians had constructed and which kept up their communications with Roumania. The attack entirely failed, the Turks losing some 1,200 men, the Russians about 700. Although Suleiman could have disposed of 75,000 men, yet he only employed 25,000 for the attack, and the rest of his army was scarcely used at all. His operations showed no improvement in arrangement and cohesion.

Having failed in his attempt to attack the left of the Tsarevitch, Suleiman now turned his attention to his right, and for this purpose collected about 30,000 men. He seized Elena and Slataritza and prepared to attack Tirnova; had he succeeded in capturing this position, the Russians would probably have been compelled to abandon the siege of Plevna. But he failed at the critical moment, and the opportunity was lost. The Russians regained the places they had lost, and the expedition collapsed. The capture of Elena, however, was a masterly proceeding, and if Suleiman had persevered in his efforts on December 5th he would have been able to seize Tirnova.

Another attempt to relieve Plevna was made by assembling a force at Sofia under Mehemet Ali. He had returned to Constantinople after handing his army over to Suleiman, as we have seen, and was then directed to organise an army for the relief of Osman. He got together about 30,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 36 guns, his reserve being placed under the orders of an Englishman, Valentine Baker, who had adhered closely to his fortunes. But his army had great elements of weakness; his arrangements for supply and transport were very defective, and there was little concentration or solidarity in the force under his command.

In the meantime Gourko had been very active. He recognised that he could not achieve success by occupying a purely defensive position, but that he must drive the Turks into western Bulgaria, south of the Balkans, and, if possible, secure the passes through them. Mehemet knew that he was not strong enough to meet Gourko in the open field, and contented himself with occupying the Balkan provinces for defence, making no serious effort to oppose the Russian advance in those districts which

commanded the issues from Sofia into western Bulgaria. This showed that he had no immediate intention of relieving Osman, and that he must confine himself to covering Sofia. Gourko, however, pressed on, seized the northern end of the passes which led to Sofia, and held them, while Mehemet Ali was recalled to Constantinople to prepare for the defence of the capital.

We must now return to Osman. As we have already said, he had decided to begin his sorties on the night of December 9th, a night on which the Turkish works were covered with a thick fog, which enabled him to evacuate his position unobserved by the Russians. He had gradually slackened his fire during the three previous days, and entirely suspended it during the fourth, in order that the suspicions of the Russians might not be roused by any sudden cessation of the cannonade. His first division had crossed the Vid at 5 a.m. on December 10th, but the convoy which followed it consisted of 1,000 vehicles and 3,000 pack animals, and before half of it had got over, the Russians opened fire on the crowded and encumbered bridge, and the presence of 150 Mohammedan families with their goods and chattels added to the confusion. The Turks found themselves exposed to a heavy artillery fire, both from the front and from enfilading batteries, so that the first division could not remain where it was, and the second division had not begun to cross the Vid. Osman determined, therefore, to attack the Russian front, from which the artillery fire proceeded. The attack, however, being delivered across the open against a strongly entrenched position, failed, and Osman himself was wounded. The position of the first division grew desperate, and the second division did not appear. Shortly after noon the major part of the Turkish force found itself hemmed in between the Goritza and the Vid; and Osman, finding further resistance useless, surrendered unconditionally with his whole army. This disaster was produced by the fatal decision of the Sultan not to permit the evacuation of Plevna in October. Osman had done his work well, and if in August there had been a Turkish general able to take advantage of the situation, the defeat of the Russian armies would have been assured. Osman, by his march from Widin, had nearly ruined the power of the Tsar, but the opportunity was lost. Osman's heroic defence had lasted six months, to the admiration of the world, and when the Tsar rode into the conquered city on the following day, at the side of his brother Nicholas—who had said to Osman, after the surrender, "It is one of the most splendid military events in history"—he returned

his sword to the wounded hero and assigned him Charchov as a place of imprisonment.

The fate of Plevna practically brought the whole campaign to an end. By the capture of Osman's army the whole of Bulgaria north of the Balkans and west of the Kara Lom, with the exception of Widin, was cleared of the Turks, the Russians being in possession of the principal passes across the Balkans, excepting their southern ends. It was decided to proceed with a winter campaign. Gourko's force was raised to 80,000 men, and Radetzky's to 70,000 at the Shipka Pass. On January 4th, 1878, Sofia was occupied by the Russians without opposition; and on January 9th, by Skobelev's advance over the Shipka Pass, the Turks were surrounded and 30,000 men surrendered. Suleiman was preparing to oppose Gourko's advance between Philippopolis and Sofia when he heard of the surrender of Shipka. He retired upon Adrianople, but, finding that he could not reach that city before Radetzky, took refuge in Macedonia, leaving a rearguard under the command of Fuad Pasha. Fuad detained Gourko for three days near Philippopolis, but was finally driven into the mountains. The remains of Suleiman's army were collected on the coast and taken to Constantinople by sea. The Russians occupied Adrianople on January 22nd, without opposition, and on the last day of the month an armistice was signed which led to the Treaty of San Stefano.

In the middle of December Servia began to join in the war, and attacked Nish and Pirot in the south and Widin in the east. The Greeks were forced to defend their frontiers against the wild Tcherkesses, whom the Turks were unable to restrain. The latter were reduced to the last extremity, and there was a chance at last of their meeting with a fit punishment for their prolonged career of crime, but they addressed a circular to the Powers asking for intervention. Abdul Hamid wrote a personal appeal to Queen Victoria, which, to the disgrace of Great Britain, met with a favourable response. British traditional policy had always been to oppose Russia and support Turkey, a policy which is now considered to have been a serious error. It was imagined that the aggrandisement of Russia implied danger to India, whereas wise statesmen ought to have seen that by depriving Russia of her natural growth towards the Mediterranean, and forcing her to Eastern conquest, instead of recognising her as the legitimate heir to the Byzantine Empire, they were compelling her to adopt a system of expansion which threatened to pass the barrier of the Himalaya.

The British Cabinet was now hopelessly divided, some of its members wishing to see the Christian Cross replace the Crescent on the dome of St. Sophia, others to declare an immediate war with Russia. Parliament met on January 17th, and on January 23rd the British fleet was ordered to leave Besika Bay for the Dardanelles, to keep the strait open, and, in the event of riots at Constantinople, to protect the lives and property of British subjects. The admiral started on the following day, having received a firman from the Sultan, without which, under the Treaty of London, no ship of war could pass the Dardanelles. However, wiser counsels prevailed, and he was recalled to Besika Bay, which, for the honour of his country, he ought never to have left. But a credit of £6,000,000 was asked for in Parliament to prepare for war, should war be necessary.

The Treaty of San Stefano was the wisest measure ever proposed for the pacification of the Balkan Peninsula. It was by no means favourable to Russian ambition, and, indeed, suggested the suspicion that it was drawn up by Ignatiev with exaggerated moderation, because he knew that as soon as it was concluded it would be torn to pieces by Great Britain. It created a large Bulgaria, founded on knowledge of the history of that country and her claim, through her energy and steadfastness, to be the dominant Power in the Peninsula. It recognised that Tirnova and Ochrida are the two foci of the Bulgarian nation, just as Moscow and Kiev are of Russia, one the civil, the other the religious capital. The new Bulgaria received Kavala on the Ægean as a port for the exportation of her produce. She was recognised as a free Christian province of the Turkish Empire, with an elective prince. Thus constituted, she could not have been a satellite of Russia, but was far more likely to become ungrateful to the Power which had created her, and thus be an effective barrier to the advance of Russia towards Constantinople. In their ignorance, the bulk of British statesmen knew nothing of this; they had no knowledge of Bulgarian history, and an incorrect map was issued to members of Parliament, which entirely distorted the true state of affairs and represented Ochrida as a part of Macedonia.

Servia, Montenegro and Roumania were to be acknowledged formally as independent in theory as they were already in fact. Bosnia and Herzegovina were made self-governing provinces, and other provinces inhabited by Christians acquired a similar position. Russia was to receive an indemnity of £12,000,000. Bessarabia, which was now part of Roumania, was to be

exchanged for the Dobrudsha, which now belonged to Russia, and in Asia Russia was to receive Batoum, Ardahan, Kars and Bayazid.

This very moderate arrangement, which, if accepted, would have solved most of the questions which afterwards disturbed the East, was received by Great Britain with a shout of indignation, wholly irrational and unfounded. However, before its conclusion there was danger of war between Russia and Great Britain, and the feeling between the two countries was adroitly stimulated by Lord Beaconsfield. On February 11th the British fleet was sent to Constantinople, without the permission of the Porte, and Prince Gortshakov announced that Russian troops would immediately enter Constantinople, which would have been the best thing that could happen. At Woolwich Arsenal extra hands were employed, and the vessels at Chatham were ordered to be ready for sea. The fleet before Constantinople was reinforced, and preparations were made for a land expedition. The music halls vociferously shouted the refrain of the song,

"We don't want to fight, but, by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too."

Although it was quite obvious that the treaty did not endanger either British or German interests, it was thought necessary to appeal to the arrangement of 1856, by which Great Britain, France and Austria had agreed to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire; and Lord Derby, the Foreign Minister, informed Gortshakov that the whole treaty must be submitted to a European congress. This Russia objected to, declaring that she could only accept a discussion of those points which affected European interests. When the reserves were called out, Lord Derby resigned, Lord Salisbury taking his place. The new Foreign Secretary did not lose a minute in issuing a circular dispatch that the Treaty of San Stefano must be submitted to a congress of the Powers, which eventually met at Berlin. To that question our attention must now be directed.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

GREAT BRITAIN and Austria had been waiting at the doors of the congress house in the village of San Stefano in order to destroy the treaty between Russia and the Porte so soon as it was concluded. Jealousy and vindictiveness had been roused by the victories of Russia, and the two Powers had no doubt that the conditions of peace would be such as to excuse their passions and raise them to a higher pitch. Sincere, therefore, was the surprise at the moderation of the terms proposed; but Great Britain, at least, refused to be pacified, and the warlike spirit she had so laboriously evoked had got beyond her control. A council of the Crown had met in Vienna on February 24th, at which Andrassy had asked for a credit of 60,000,000 gulden, which was granted by the delegates on March 21st. This was rather with the view of lending emphasis to the policy of Austria than as a war loan. Indeed, the Minister announced that, in his opinion, the outstanding questions could be settled without war; he had no objections to the proposals about Bosnia and Herzegovina, but felt that he could not permit the creation of a large Bulgaria. Indeed, Ignatiev, the author of the treaty, took pains to spare the susceptibilities of Austria by giving her a means of control on the west similar to that which Russia was reserving for herself on the east.

But the attitude of Great Britain was very different. As we have already said, she clung closely to the arrangements of Paris in 1856, and demanded that the whole of the treaty should be submitted to the arbitrament of Europe. The Ministry obtained from Parliament a credit of £6,000,000, preparations for war were pursued with vigour, the reserves were called out, and the unusual step was taken of summoning Indian troops for active service in Europe, a measure of very doubtful legality. Lord Stanley was placed at the War Office, and Gathorne Hardy took the seals of the India Office, which had been left vacant by the transference of Lord Salisbury to the Foreign Office.

A circular note of the new Foreign Secretary, dated April 1st, 1878, explained Great Britain's position. He said that it had

been recognised by the European Powers, including Russia, in the London Protocol of 1871, that no Power should set itself free from the obligation of a treaty, or alter its terms, without the consent of the other signatory Powers after a mutual exchange of views. The Treaty of San Stefano affected all the nations of south-eastern Europe; the creation of a large Bulgaria called into existence a powerful Slavonic State, under the auspices and control of Russia, on the shores of the Black Sea, and gave it the possession of a port on the Ægean, which would secure to it a powerful influence, both political and commercial, over both waters. It was so composed that it would contain a considerable number of Greeks, and the first rulers of the new State would be appointed by Russian influence and be supported by a Russian army. The separation of Constantinople from the Greek, Albanian and Slavic provinces, which still belonged to Turkey, would cause great difficulties of administration, and threaten a condition of anarchy. The taking away of Bessarabia from Roumania, the extension of Bulgaria to the shores of the Black Sea, which were chiefly inhabited by Russians and Greeks, and the acquisition of the harbour of Batoum would make Russia the predominant Power in these regions. Her influence would be further extended by the possession of the Armenian fortresses, and the trade which at that time existed between Trebizond and Persia would be seriously hindered by the prohibitive policy of Russia. The circular attacked other conditions of the treaty, especially the war indemnity to be paid by Turkey, declared that the general effect of the settlement was injurious to the peace of Europe, and demanded the serious attention of the Powers. Great Britain would have no objection to take part in a congress in which the whole matter could be discussed.

This manifesto, based upon ignorance and prejudice, is a discreditable event in British history. As we have said, the map of the Balkan Peninsula distributed to members of Parliament was of a mendacious character. Reference to authoritative sources, such as Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, would have shown that the Bulgarians were the predominant Power in the peninsula and that the Greeks had no claim to consideration. Salisbury knew little or nothing about Bulgarian history, or the conditions on which alone a stable government could be erected. This circular rested on the mischievous attitude assumed by Beaconsfield at the outset of his Ministry, when he was in dire need of a policy. Salisbury admitted afterwards that he was wrong; but it is a poor reparation for a disastrous error to say some years

afterwards that you "put your money on the wrong horse." Salisbury's dispatch was replied to by Gortshakov on April 9th, in a document of moderate temper, full of sound argument and accurate knowledge, which was not listened to by the Jingo party.

At the end of April and the beginning of May, 7,000 Indian troops, consisting of infantry, cavalry, artillery and sappers, were shipped from Bombay to Malta, and on May 13th the Queen held a review at Aldershot, and the world was given to understand that Great Britain could dispose of 70,000 European troops. Russia made some counter-preparations on her side, but it was doubtful whether she was in a condition to maintain a war against Great Britain, which would probably not have to fight alone. The command of her army was given to Todleben, who had returned from St. Petersburg, and Imershinsky was made Chief of the Staff.

The condition of the Russian army in the Balkans was very bad; the soldiers were corrupted by sickness, drunkenness and lack of discipline; the earthworks were neglected; and effective measures were needed to remedy these evils. The Russians received reinforcements, as well as the artillery which had been left behind in Roumania. Efforts were made to create a fleet by the purchase of ships in America, which might harass British commerce, and steps, which afterwards produced disastrous consequences, were taken to weaken the British Empire in India.

The state of things in the Balkan Peninsula got worse and worse. Risings against the Turks took place in Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Crete, the Rhodope Mountains and Bosnia. The prisoners taken at Plevna had produced an outbreak of typhus in Roumania and Russia. In St. Petersburg, in March, there were no fewer than 3,747 cases of this disease. The malady even affected the doctors, of whom about 100 died, and nearly 400 were attacked by the poison. The Russian Governor of Adrianople was carried off by the plague. In May there were 70,000 men in hospital suffering from typhus and other diseases. A medical report stated that, from April 1st, 1877, to October 1st, 1878, whereas only 3,900 men of the Caucasian army had perished in the field, 9,871 had died of disease. Things in Constantinople were no better, the mosques and other public buildings being crowded with fugitives.

Bismarck was lying ill at his country house at Friedrichsruhe when the proposal for a congress of the Great Powers reached him in the spring of 1878. He did not, however, refuse to engage in it, partly from the desire that Germany should bear an honourable part in the conclusion of peace, partly from his

personal regard for Alexander II., and partly from an awakening of the old friendship between Germany and Russia, and declared that he was willing to undertake the office of mediator if asked to do so by Great Britain and Austria. On May 7th Shuvalov, who was Russian Ambassador at London, and was very anxious for peace, travelled to St. Petersburg, visiting Bismarck both on the outward and the homeward journey. He returned to London on May 21st and signed, with Salisbury, an agreement on May 30th, which settled most of the points in dispute between the two countries. The points which it contained had reference to the extent of the new Bulgaria, to its division into two parts, one north, one south of the Balkans, one to be under the rule of a prince, the other under a Christian governor, appointed with the consent of the Powers for a period of five or ten years, with a large administrative independence, the Turkish troops being withdrawn from this province. Other subjects connected with Russian influence in Asia were touched upon in this lengthy document, which showed that the two contending Powers were able to come together without being absolutely of the same mind.

At the same time it was announced that Cyprus had been ceded to Great Britain by the Porte, Turkey remaining the suzerain Power and a tribute being paid to her. It was intended that this tribute should represent the profit which the Turkish Government made out of the island, but it now stands at an unreasonable amount, and the Cypriotes complain with reason of the sacrifices they have to make to produce a large sum which does not benefit them in the slightest degree. The fixing of this tribute was settled at Constantinople by a commission, of which Sir Robert Biddulph, afterwards Governor of Cyprus, was a prominent member. The amount was fixed at £96,000, and included a large revenue derived from the Turkish Government through the sale of salt. But as soon as the convention was concluded the Turks prohibited the importation of salt from Cyprus at any of their ports, so that the island was encumbered with unsaleable salt. Another reason for fixing this tribute at so high a figure was that Great Britain had guaranteed the interest of a loan contracted by Turkey in the Crimean War, and the British Government thought that this was a convenient way of finding the money, so that Cyprus not only pays tribute, but suffers for the faults of her rulers. It is not easy to see why Lord Beaconsfield thought it worth while to acquire Cyprus. There may have been some idea of setting to Turkey the example of a well-governed community close to her own shores, but when,

in 1910, forty corpses of murdered Armenians were thrown up by the sea on the southern coast of the island, some of them those of little girls with their throats cut, it was too abominably evident that the example had been of little value. A more probable explanation is to be found in the romantic temper of Lord Beaconsfield and the recollections of his early travels in the East.

On June 4th, 1878, a defensive alliance was signed between Sir Henry Layard and Safvet Pasha, providing that Great Britain should engage to assist Turkey in the event of any ill gal aggressions on the part of Russia, and that the Sultan in return should promise to introduce reforms in the administration of the provinces with regard to Christians and the other inhabitants. A curious condition was added that if, at any time, Russia should surrender Kars and the other conquests which she had made in Armenia, Great Britain should restore Cyprus to its former owners. Bismarck was now in a position to accept the official invitation to the congress, which was to open at Berlin on June 13th. He did this in a manner to conciliate all antagonisms, describing himself as an "honest broker," and, while not neglecting the interest of his own country, he gained golden opinions by the skilful manner in which he averted impending war. This momentous congress was composed as follows: Germany was represented by Bismarck, Bülow, and the German Ambassador in Paris, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst; Andrassy, Karolyi and Haymerle stood for Austria; of the representatives of France, Waddington was the most important; Great Britain had Beaconsfield, Salisbury and Odo Russell; Italy, Corti and De Launay; Russia, Gortshakov, Skobelev and Ombril; Turkey, Karatheodori Pasha, Mehemet Ali and Sedulah Bey. Bismarck was unanimously chosen president.

The first sitting of the congress was devoted to the affairs of Bulgaria. They were settled, not without considerable difficulty, by compromises arranged outside of the congress room. At the fourth sitting Salisbury proposed that the Balkans should be the southern boundary of the new province, and that the province south of the Balkans should bear the name of Eastern Roumelia; but the important concession was made that the sanjak of Sofia, which lay south of the Balkans, should be given to Bulgaria for strategical reasons, in exchange for Varna, which remained in the hands of the Turks. Eastern Roumelia was to remain under the direct political and military control of the Sultan. Bulgaria was to be formed into an autonomous but tributary State, with a Christian government and a national militia, its frontiers fixed

on the spot by a European Commission. The Prince was to be elected by the people and confirmed by the Porte with the consent of the Powers, but no member of the reigning families of the great Powers was eligible. Preparations for the election were to be made by an assembly of notables at Tirnova. There was to be complete religious toleration and equality with regard to the exercise of political and other rights. Until the election of the Prince, the government was to be placed in the hands of a Russian Commission, assisted by a Turkish commissary and the consuls of the Powers, but this state of things was only to last nine months. The Turkish army was to leave the new principality within a year, all fortresses in existence were to be razed, and no new ones were to be erected.

Eastern Roumelia was to possess administrative autonomy, but to remain under the political and military control of the Sultan. The Sultan might construct fortresses for the defence of the Province, order was to be preserved by an international gendarmerie and a local militia, the officers to be appointed by the Sultan, but no Bashi-Bazouks or Tcherkesses were to be admitted to the frontier garrisons, nor were troops to be billeted on the inhabitants. The Governor had the right of summoning Turkish soldiers to his assistance if necessary, but for giving consent to this measure the Porte was answerable to the Powers. The Governor was nominated by the Porte, with the consent of the Powers, for five years. Until matters were definitely settled in the two provinces, they might be occupied by a Russian garrison, consisting of six divisions of infantry and two of cavalry; but the whole number was not to exceed 50,000 men, the cost of their maintenance being borne by the country they occupied.

The settlement of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia occupied the congress from June 17th to June 26th, but other questions remained for discussion which concerned Bosnia, Montenegro, Servia, Roumania, the Danube, the Straits, and the war indemnity. The question of Bosnia and Herzegovina was taken in hand at the eighth sitting, and was a matter in which Austria was particularly interested. It originated in disturbances which had arisen in these countries, and the ill-feeling between Christians and Mohammedans was by no means allayed. Turkey was powerless to restore order; at least 200,000 inhabitants had left the country, and Austria had spent in the last three years at least 2,000,000 gulden in their maintenance. Lord Salisbury proposed that the occupation and government of Bosnia and

Herzegovina should be entrusted to Austria. This was supported by Bismarck, but strongly opposed by Karatheodori Pasha, upon which Bismarck emphatically reminded the representatives of Turkey that the congress had not met to preserve the integrity of the Turkish frontier, but to safeguard the future peace of Europe. The only alternative to the conclusions of the congress was the Treaty of San Stefano, and Eastern Roumelia was far better worth having than Bosnia. The Turks yielded, and Bosnia and Herzegovina were secured to Austria, with the exception of the sanjak of Novi Bazar, which was retained by Turkey.

Servia became independent, under the conditions of absolute religious equality, responsibility for portion of the Turkish debt, and an extension of territory which increased the population by 506,934 inhabitants.

The traveller arriving at Orsova after a night journey from Buda Pest finds himself in a new world. In front are the hills of Servia, to his left the Carpathians of Roumania, while the noble Danube is divided by the little Turkish island which diplomacy has been obliged to leave in the hands of that Power. Up the stream is the defile of Kazan, with the proud inscription of Trajan and the remains of his road, and down the stream is the passage of the Iron Gate, now free from rocks and available for traffic, one of the most beneficent acts of the Treaty of Berlin; but the current of the Danube is still so strong that the steamer which threads its rapids in three minutes on its downward course takes twenty minutes to accomplish the ascent. A little way below are the remains of Trajan's bridge. The day may come when this exulting and abounding river may bear upon its waters a similar traffic to that which makes the Rhine so interesting to the thoughtful traveller, though it may also have become less attractive to the artist.

Two representatives of Greece, Delyannis and Rangabé, were admitted to the ninth sitting, at which they proposed the annexation of Crete and a rectification of their northern frontier. After some discussion the representatives of Roumania were allowed to attend the tenth meeting of the congress, held on July 1st. The burning question was the cession of Bessarabia to Russia. Greece was not treated so well, and the frontier disputes between herself and Turkey were not settled till 1881, when she received a slight readjustment of her northern frontiers. Crete belongs by every right to Greece, and would have been annexed to her territory when her kingdom was constituted had it not been for the prejudice and obstinacy of Wellington; but it was left in

the hands of the Porte, with the usual promise of reform, readily given because never meant to be kept.

Montenegro was declared independent under the condition of absolute religious equality. She received an accession of territory, which contained about 50,000 inhabitants and included the important harbour of Antivari, which was a necessity to her existence. Dulcigno was given to Turkey, Spizza to Dalmatia. Montenegro obtained the right to navigate the shores of the Adriatic, but might not keep ships of war or have a war flag. Antivari and, indeed, all Roumanian waters were closed to warships of all nations. The martial policing of Montenegro was to be exercised by Austria, and Austrian consuls were to protect Roumanian commerce. Montenegro took upon herself responsibility for a certain amount of the Montenegrin debt.

July 6th was occupied by a very important session, in which the relations of Russia to her Asiatic conquests were discussed. Here Russia and Great Britain found themselves in direct opposition, Russia claiming accessions of territory as part payment of the war indemnity, Great Britain, with her antiquated, narrow-minded policy, doing her best to retain all she could in the demoralising and corrupting hands of Turkey. Bismarck had great difficulties in keeping the peace, and it is said that Beaconsfield had a special train waiting for him in the station, ready to depart for England if matters did not turn out in accordance with his wishes. Happily the controversies were arranged, and Gortshakov gave utterance to his views on the arrangement in language which it is worth while to reproduce.

"Thanks," he remarked, "to the spirit of conciliation and reciprocal concessions, of which I can conscientiously claim a large part for Russia, the work of the congress has moved to its end, that of a peace which is in the interests of the whole of Europe, and which will be worthy of the eminent men assembled at Berlin. Two days' sitting has been devoted to a question, the solution of which has been found to be an equitable arrangement, removed from petty passions, which will crown the work which we have in hand. We make the concession of Erzerum, of Bayazid and of the valley of Alaskand, those two last points covering the passage of caravans and the principal commercial route into Persia. I am also authorised to declare that my illustrious master is disposed, in his Sovereign power, to declare Batoum a free port, a concession to the material interests of all commercial nations, and especially of Great Britain, which has the largest commerce in the world. In conclusion, I must express the hope

that, in the sitting of to-day, we shall have made an immense step towards the exalted object of our meeting."

This statement of the Russian representative was received with applause, begun by Bismarck and continued by Salisbury. It was then officially announced that the Porte surrendered to Russia in Asia the territories of Ardahan, Kars and Batoum, with its harbours, while the Tsar's offer to make Batoum a free commercial port was gratefully accepted.

On July 23rd the twentieth and last sitting of the congress was held. Andrassy solemnly thanked Bismarck for the untiring energy with which he had conducted the business of the congress, and expressed the hope that its work might be lasting, and that the friendly relations between the Powers might strengthen and confirm the general feeling of friendship which existed between the Governments that had taken part in it.

The effect of the Treaty of Berlin has certainly not tended to increase the influence of Russia in the Balkan Peninsula. Bulgaria has proved rather a barrier to Russian progress than a door, while Roumania has flourished under a German Prince. There is no reason to believe that the Treaty of San Stefano, had it been duly sanctioned, would have been any more favourable to Russian ambition, whereas, in many respects, it would have been a better and more durable arrangement than the Treaty of Berlin. Still, the occasion was very dramatic, for the meeting of such remarkable personages as Beaconsfield and Bismarck lent distinction to any assembly. It was said by some that Beaconsfield was the most remarkable figure at the congress, because he had the force of Great Britain at his back. A strange story is also told about the concessions made by Russia. It is alleged that Gortshakov had brought with him from St. Petersburg a map on which was carefully marked the utmost territory which Russia would ask for, and the least which she would accept, and that when the British plenipotentiaries asked for a map to give them information about countries with which they were very little acquainted, this map was lent to them by Gortshakov. Their task, therefore, became easy, as they had nothing to do but ask for what they knew the Russians were willing to surrender.

Beaconsfield and Salisbury returned to London on July 16th, when the Treaty of Berlin was laid before Parliament. They were received with tumultuous rejoicings, and Beaconsfield made a speech to the crowd, telling them that he brought back "peace with honour," a somewhat exaggerated statement of the case. In his speech in the House of Lords he apologised for having

ceded Sofia, which was south of the Balkans, to Bulgaria, but asserted that between Sofia and the valley of the Maritza lay the watershed of the Ikhtiman Pass, and that this was entirely in the possession of Eastern Roumelia. He ought to have known that the Ikhtiman Pass was no barrier at all to anyone attacking Adrianople from Sofia, and that not only was the pass itself given to Bulgaria by the treaty, but that the town of Ikhtiman was never evacuated by Bulgarian soldiers. He went on to speak of Greece as an interesting country with a future, which could afford to wait. With such levity and lack of knowledge were such momentous interests treated that letters in the public press drawing attention to misstatements passed entirely without notice.

Gladstone's criticism of this treaty was pronounced on July 30th. He pointed out that Servia, Montenegro and Roumania, which made war upon Turkey in reliance upon Russia, were rewarded with independence and an increase of territory, while Greece, which kept quiet and trusted Great Britain, received nothing. The action of the congress, which was to deal with the Treaty of San Stefano as a whole, was invalidated by the agreement with Russia and the Anglo-Turkish Convention which preceded it. The convention was an abuse of the prerogative of the Crown, made behind the back of Parliament. By it Great Britain had rendered herself responsible for Turkish policy, Turkish judicature, and Turkish finance, and for the corruption which paralysed them.

But this weighty indictment did not prevent the two Ministers from being the heroes of the hour, from receiving the freedom of the City of London, and from paying a tribute to the character of the Sultan, who had imposed a charge of £2,500,000 upon the nation as the cost of a policy which is now universally repudiated. With all his claims to be the champion of Imperialism, Beaconsfield threw away at Berlin the chance of acquiring Egypt, which was offered to him by Bismarck, not as plunder of the Turks, but in the best interests of Europe. The Minister refused it on the ground that it would violate the principle of the integrity of the Turkish Empire. There is no stronger condemnation of his policy than the condition of Egypt under British rule at the present time. To pass from Syria to Egypt is to pass from barbarism to civilisation. The foundations of civilisation are the security of life and property, but under Turkish rule it is dangerous to walk alone at night in the streets of Beyrout, Haifa or Jaffa, and to exhibit any signs of wealth is a direct incentive to its being taken

forcibly from you. In Cairo and Alexandria an English lady may go anywhere without being molested, and the magnificent palaces of pashas which fill the streets testify to the security with which wealth may be acquired and displayed.

If we look back over the years that have passed since the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin we see that it has not settled the question which calls for settlement now as it did then, and which can only be solved by the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. It has not secured the peace of the Balkan Peninsula nor the proper treatment of the Christians whom it left under Turkish rule. It has been violated by almost every Power that signed it, among others by Turkey, Russia, Austria, Roumania, Bulgaria and Montenegro. Two wars have followed it, neither of which need have taken place had the Treaty of San Stefano been adopted. Its effect has not been wholly bad, because some portions of the earth's surface, such as Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria are better off than before; but this was due to Russian self-sacrifice rather than to British diplomacy. The whole story of the treaty enforces the melancholy reflection that the world, after all, is governed with very little wisdom.

CHAPTER V

DISRAELI'S MINISTRY—1874-80

IN the second Ministry of Disraeli the Conservatives found themselves in office, but not in power. Probably they had been returned because the country felt that it needed rest after a long period of legislative activity; all political energy is followed by an interval of repose, if not of reaction. The leaders of commerce, who had been on the Liberal side since the time of Lord Liverpool, were becoming Conservative from fear of the support given by the Liberals to trade unions and the working man. Beaconsfield was looked upon by the solid mercantile interests as their protector against adventurous innovation—a strange fate to befall a Jew, the Young Englander of the 'forties and the author of brilliant novels.

The Queen's commands to form a Ministry were given to Disraeli on February 18th, 1874, and he had no difficulty in doing so. Lord Cairns, a dignified and even majestic lawyer, who was something also of a statesman, was made Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Richmond, a respected peer of moderate ability, was President of the Council and leader of the House of Lords; Lord Derby was Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Lord Salisbury took the India Office; Lord Carnarvon, a distinguished scholar and man of letters, watched over the Colonies; Sir Stafford Northcote, who had been trained in the school of Gladstone, became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Gathorne Hardy was Secretary of War; and Lord John Manners, afterwards Duke of Rutland, who had been, with Disraeli, one of the leaders of the Young England party, was made Postmaster-General. The Home Office was given to Richard Assheton Cross, an excellent man of business, who looked after the Queen's money affairs with singular tact and judgment; and William Henry Smith, the creator of the railway bookstall business, famous for good sense and integrity, was made Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

This powerful Ministry was confronted with a weak Opposition, who were dissatisfied with themselves. The Nonconformists, who were the great support of the Liberal Party, disliked the Education Act, and the trade unions desired the repeal of

Lord Aberdeen's Act against conspiracy. Many Liberals could not forgive Gladstone for his sudden dissolution of Parliament, which took them by surprise, when they thought that they ought to have been consulted, and cost many of them their seats. If he had such faith in the virtues of his promised budget, he ought, the dissentients urged, to have had the courage to produce it. Gladstone was also himself weary of discussions, which he had so much difficulty in controlling, and wished to resign the leadership of his party, but offered to retain the post for a year, on the condition that he should attend the House only when it suited his convenience, and this arrangement was accepted. The consequence was that the session of 1874 passed quietly. Brand was re-elected Speaker, and the only measure mentioned in the Queen's Speech was one to amend the Licensing Act of 1872.

Much interest was felt among Gladstone's friends as to what Stafford Northcote would do with the budget. Gladstone's splendid finance gave the incoming Government a surplus of £6,000,000, and the new Chancellor took the opportunity of taking a penny off the income tax and abolishing the duty on sugar. Gladstone had promised, if returned to power, to abolish the income tax altogether. Northcote reduced it to twopence, a sum which Gladstone always affirmed was not worth collecting; but of course, in the circumstances, to abolish it altogether was impossible.

Home Rule for Ireland, which was to occupy a foremost place in British politics for many years to come, now began to make its appearance. Isaac Butt, who brought forward an annual motion in its favour, was now given two nights to debate the subject, and was found to have fifty-eight Irish members—more than half the members for Ireland—on his side, a significant fact as a prelude to the time when the Irish demand for Home Rule would become almost unanimous. A Church Patronage Bill for Scotland, to abolish private patronage for livings in that country, was passed, notwithstanding Gladstone's opposition. The powers of the Endowed Schools Committee, from which England might have expected an organised system of secondary education, were transferred to the Charity Commissioners, certainly a retrograde step, as it slackened the spirit of reform; but other provisions of a sectarian character were happily averted.

The Public Worship Regulation Act, which established a new court for dealing with refractory clergymen, was an attempt to arrest the advance of Ritualism. It was vigorously opposed by Gladstone, who was a strong High Churchman. Freedom, he

urged, was better than discipline; leaden uniformity was spiritual death. Parliament should never forget the services of the clergy in an age which was, beyond all others, luxurious, selfish and worldly. He proposed an alternative to the measure, but he met with no support. This, however, was his last conflict, and in the first weeks of 1875 he retired from the leadership of the Liberal Party, against the wishes of his wife and of the majority of his friends. He desired, he said, to place a quiet interval between Parliament and the grave. But who was to be his successor? The choice lay between Lord Hartington and Forster. Hartington was chosen, and thus began a career, continued as Duke of Devonshire, of devoted and unremitting work. Besides other reasons for choosing him, it was felt that he would more easily make room for Gladstone if he should be willing to return.

In 1875 the leader of the Opposition had an easy task, as the new Government were not friends of energetic legislation. The budget presented no novelties beyond the establishment of a sinking fund, the object of which was to reduce the National Debt by £200,000,000 in thirty years. But Tory extravagance and Beaconsfield's adventurous policy soon rendered this illusory. The Home Secretary did something to secure English tenants in the holding of their land, to improve the dwellings of artisans and the relations of employers and workmen. A notable step was made for the security of navigation by the establishment of the Plimsoll mark, now so prominently shown on all ships, indicating the depth beyond which a ship must not be loaded. It was carried by the vehemence of its author, Samuel Plimsoll, who, standing in the middle of the floor of the House, denounced the ship-knackers, who, by a nefarious system of over-insurance, made fortunes out of drowned men.

Activity was also displayed by the Colonial Office. Fiji was occupied, to save it from the rapacious immorality of unprincipled beach-combers, and, in the case of the Kafir chief, Langalibalele, who had been treated with undue severity by the Natal Government, Lord Carnarvon showed that he could brave opinion in the exercise of humanity and public spirit. He attempted the federation of South Africa, which has been carried out in our own day. South Africa then consisted of three British colonies—Cape Colony, Natal, and Griqualand West—with two Dutch Republics on its frontiers—the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Carnarvon wished to include these in his scheme, for unless they were included federation would be a vain dream. But his tact was not equal to his enthusiasm. He proposed a confer-

ence at Cape Town, but excited opposition by stating the names of the delegates who were to attend it. He chose the historian Froude, who was more indiscreet and less cautious than the Minister who sent him. He made a worse blunder by attempting to remove the seat of the conference from Cape Town to London. The disastrous award of MacMahon gave Delagoa Bay to Portugal, although it was the natural outlet of the Transvaal to the sea.

On November 26th, 1875, the Prime Minister executed by a masterstroke one of the most fortunate and most sensational pieces of business which have ever occurred in British history. He bought, for the price of £4,000,000, the shares in the Suez Canal which had belonged to the Khedive of Egypt. The idea was suggested by the astuteness of Mr. Frederick Greenwood, the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette,* but it was Disraeli who recognised the importance of it and had the courage to carry it out. The state of Turkey, the suzerain Power of Egypt, was desperate. In October she had confessed her inability to pay more than ten shillings in the pound, and the British Government had refused to assist those who had lost their money on bad security. The Khedive, Ismail Pasha, spent on his own pleasures the money which came to him from the oppression of his subjects, and was driven to sell the shares which had been assigned him in the French company which opened the Canal; for, although the canal was more largely used by Great Britain than by any other nation, and the closing of it would bar the way to India, yet she had no voice in its management. It was, therefore, exceptionally fortunate that the British Government was enabled to gain the position which it might have held from the first if only the sanction of Lord Palmerston had allowed it, while the possession of a Prime Minister gifted with imagination enabled us to take advantage of the deal.

It is significant to reflect that the Foreign Secretary, Lord Derby, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, were opposed to the purchase. The Chancellor said in the House that he had rather the Khedive had kept the shares, that the Government had acted in self-defence, and that he did not object to the canal being mainly under French control. Even Gladstone made a feeble attack upon the measure. But the good sense and patriotism of the English people supported the Minister. Disraeli was able to say both with force and truth that if Gladstone had been in office the shares would have been purchased by France. The success of the enterprise far exceeded the hopes of its promoters, and the possession of the shares has brought many

millions into the British Exchequer and strengthened the hold upon the gate of India. The purchase of the shares made it desirable to inquire more fully into the financial condition of Egypt, and Stephen Cave, an able financier, was sent out to report. He said that Egypt was suffering from the ignorance, dishonesty, waste and extravagance of the East, such as had already brought Turkey to the verge of ruin, and also from the expense caused by the hasty and ill-considered endeavours to adopt the civilisation of the West. The report led to the sending out of a joint commission, French and British, and the placing of Egyptian revenue under two Controllers-General, one British and the other French, which did not prove to be a success.

At the beginning of 1876 Disraeli was at the height of his power. In the winter the Prince of Wales had made a tour through India, and this fact, coupled with other considerations, induced the Prime Minister to introduce into Parliament a Royal Titles Bill, which granted to the Queen the right to assume by proclamation any new title which she might think fit to adopt. It was generally known that the object of the measure was to give the Queen the title of Empress of India. The proposition excited a good deal of ridicule, but the proposal really emanated from the serious and not the theatrical side of Disraeli's nature, and it is conceivable that a grandiose title may have an advantage in the governance of the country to which it refers.

Disraeli is generally credited with having introduced the spirit of Imperialism into British politics, and the belief that he did so accounts for his extraordinary popularity, which has followed him after his decease. There are two opinions on the matter. Some think that he possessed powerful convictions on the position which ought to be held by the British monarchy; others that he was an opportunist, and that, coming into office unexpectedly and without a cry, he clutched at the first idea which presented itself, and took up the line of opposing Russia and exalting the predominant power of Great Britain in all parts of the world. The latter opinion, which is held by persons who knew him well, seems the more probable. He had nothing but contempt for the British Constitution, which he was never tired of comparing with that of Venice, with its phantom Doge, its subservient people, and its predominant aristocracy. He cared too little for certain features of the body politic to attempt to reform the abuses that had grown up in them, and he knew that if they were reformed it would not be in the direction of which he would approve. His object was to maintain the

supremacy of the Tory Party, of which he was the faithful servant, and he was ready to employ any means to that end.

At the same time, he determined to treat the Queen in a different manner from that which Gladstone had adopted. Gladstone, although personally devoted to the monarchy and to the noble woman who held the throne, was unfortunate in the manner he assumed to the Queen, who, as we have already said, complained that he addressed her as if she were a public meeting. He opposed her visits to Scotland and absence from the centre of affairs at the time of political crisis. A man well acquainted with the correspondence which passed upon this topic described it as one in which the Minister had gone as far as a subject could, and the Queen farther than a Sovereign ought. Gladstone was too proud and too clumsy to conciliate the Queen's humble friends, who exercised great influence over her and for whom she felt a deep affection. Disraeli, on the other hand, did not hesitate to conciliate them.

Nothing is more noticeable than the change which came over the Queen's feelings towards this remarkable man. The Prince Consort did not like him, and the Queen shared his judgment. In the early days of their association Disraeli gave the Queen a magnificently bound collection of his works, with a fulsome inscription. The Queen, instead of keeping them in her own apartments, sent them to her public library, where it was not likely she would ever see them again. But in later years Disraeli became one of her most trusted friends, and at the end of her life she hung over the two contiguous doors which led to her private apartments in Windsor Castle the portraits of Salisbury and Beaconsfield. The Queen undoubtedly liked the new title. She always signed herself "Victoria R. and I.," and in India, at the banquets of the Viceroy and other great officers, the toast of the King-Emperor is drunk with enthusiasm and is followed by the strains of the National Anthem. Lord Lytton, a man of exuberant ability and vivid imagination, was sent to India to inaugurate the new Imperial policy, and the proclamation of the Queen-Empress took place under his auspices at Delhi, on January 1st, 1877.

We have already given an account of the events in the East which culminated in the Treaty of Berlin. Disraeli's last speech in the House of Commons was made on the subject on August 11th, 1876, when he said that the nation's duty at that critical moment was to uphold the Empire of Great Britain, by which he apparently meant the Empire of Turkey. Next day the papers announced that he had been created Earl of Beaconsfield. In

this position he emphasised more strongly than before his opposition to Russia and his intention to adopt an Imperial policy. At the Lord Mayor's banquet, on November 9th, he made a speech in the Guildhall which shook the confidence of the world, much as the speech of Napoleon III., to which we have already referred, had done on January 1st, 1859. What, it was asked, did this ill-omened oration portend? The Emperor of Russia had consented to a congress, the object of which was peace, but these attacks drove him into war.

The session of 1877 witnessed some measures of beneficent but rather feeble legislation, and the first appearance of Charles Stewart Parnell, a young Irish landlord, born of an American mother. He was educated by a private tutor in England, and had made himself conspicuous in early life by an ambition to set the fashion in personal attire. As a passionate Home Ruler, he determined to adopt a more aggressive and more militant attitude than that of Butt, and diligently studied the rules of the House, with the view of obstructing the operation of the British Parliament if he could not obtain for Ireland a Parliament of her own. He was assisted by Mr. J. G. Biggar, a vigorous but uncouth man, who was little understood and who was fond of stating that his great ambition in life was to be an English clergyman. Parnell began by obstructing the business of Supply by dilatory motions, although he had only a few colleagues to support him. He succeeded in getting suspended from the service of the House, but the evil went on unchecked.

If the advent of Parnell heralded the troubles of Home Rule, the annexation of the Transvaal in April, 1877, was a step towards the South African War. The Dutch farmers who wished to escape from the control of British government had formed the Republic of the Transvaal in 1852, and, by proclamation, this was now annexed to the British Empire by Sir Theophilus Shepstone. It was true that the finances of the country were in a desperate condition, that the mineral wealth concealed in the hills was entirely unknown, that the inhabitants were not able to hold their own against the attacks of the surrounding natives. Burgers, the President, advised the Boers to submit to the British Government, as the Republican Constitution had broken down and their taxes could not be collected. The Transvaal Parliament did not agree with him, and two delegates, one of whom was Paul Kruger, were sent to England to show cause against the annexation. But the Government insisted, and the Liberal Party did not oppose, although some courageous statesmen, such

as Leonard Courtney and Henry Fawcett, did their best to prevent it.

Another measure of importance belonging to this year was the appointment of a commission to investigate the affairs of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. University commissions are neither very popular nor very useful. It is much better that the Universities should reform themselves than that they should be tampered with from outside by persons who understand very little about the matter. The commission now established did a certain amount of good, but not so much as was anticipated. Some clerical restrictions were abolished, fellows were allowed to marry, and a certain amount of money was given by the colleges to the University. The intention had been to transfer the greater part of teaching from the colleges to the University and establish a large scheme for the endowment of research. But this proved an entire failure. It has been found that in every department, even in Natural Science, the colleges do much better work than the University. A further step was taken to give the franchise to agricultural labourers, which was eventually effected by the Reform Bill of 1880. George Trevelyan's annual resolution on this subject was this year supported by Lord Hartington as leader of the Opposition, but the motion was, nevertheless, defeated, Lowe and Goschen being opposed to the measure. The year 1878 was taken up with the Treaty of Berlin and with the Zulu and Afghan troubles, which will be treated of later.

We will now take a summary view of Beaconsfield's Imperial policy. Lord Northbrook had resigned the office of Viceroy because he could not agree with the proposal to ask the Amir of Afghanistan to receive a British Resident at Cabul; but Lord Lytton, who succeeded him, did not mind whether he offended the Amir or not. Russia had made large advances in Central Asia during the last four years, and Gladstone was inclined to enter into direct negotiations with the Tsar in order to avoid difficulties for the future. Beaconsfield preferred to use British influence with the Afghans in order to counteract Russian influence with the Turkomans. Lytton, therefore, sent Shere Ali, the Amir, a letter announcing his appointment as Viceroy and the Queen's assumption of the title of Empress of India; he also asked the Amir to receive a British Agent, Sir Lewis Pelly, and discuss with him matters that might be in dispute. The Amir replied that he preferred to send to India a confidential agent of his own. Lytton considered this answer disrespectful, and refused to receive Shere Ali's messenger, and intimated that if the Amir did not receive

Sir Lewis Pelly, his country would be treated as a State which had virtually isolated itself from the alliance of the British Government. This was almost equivalent to a threat of war, and was strongly objected to by members of the Indian Council. The Amir replied that, in his opinion, no Englishman would be safe at Cabul, and that if he received a British he must also receive a Russian agent, but that he wanted neither. On December 8th Quetta was occupied, which gave the Indian Government control of the Bolan Pass into Afghanistan. This frightened the Amir still more, and a letter of Lytton's, dated March 3rd, 1877, which told him that he could no longer depend upon the support of the British Government, turned him into an active foe.

Whilst these things were happening Bombay and Madras were oppressed by a cruel famine, which taxed all the resources of the Administration. In the spring of 1878 the movement of Indian troops to Malta was met by the dispatch of a Russian mission to Cabul. Lytton expected war with Russia, and thought that this would be a favourable opportunity for disintegrating Afghanistan, though, by restraining the vernacular Press in India, he deprived himself of the best means of ascertaining public opinion in that country. The object of the Russian envoy at Cabul was to embroil the Amir with Great Britain. In this he completely succeeded, Lytton walking into the trap with apparent readiness. He argued for the rectification of the north-western boundaries—a "scientific frontier," as it was called in those days —consisting of the range of the Hindu Kush and its spurs, with such outposts as might be necessary to secure the passes. This was strongly opposed by Henry Fawcett and all who were best acquainted with India. Amongst these was Lord Lawrence, who wrote a number of weighty letters to *The Times* deprecating a forward policy. Even the Cabinet hesitated and, when Lytton proposed that Shere Ali should be dethroned and his government broken up, refused to support the Viceroy.

On November 9th, however, at the Guildhall, in London, Beaconsfield denounced these cautious waverings as the "hair-brained chatter of irresponsible frivolity," and defended the scientific frontier as the voice of security and truth. In the meantime war had broken out and was powerfully denounced by Gladstone. The war found many supporters in the Upper House, including six bishops; but in the House of Commons the policy that provoked it was pulverised by Gladstone and Hartington. The latter said: "It is we, and we alone, who drive the Afghans

into the arms of Russia; whatever else may be done, the present Viceroy of India should be recalled. We have seen him imitating at Delhi the fallen state of the Mogul Empire; we see him fidgeting about the harmless eccentricities of the Indian Press; we now see him addressing the envoy of a puzzled and frightened sovereign in terms which seem to be borrowed partly from a lawyer's letter, partly from a tale in the *Arabian Nights*." Stafford Northcote, who replied, felt no enthusiasm for the cause he was defending. But Jingoism was rampant and the voice of truth and reason was hushed for a time. All this contention was carried on with a falling exchequer. The state of trade was deplorable, and the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank for £6,000,000 had paralysed enterprise in Scotland. Taxes had been raised, wages reduced, and the splendour of Imperialism coruscated against a background of gloom.

A cartoon in *Punch* respecting the heavy burden which John Bull had to bear represented a naked Zulu jumping on the tail of the patient British lion with the words, "Just room enough for me." Sir Bartle Frere was to South Africa what Lytton was to India. He had formed the opinion that the power of Cetewayo, the King of the Zulus, who was establishing a strong military government, ought to be crushed, and sent him, even against the opinion of the Colonial Office, an ultimatum threatening war. The results of this disastrous war will be related in another chapter.

In 1879 the expenses of Imperialist adventure had not only squandered the magnificent surplus which had been accumulated by the genius of Gladstone, but had caused deep and disastrous depression. Stafford Northcote was afraid to impose more taxes, but preferred to live upon his capital by contracting loans. The Zulu War cost £4,500,000, and depression extended to agriculture for the first time since the repeal of the Corn Laws. Remonstrance went so far that the Government appointed a Royal Commission, with a Cabinet Minister at its head, to investigate the condition of farm labourers, the law and practice of agricultural tenure, the importation of agricultural produce, and the state of agricultural knowledge, Ireland being included in the inquiry. Troubles also arose in Egypt. In February, 1879, the Khedive dismissed Nubar Pasha, the Minister of the Dual Control, and put in his place Shereef Pasha with a native Ministry. This was too much for the bond-holders. In June Ismail was deposed and Tewfik, his son, was put in his place. The Dual Control was established with even greater authority, and the British

representative appointed was Major Baring, who afterwards, as Lord Cromer, was to make for himself an honoured name.

When the autumn of 1879 approached Parliament was nearly six years old, and a General Election could not long be delayed. Both parties began to arm for the fray, and combative oratory was transferred from St. Stephen's to the platforms. To meet the growing agricultural depression, a Farmers' Alliance was formed, the object of which was to protect tenant farmers against loss of their capital and give them security in their holdings and prevent their interests from suffering from the undue preservation of game. This led to a discussion on the policy of small holdings, which were supported by Hartington and attacked by Beaconsfield. The condition of Ireland was even worse than that of England, as it suffered from a bad harvest, the failure of the potato crop, and damage done to the peat by rain. Pauperism increased, saving was impossible, railway traffic diminished, and many farmers became bankrupt. The result was the foundation of the Land League by Michael Davitt and Parnell. It was not unlawful in its objects, which were to protect the tenants from unjust rent; but it was likely for the present to employ means which violated the law. The farmers were advised to pay no more rent than they thought advisable. Davitt said that rent for land, in any circumstances, whether times were prosperous or bad, was nothing more or less than an unjust and immoral tax on the industry of the people; and Daly, the proprietor of the *Connaught Telegraph*, spoke strongly against eviction. For the bitterness of their opinions Davitt and Daly were arrested by the Government, but no further steps were taken.

The most prominent place in the Parliamentary struggle was taken by Gladstone in Midlothian, where he was contending against the eldest son of the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Dalkeith. The invitation had come, in the beginning of 1879, from Lord Rosebery and William Adam, the Liberal Whip, with the approval of Lord Granville and Lord Wolverton. The Liberals were overjoyed at the constituency being contested by the man whom they regarded as the greatest living Scotsman, and Adam predicted a majority of 200. Gladstone left Liverpool for Edinburgh to open the campaign on November 24th. The journey was a triumphal procession, the like of which had never been seen before. On this bleak winter day the whole countryside was roused. Wherever the train stopped, thousands flocked to greet the statesman, and even at wayside spots hundreds assembled to catch a glimpse of the express as it hurried past. Addresses were pre-

sented at Carlisle, Hawick and Galashiels. Edinburgh was reached after a nine hours' journey; the streets were crowded by a joyous multitude, and Lord Rosebery conducted his guest to Dalmeny. Gladstone wrote in his diary that he had never gone through a more extraordinary day.

Similar enthusiasm accompanied the speeches themselves. People came from the Hebrides to hear the orator, and the applications for seats were nearly ten times as many as the rooms would hold. The weather was bitter, the hills being covered with snow; but this could not chill enthusiasm. In this wonderful series of speeches, which lasted more than a week, Gladstone traversed the whole field of Tory government, attacking it at every point. He showed how an ample surplus had been converted into a disastrous deficit; how there had been a lack of beneficent legislation; how national honour had been compromised by the breach of public law; how in foreign politics the country had earned the enmity of Russia and yet had not prevented the increase of the Tsar's power; how Great Britain's friendship and support of Turkey, given to her with great sacrifices, had not prevented her ruin; how blood had been shed to no purpose in Zululand; how freedom had been destroyed in the Transvaal; how confusion had been caused in Afghanistan; and how India had been left in a worse condition than that in which the present Government had found it. He laid down the great principles which the country ought to follow—the passing of just laws, the fostering of economy, the preservation of peace, the cultivation of European union and friendship, the avoidance of entangling engagements, the devotion to freedom, and the acknowledgment of the equal rights of all nations.

"Remember," he said at one meeting, "that the sanctity of life in the hill villages of Afghanistan, among the winter snows, is as inviolable in the sight of Almighty God as can be your own. Remember that He who has created you a human being in the same flesh and blood has bound you by the law of mutual love; that mutual love is not limited by the shores of this island, is not limited by the boundaries of Christian civilisation, that it has power over the whole surface of the earth and embraces the meanest as well as the greatest in its unmeasured scope." Never since the days of Edmund Burke had the case of Liberalism and the plea for the restoration of a Liberal Government been placed so powerfully and so convincingly before the tribunal of the nation. The effects of this campaign were not immediately

apparent. The London Press was hostile, and the by-elections were indecisive. But at the end of November a great victory was won at Sheffield, which was a harbinger of hope and confidence. The battle of oratory continued during 1880, beginning at the close of the Christmas holidays, as a dissolution was imminent and no member knew when he might have to meet his constituents. Parliament met on February 4th, and it became necessary to legislate at once for the relief of Irish distress, which was very acute. To supplement private charitable efforts the Government authorised the construction of public works to be paid for out of the Irish Church Fund. A provision restraining eviction on the relieved estates was unfortunately struck out by the Lords.

The month of March had now arrived, and Ministers announced that as soon as the budget had been introduced and the necessary votes taken Parliament would be dissolved. The budget had to deal with a deficit of £3,000,000, which was provided for by the suspension of the sinking fund. The Prime Minister addressed the country by means of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the danger of Home Rule, a political doctrine which had hitherto received very slight support from British politicians and none from the country. Beaconsfield denounced it as being, in its ultimate results, scarcely less disastrous than pestilence or famine, and summoned all men of light and leading to resist disintegration of the United Kingdom. This was the only topic treated of, but Imperialism received some recognition in the assurance that peace rests on the presence, not to say the ascendancy, of Great Britain in the councils of Europe. Lord Hartington replied on March 11th in an address to the electors of North-East Lancashire. He denounced Home Rule as impracticable and mischievous, but repudiated Beaconsfield's expressions as extravagant and overstrained, and urged the adoption of equal laws as a remedy for Irish discontent. Leading Liberals rejected Home Rule as part of their platform, and the only English Home Ruler appears to have been Joseph Cowen, of Newcastle, who, however, supported Beaconsfield warmly in his foreign policy. The result was that the question of Home Rule did not form part of the controversy in the election.

Gladstone's address was very powerful. It repudiated the assertion that the Liberal policy aimed at repeal of the Union with Ireland and the abandonment of the colonies. He said that the enemies of the Union were those who maintained in Ireland

an alien Church, unjust land laws, and a franchise inferior to that of the sister countries. The colonies, he maintained, were united by the principles of Free Trade with the rest of the world, of popular and responsible government, and of confederation where it was possible to carry it out, and by the promise to defend them in case of need with all the strength of the Empire. On March 16th he set out for another campaign in Midlothian, accompanied by similar manifestations of a royal progress to those which he had before experienced. He received addresses at Grantham, York and Newark, and was greeted at Edinburgh with as much enthusiasm as ever. When he arrived at Dalmeny he set himself to work with unbounded energy and, indeed, spoke every day for a whole fortnight. Hartington made even more speeches than Gladstone, and conducted in Lancashire a close duel with Cross, by no means a contemptible antagonist. A main proposal of the Liberals was to extend the franchise in the counties, and it was to fight this issue that the Eighty Club, which afterwards became such a powerful institution, was founded. Joseph Chamberlain, then an ardent Radical, established the caucus system at Birmingham, administered by the able hands of Schnadhorst, and this contributed largely to the success of the election.

Parliament was dissolved on March 24th, and the first elections took place on March 30th; it was at once evident that the Liberals would have a majority. On the first day they had a net gain of fifteen seats in sixty-nine constituencies, and by the end of the fourth day a net gain of fifty seats was announced, and the Ministerial majority had disappeared. Gladstone was elected both for Midlothian and for Leeds, and when he preferred the former, his youngest son, Herbert, was returned for Leeds without a contest, and thus began a distinguished and successful political career. The result of the elections was a great surprise to both parties, but it spoke with no uncertain voice. The new Parliament contained 347 Liberals as against 351 Tories in the old. The Conservative Opposition was now 240, whereas the Liberal Opposition in the late House had been 250. The numbers of the Home Rule party had risen from 50 to 65. Beaconsfield heard the result of the elections at Hatfield, where he was staying alone in the absence of Lord Salisbury. He had expected a very different result, but he viewed the ruin of his Government and the end of his career with unshaken serenity and magnanimity. Gladstone wrote: "The downfall of Beaconsfield is like the vanishing of some vast, magnificent castle in an Italian romance.

We may be well content to thank God in silence. But the outlook is tremendous. The gradual unravelling of the tangled knots of the foreign and Indian policy will indeed be a task for skilled and strong hands if they can be found, and there can hardly be found such as the case requires."

Beaconsfield determined not to meet the new Parliament, and only delayed his resignation until the Queen returned from the Continent. The last meeting of the outgoing Cabinet was held on April 21st. On the following day the Queen sent for Hartington, and urged him to form a Government, expressing confidence in his moderation, which is perhaps the main reason why she chose him in preference to Gladstone and Granville. Hartington replied that no Cabinet could be formed without Gladstone, and that no post could be offered him except that of First Minister, an obvious proposition which the Queen, however, appeared to doubt, asking him to ascertain if this were really the case. Of course, it was found to be the case, and, after another interview with Granville and Hartington, the Queen sent for Gladstone. In the interview which followed, the Queen asked some questions about suggested Ministers, and ended by saying, "I must be frank with you, Mr. Gladstone, and must firmly say that there have been some little things which caused me concern."

Gladstone was free to admit that he had used a mode of speech and language different in some degree from what he would have used had he been the leader of a party or a candidate for office; that in office he would use every effort to diminish her cares, or, at any rate, not to aggravate them; but that, considering his years, he could only look forward to a short period of active exertion and a personal retirement at a comparatively early date. She answered that, with regard to the freedom of language, he would have to bear the consequences, to which Gladstone assented. He then kissed hands and the interview ended.

CHAPTER VI

THE ZULU WAR

THE land of the Zulus, lying between the Transvaal and the Indian Ocean, is a most interesting portion of South Africa, and the Zulus are a very attractive people. Their language closely resembles Kafir, but is more musical and more refined. It is spoken by many English men and women, and is used for religious purposes by many missionaries. The war, the incidents of which we now have to relate, sprang out of the endless conflict between barbarous and civilised races which is always going on—and from the forward policy of which we have already given some account.

A competent historian tells us that the Emashlabatini country was originally occupied by a small tribe called the Abanguni, that of its more ancient kings little is known, except that they seem to have been of peaceful habits, making no wars and breeding cattle, and that the name of one of them was Zulu. The tribe was comprised of several families or clans, each having its own chieftain. The first king of whom any particulars are known was Senzagacone, son of Ufaina, who had a son Chaka, who at the death of his father was made king with great rejoicings.

Chaka's authority was disputed by some of the other tribes and needed many wars to support it, but he eventually became chief potentate, levying tribute from the tribes around him. He then endeavoured to extend his authority, especially over the Pondos, so that he claimed to rule over the entire country from the sea to Pondoland. He then proceeded to consolidate his position. The petty kings under his power became tributary chieftains, and if any did not pay his tribute an impi was sent to eat him up. He also established a standing army, military service being made compulsory, the army becoming the King's army instead of the army of the tribes. Women were also compelled to marry into regiments at the King's command, and the regiments were not allowed to marry until they were entitled to wear head rings, and this did not occur until the men had

reached forty years of age. He also defeated the Swazis and compelled them to pay tribute. Chaka was a great administrator, like Charles the Great on a small scale, comparable to those heroes whom we are taught to admire in the dawn of European history. But one day, while his army was absent on a military expedition, Dingaan and four more of the King's brothers fell treacherously upon Chaka and killed him. He is said to have been contemplating a journey to England about the time of his death.

Dingaan began his reign by killing all his brothers except Panda; but he soon came into conflict with the Boers, who sent Pieter Retief to chastise him. Retief was killed on February 5th, 1838. Dingaan then invaded Natal and waged war with considerable success; but Panda, recollecting the fate which had befallen the rest of his family, joined the Boers, and with them invaded Zululand and defeated Dingaan, who was slain by the Swazis. Upon this Panda became king, and ceded to the Boers the territory of Natal as far as the Tugela. He had many sons, the best known of whom were Cetewayo and Umbulazi, but Cetewayo defeated Umbulazi and killed him. Cetewayo, being accepted as King of the Zulus after Panda's death in October, 1872, asked the British Government to accept him. Shepstone, the British envoy, publicly crowned him, saying to the Zulus, "He is your King. You have recognised him as such, and I will now do so also in the name of the Queen of England. If you kill him we shall surely require his blood of you." Cetewayo reigned well, but it could be hardly expected of him that he should be entirely devoid of cruelty.

Questions of frontier were bound to arise between the Zulus and the Boers. Moreover, the young men of the army wanted to "wash their spears" and to attack the Boers with that object, but the British Government refused to allow it. It was only natural that the people of Natal should be afraid of the military nation of the Zulus on their borders, and should dread a possible invasion of their colony, though, in fact, a certain section of the colonists eagerly desired war. They disliked the neighbourhood of black people, whom they could neither tax nor force to work; if the power of this native race were broken, they would get a hut tax out of them, and the presence of British troops would, in a variety of ways, also be very lucrative. Besides, the white young men were just as anxious to try their rifles as the Zulus to "wash their spears." Some even of the missionaries clamoured for war, and said that only the utter destruction of the Zulus

could secure peace in South Africa, and that in making war they would have the approbation of their God, their Queen, and their conscience.

For many years there had been a dispute between the Zulus and the Boers upon a question of boundary. The claims of both parties were examined by the British Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, and the result was communicated to Cetewayo's envoys at the Lower Tugela Drift on December 11th, 1878. The award was favourable to the Zulus, but with it was delivered an ultimatum involving the destruction of the whole system of Zulu government. They were not only asked to pay 600 head of cattle for supposed offences, but to undertake to observe certain promises which it was asserted Cetewayo had given at his coronation—to disband the Zulu army; to discontinue the Zulu military system; to allow men to marry when they pleased; to readmit missionaries and their converts, who had been expelled in 1877 for disloyalty; to allow a British Agent to reside in Zululand, so that all cases in which Europeans were engaged should be heard in public; and to expel no one from the country except with the commissioner's approval. It was stated that if these demands were not agreed to before the end of the year, that is, within twenty days, the British army would invade the country on the first day of the New Year and enforce them at the point of the bayonet — a term afterwards extended to January 11th.

It is quite clear that the King could not accept these demands, which were of a most humiliating and most destructive character, without consulting his Indunas, and that the cattle could not be collected for delivery within the time specified; but Sir Bartle Frere had made up his mind that the existence of the Zulu State was inconsistent with British rule in South Africa, and that it must be crushed at all hazards. Cetewayo did not desire war, and wished to live in peace with neighbours who had been kind and friendly. He had contemplated nothing but self-defence and, by the exercise of patience and moderation, matters might have been peacefully arranged without the loss of men, money and honour. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the Secretary for the Colonies, expressed a hope that, by meeting the Zulus in a spirit of forbearance and reasonable compromise, the very serious danger of a war might be avoided. But the Natal Government set to work to raise a corps of 7,000 natives to fight against their countrymen, and declared that the time had arrived for decisive action, that there would never be so favourable an opportunity for smashing

the Zulu power, and that if it were lost Great Britain would sooner or later be taken at a disadvantage.

At this time Sir Bartle Frere, a proconsul of the greatest eminence, was Governor of Cape Colony, and was responsible for settling such important matters. No historian can deny Frere's high qualities or belittle the value of the services he rendered to the Empire during his administration of Sind and Bombay, and his conduct during the Indian Mutiny. But when sent to the Cape he was advanced in years, and found himself in a most difficult position, which he imperfectly understood, and his training as an Indian official made him less fit to deal with the strange problems before him. He conceived a strong dislike to Cetewayo, and a deep distrust for the methods which had been adopted for welding the Zulus into a powerful nation, and in the steps he took to remedy these evils he went not only beyond what the occasion demanded, but exceeded the powers committed to him by the Government. In the controversy which ensued upon his conduct between himself, on the one side, and the Home Government and Mr. Gladstone on the other, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that they were right and that Frere was wrong, and that the Zulu War which he brought about was a serious and unnecessary crime. Hicks Beach wrote, in January, 1879, that the demands with which Cetewayo had been called upon to comply, and Frere's own description of the situation with which he had to deal, had not prepared the Government for the course which Frere was now taking. The Colonial Secretary said that he had impressed upon Frere the importance of using every effort to avoid war, but that Cetewayo would not improbably refuse the terms offered him even at the risk of hostilities, and that Frere ought to have consulted the Home Government before presenting such conditions to the Zulu king.

War was now inevitable, and it was determined to advance into Zululand with four columns, each complete in itself, with its own artillery, cavalry, and independent leader. The native levies, which should never have been employed, were armed with rifles and clothed in corduroy tunics and breeches with long boots of untanned leather and the now familiar cowboy hat. There were also 1,000 European volunteers and a contingent of mounted Boers, trained horsemen and deadly shots, who were savage against the Zulus and did not realise that the destruction of the natives' liberty was to be a prelude to the subversion of their own.

The first column, under Pearson, was to assemble on the Lower Tugela, garrison Fort Pearson, cross the river, and encamp on

the Zulu side, under the protection of the guns of the fort. The second, under Durnford, composed almost entirely of natives, was to cross the Tugela; the third, under Glyn, was to cross at Rorke's Drift; the fourth, under Evelyn Wood, was to advance to the Blood River. The strength of the Imperial and Colonial troops has been placed at 6,669. The Zulu army was composed of the natives in arms, all males between fifteen and sixty-five being compelled to serve without exemption. It consisted of large regiments, each containing a right and left wing, each wing being divided into companies. The companies were really families or clans, and varied in strength from 10 to 200, each possessing their own kraal or headquarters. At certain intervals, varying from two to five years, a general levy had been held, when all the males who had attained the age of fifteen were formed into regiments and had to undergo a year's probation to mark the change from boyhood to manhood. There were, in all, thirty-three regiments, some married, some unmarried, none being allowed to marry without the King's consent, which they did not receive till they were about forty years of age. The married men had their heads shaved in a Capuchin tonsure, and bore white shields; the unmarried, with unshaven heads, bore coloured shields. It was reckoned that only about twenty-five regiments would be fit for active service, numbering some 40,000. They were fed by three or four days' supply of grain, carried by lads who followed each corps, and by herds of cattle driven with each column.

The Tugela was crossed on January 12th, 1879, the day after the expiry of the ultimatum; but the difficulties of advance were found to be great. The long train of wagons was very cumbersome, and the invaders were almost completely ignorant of the country. On January 20th the third column moved from Rorke's Drift to Isandhlwana Hill, the spot selected for a camp. The Lion Hill rises abruptly to the west, representing the head of the crouching animal, and after forming the back extends sharply to the east. At both ends are necks or ridges connecting the hill with smaller elevations; the road from Rorke's Drift passes over the western ridge, and on the north is a deep ravine and watercourse. On the left of the camp was posted the Natal native contingent; in the centre were the Colonial regular infantry and the headquarters camp of Lord Chelmsford, the commander-in-chief; on the right were the guns and mounted corps lining the edge of the road, and behind was the precipitous Lion Hill; so that the camp was placed with its back to the wall.

THE ISANDHLWANA DISASTER

On January 22nd, at 6 in the morning, a company of Natal natives was despatched to scout towards the left, to search for the enemy. At 9 Durnford came up with a rocket battery and 500 native troops. False intelligence was brought that the Zulus were retiring in all directions. However, about 10 they were found in force on a range of hills about five miles off. Lord Chelmsford had very little acquaintance with South Africa, or with Zulu methods of fighting, and Frere managed that he should meet Kruger and Joubert, who, twenty years later, became so prominent in the Boer War. They impressed upon him the absolute necessity of collecting his wagons in a laager every evening and whenever there was any danger of the approach of the enemy. Chelmsford, however, continued to hold his own opinions; he despised the enemy and clung to English methods. Attaching himself to the third corps, he crossed the Buffalo at Rorke's Drift and encamped at Isandhlwana.

On the morning of the fatal 22nd the general set out to attack the Zulus. He left Pulleine in command of the camp and sent a message to Durnford to move up from Rorke's Drift. Pulleine had been ordered to draw in his line of defence and his infantry outposts, but to keep his cavalry vedettes still far advanced. After the departure of the advance column at daybreak everything remained quiet in the camp until between 7 and 8 o'clock, when news came that some Zulus were approaching. Pulleine communicated this to Chelmsford, who received the news between 9 and 10. Durnford reached the camp at about 11, and found that some preparations were made and that reports were coming in announcing the retirement of the enemy. Durnford determined to move out and reconnoitre, but about five miles off met a large body of the Zulus, in skirmishing order, who opened fire and advanced very rapidly. Durnford fell back, keeping up a steady fire, for about two miles, and disputing every yard of ground, until he reached a gully, about 800 yards in front of the camp, where he made a stand. He held the gully most heroically and is supposed to have killed 1,000 Zulus.

Firing was not heard in the camp till mid-day, and soon afterwards the Zulus swept down upon it in overwhelming numbers. They completely surrounded the 24th Regiment; the retreat by the Rorke's Drift road was blocked; the soldiers ran away down a ravine, and the Zulus mingled with them, striking at them with their assegais as they ran. At last the Buffalo was reached, about five miles below Rorke's Drift, and here a number of the fugitives were shot or carried away by the stream and drowned.

The ground was rugged, broken up with small streams of water and strewn with boulders, but was such as a Zulu could traverse more quickly than a horse. The river, which ran fast, was deep and without a ford, sharp rocks alternating with deep water. Not half of those who escaped from the camp succeeded in crossing it. Here occurred the brilliant action of Lieutenants Melvill and Coghill which still lives in history and art. Seeing that all was lost, they attempted to escape on horseback with the colours of the 24th Regiment. Coghill got safely across the Buffalo, but Melvill was shot just as he was reaching the farther bank. Coghill turned back to help his comrade, and suffered the same fate. Their bodies were found close to each other, surrounded by dead Zulus, and the colours which they had sacrificed their lives to defend were discovered in the bed of the river, saved from dishonour.

When the attack ceased, Durnford rallied the white troopers on the right of the camp, and with them and the Basutos forced the Zulu left, keeping open the road across the Nek, by which retreat was still possible. Durnford held his position until all hope of retrieving the day was gone. He and his companions left their horses to cover the retreat of their comrades and died to a man at their posts. Durnford's body was afterwards discovered in a patch of long grass near the right flank of the enemy, surrounded by the corpses of the brave men who had fought it out with him to the bitter end. Durnford was a remarkable man; he strongly disapproved of the whole policy of the Colonial Government towards the natives, and, while the best-abused man in the colony, was adored by the Zulus. Indeed, he inspired them with such love and devotion that they sold their lives at his side. Bulwer described him as a soldier of soldiers, with his whole heart in his profession, keen, active-minded, and indefatigable, unsparing of himself, brave and utterly fearless, honourable, loyal, of great gentleness and goodness of heart. There perished at Isandhlwana twenty-six British officers and 600 men, the loss of the Colonials not being less.

In the meantime Chelmsford was perfectly happy, having no fear for the safety of the camp, continuing his operations against the supposed main body of the Zulus. At 2 o'clock he was selecting a fit spot for a camp, when he heard from a native horseman of the attack on Pulleine and the heavy firing of big guns. He surveyed the camp from the summit of a hill, and everything seemed quiet. The sun shone on the white tents; there were no signs of firing, and it was not until some time later

that he was informed that the camp was in the possession of the enemy. He sent Glyn and his force towards the camp; but, in spite of all his exertions, he could not reach it before dark. He found it an entire wreck, the ground being strewn with corpses, broken tents, dead horses, oxen, and other signs of complete destruction. His men, most of whom were without ammunition and had not eaten anything for forty-eight hours, were obliged to bivouac amongst the relics of the slaughter, and were entirely unable to withstand the Zulus if they attacked. Next morning the British retreated to Rorke's Drift.

In this place a deed of heroic daring had taken place which illuminates the sad history and will live for ever in the annals of valour. Lieutenant Chard, with a sergeant and six men, was guarding the pontoon bridge over the Tugela at this point, and Lieutenant Bromhead had command over the commissariat depot with a company of the 24th. They heard of the disaster at Isandhlwana and of the advance of the Zulus about 3 in the afternoon, and, joining together, loopholed and barricaded the storehouse and hospital, and connected the two with "works" of mealie-bags. At 3.30 about 100 natives of Durnford's Horse arrived, but eventually deserted and galloped off to Helpmakaar. As they could not defend all their buildings with their small numbers, they made an inner entrenchment of biscuit-boxes, the wall being two boxes high. Suddenly they were attacked by 600 Zulus, who, braving their fire, came within fifty yards of the biscuit boxes. Then the larger number of them swung to the left, round the hospital, and rushed upon the wall of mealie bags. Others held a ridge of rocks overlooking the British position, and kept up a constant fire at the distance of 100 yards; others occupied a garden in a hollow on the road and the bush beyond.

At last the fire from the ridge of rocks compelled the defenders to retire behind the inner defence of biscuit boxes. Presently the hospital was set on fire and the garrison defended the building room by room, bringing out all the sick who could be moved before they retired. Five patients, however, had to be left. They now made a redoubt of the lines of mealie bags, thus obtaining a second line of fire, and in this way defended themselves until darkness fell. The attacks continued throughout the night, until at 4 in the morning of January 23rd the enemy retired over the hill. The defenders then examined the ground, collected the arms of the dead Zulus, and strengthened the position as far as they could. At 7 a large body of Zulus were seen to approach, but an hour later the British troops began to appear, the enemy

fell back, and the post of Rorke's Drift was saved. The defence had been conducted by eight officers and about 131 men of lower rank against a force of nearly 4,000 Zulus, of whom 370 lay dead around the spot. Chard and Bromhead—one belonging to the Royal Engineers and the other to the 24th Regiment—received the thanks of Parliament for their services, and were promoted to the rank of major.

Such is the story of Isandhlwana. The British underrated the power of the Zulus, overrated the courage of their native allies, neglected the most obvious precautions, and allowed masses of the enemy, who had no plan of their own, to blunder into the British camp and cause terrible disaster. But the chief lesson to be derived from what happened was that the war should never have been undertaken at all.

The next point of interest is Ekowe, a position of great natural beauty, 2,000 feet above the sea-level, commanding a view of Port Durnford, the sea being about twenty miles distant as the crow flies. The buildings on this site consisted of three structures of brick and a small church, which was afterwards turned into a hospital. Pearson, who commanded the first division, had entrenched himself here, intending to make it a place of support to the invading army, as it was about seventy miles distant from Cetewayo's kraal at Ulundi, which was the main point of attack. Here Pearson heard the news of Isandhlwana, and determined to remain where he was, being confident he could hold out for at least two months. He laboured hard to make a very strong fort, and had an excellent supply of water. His force had not much to eat, two pounds of freshly-killed beef (very tough), two commissariat biscuits as hard as flint, a little coffee, tea and sugar, one spoonful of lime juice, and a small quantity of preserved vegetables being the daily ration per man. They had no lack of ammunition and the troops led an orderly and strenuous life, part of their time being spent in raiding for the destruction of kraals. At the same time Pearson's force was wholly isolated and surrounded by the enemy, so that it became necessary to release it.

The advance for this purpose began on March 27th, the first division consisting of 3,720 infantry and 350 cavalry, commanded by Lowe, and the second of 2,060 infantry and 196 cavalry, commanded by Pemberton, the whole forming an aggregate of 6,320 men. The column was made as light as possible, no tents being taken, and each man being allowed only a blanket and waterproof sheet, while the wagons and pack animals were

reduced to the smallest proportions. It was a great help that sun-signalling was possible between Pearson and Chelmsford. A battle took place on April 2nd in which the Zulus were defeated, after fighting with conspicuous bravery. They wore crests of leopard skins and feathers, the tails of wild oxen dangled from their necks, and they carried white and coloured shields. They approached with a sort of measured dance, but at about three hundred yards the flame burst forth from the shelter-pit, and a number of the fearless enemy fell. But, nothing daunted, the main body again advanced and boldly faced the murderous fire. At last a charge of cavalry decided the fate of the conflict. The British loss was small, only two officers and four privates being killed, and three officers and thirty-four privates wounded, whereas the Zulus must have lost nearly a thousand men—a number which pains one to chronicle and which seriously detracts from the glory of the exploit. At length, on April 3rd, Pearson and Chelmsford met, and a rousing British cheer celebrated the event. Pearson had been beleaguered for seventy days, the monotony of which had been relieved by lawn tennis, bowls, ninepins and quoits, together with concerts and theatrical performances.

With the relief of Ekowe, the first period of the Zulu War came to an end. There was no danger of an invasion of Natal, but it was thought necessary to capture Cetewayo. Large reinforcements arrived from England, comprising 9,000 troops and 2,000 horses, the cavalry being the most wanted and the most important. With the force arrived the Prince Imperial of France, a noble and chivalrous youth, destined to perish in a quarrel not his own, in a moment of surprise and treachery. A new plan of campaign was formed, by which the principal forces operating, one from Utrecht and the other from Durban, were to make an attack upon the King's kraal at Ulundi.

About the middle of May the task, too long delayed, of burying the dead at Isandhlwana was undertaken. The work was a very sad one. At the same time, there was nothing of the horrors of a recent battlefield. Silence reigned in the solitude; grass had grown luxuriantly round the wagons and shrouded the dead, who had been lying there for four months. Rider and horse, officer and private, man and boy, their parchment-looking skins half eaten by the carrion crows and half covering the bleaching bones, formed a gruesome sight. Many of the bodies were recognised; Durnford was found in a patch of grass, surrounded by those who had fallen near him, and was

buried with deep respect in a donga, close to the spot where he fell. The dead were roughly buried, excepting the men of the 24th Regiment, who were left to be interred by their comrades. Fifty-five wagons were brought away by the horses and mules, and a quantity of stores was stowed in them. The staff which had borne the colours of the 24th was also recovered, and the men returned to the camp with due precautions for their safety.

During the whole of this time Cetewayo was continuously asking for peace, professing not to understand the object of the war. As early as March 3rd he sent a message to Bishop Schneider, saying that he had taken care of the deserted mission stations, not allowing them to be damaged, thinking that the missionaries might return to them; but in some cases they had come back and converted them into forts, whereupon his people had destroyed them, which he could not complain of, seeing the use which had been made of them. He also said that he had never desired war, that he had never refused the terms proposed to him, that he had collected the 600 head of cattle which were asked for, that the attack upon Isandhlwana was not made by his orders, and that his Induna was in disgrace for it, and that he wished negotiations to be resumed, with a view to a permanent settlement. He also sent back the book given to him by the Government at the time of his accession, and asked that it might be shown to him in what respect he had transgressed its provisions. It was impossible for him to open communications, because his messengers were fired upon and in some cases detained. In one case the Natal papers reported that when a small party bearing a white flag approached the British station the flag was fired at to test its sincerity. Unfortunately, Cetewayo's efforts to make peace were never encouraged, and the opinion was held that his messengers were spies.

At the same time the Home Government was expressing its desire that the war should terminate at the earliest moment consistent with the honour of the British arms and the settlement of the Zulu question. But when war is once begun the officers conducting it are generally reluctant to make peace until the enemy has been entirely crushed. In May it was reported that the King was suing for peace. He said, "White men have made me King, and I am their son. Do they kill the man in the afternoon whom they have made King in the morning? What have I done? I want peace; I ask for peace." Lord Chelmsford, however, was of opinion that Cetewayo must

be deposed, and that peace must be signed at Ulundi, in the presence of the British force.

On Sunday, June 1st, occurred the episode in which the Prince Imperial lost his life. It is so important in itself and so characteristic of the conduct of the war that a detailed account should be given of it. The Prince had arrived in Natal early in April. He acted at first as extra aide-de-camp to Chelmsford, but afterwards became attached to Colonel Harrison, of the Engineers. Harrison was requested to find him some work, and he was asked to collect information about the distribution of troops and similar objects. He then accompanied Harrison on a skirmishing expedition into Zululand, undertaken with the object of ascertaining which route the invading forces should take. They were thus occupied from May 13th to 17th, camping by night with their horses saddled and bridled, marching at dawn, and driving the Zulu scouts before them. The Prince was then sent back, but on May 18th received permission to return and begin a new reconnaissance. Harrison was now informed that he was to consider the Prince Imperial as attached to the quartermaster's staff for duty, but that it was not put into orders because the Prince did not belong to the army. He did not live with Harrison, and only saw him when he came for work or orders, which was very frequently. On May 24th the Prince was ordered to prepare the plan of a divisional camp; but that evening Harrison was rebuked by Chelmsford for having allowed the Prince to go out of the lines without an escort, and gave orders that this should not be done in future, and the Prince received orders to this effect in writing. He was then required to make a map of the country, from the reports received, and this he did very well.

As the month advanced, reconnaissances were extended into the country and no enemy was seen. On May 31st the Prince was told that the army was to march on the following day, and that he might go out and report on the roads and the camps for the purpose. Lieutenant Carey, who was Harrison's subordinate officer, expressed a desire to go with the Prince, as he wished to verify a sketch previously made, and Harrison said to him, "All right, you can look after the Prince"; but at the same time he was told that the Prince was to be allowed to do the work of making a report upon the road and fixing a site for the camp. Carey and the Prince were to set out with an escort of six Europeans, a friendly Zulu, and six Basutos; but the Basutos, who were invaluable as scouts, never arrived.

The party set out along a valley running north-east and gradually narrowing. They reached the watershed in about an hour, and were overtaken by Harrison, who ordered them to wait till the Basutos came up. The Prince said, "Oh! we are quite strong enough," and they pushed on to the river. They proceeded for four miles along a deep, sandy ravine, with precipitous sides, and came to an open space from which a path led to a deserted kraal about two miles away. They went on about two miles farther, but then off-saddled. It was a very dangerous place—a kraal, surrounded by tall grass. Remains of cooking showed that the kraal had been recently occupied, and dogs came out and barked at the intruders. No precautions were taken; the horses were knee-haltered and turned out to graze, coffee was prepared, and no search was made in the surrounding grass.

Yet all this time a party of thirty or forty Zulus were watching the doomed men, waiting for the moment to attack. They crept up through the rank vegetation till their presence was detected by the Zulu who accompanied the British. He gave the alarm, the horses were collected, and the men prepared to mount. Suddenly a volley was fired from the river, the horses were seized with terror and broke away, and a private was shot dead. The Prince's horse — a grey, sixteen hands high, very difficult to control—became wild with fear. The escort galloped away, each anxious to save his own life, and the Prince was left alone. He made desperate attempts to mount, by means of his holster flap, but the leather broke, and he fell beneath his horse, which trampled on him. His body was afterwards found, pierced with eighteen assegai wounds, stripped, with nothing but the amulet which his mother had given him hanging round his neck The body was conveyed to England and buried beside his father's at Chislehurst.

About the middle of June news arrived in South Africa that Chelmsford had been superseded, Sir Garnet Wolseley having been recalled from Cyprus and made Governor of South Africa, High Commissioner of Natal and the Transvaal, and Commander-in-Chief of the forces in South Africa. However, till his arrival operations were continued which lasted till the end of the month. On July 27th some natives arrived from Cetewayo bringing 150 of the oxen captured at Isandhlwana, a pair of elephant's tusks, and a letter written by a Dutch dealer, who was with the King. The letter said that the King could not comply with the whole of Chelmsford's demands, as the arms taken at Isandhlwana had

not all come in, and that he had no power as King to disband his regiments. He asked the English, on receipt of what they had asked for, to retire from the country. To this Chelmsford replied that he must advance to the Umvolosi, that he would remain there quietly till noon on July 3rd, when, if certain conditions were complied with, proposals for peace would be entertained, Apparently no reply was received to this ultimatum.

Wolseley landed at Durban on June 28th, and Chelmsford acquainted him with what he had done. The final battle of Ulundi was fought on July 4th. Chelmsford had under his command a force of a little over 5,000 men. Redvers Buller, who led the attack, fought with his men in two ranks. The first were mounted, ready to attack any weak point in the enemy's line ; the second dismounted, using their saddles as a rest for their rifles. When the front rank were exhausted they retired, and the second then took their places, each thus in turn relieving the other. At last the Zulus advanced with a grand front attack, showing great courage. One who was present tells us that their wild yells and unearthly war-cries were heard through the bang and rattle of the musketry fire. Drury-Lowe charged with his lancers, who, in their furious onslaught, pressed through the wall of human flesh, but the Zulus fought on stubbornly, stabbing at the horses' bellies and trying to drag the men from their saddles. Lord William Beresford pursued the flying Zulus with his dragoons. At last the enemy's force was broken and the Battle of Ulundi was won, and was celebrated at the time as a great victory for British arms. The Zulus numbered at least 23,000, of whom over 1,500 were lost. The British loss was very small, about a dozen killed and eighty wounded. The King's five great kraals had been destroyed.

For some reason the Battle of Ulundi was not followed up. The Zulu army had been thoroughly broken and dispersed, and nothing could have prevented Chelmsford from destroying the King's stronghold and securing a complete victory. Instead of this, he retired and resigned his command ; but it cannot be said whether this was due to the action of Wolseley or not. There is no doubt that Wolseley had been sent out to finish the war as speedily as possible. Accordingly, he crossed the Tugela on July 6th, reached the headquarters of the first division near Port Durnford next day, set to work to reduce expenses, dispensed with the services of the Naval Brigade, stopped reinforcements of every description, and gave up the idea of an invasion of Swaziland.

It only remained to find Cetewayo, who was said to be somewhere to the north of the Black Umvolosi, with a small number of adherents; and a force of cavalry was sent from Ulundi for this purpose. They endeavoured in vain to induce his people to betray him, but his folk clung to him with the utmost devotion, as the Highlanders clung with loyalty to the fugitive Prince Charlie. The chase was most adventurous and most picturesque. The men had to live on what they found in the kraals—sour milk, cakes of Indian corn, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and native beer. Their road led through a thickly-wooded forest, with strange trees, like an artificial park. In some places they came to treeless plains and flats broken by bamboos and massive jungles which seemed almost impenetrable; but in others they met with better cultivated land, with large fields of maize. Now they found tamarinds, which gave them a pleasant shade; now tracts of long, stiff grass, which came up to their saddle-flaps and tickled the horses; now an open steppe, with a distant view of the hills in front; now a thick wood, where the foliage was so dense that they could scarcely see the steps of those in front; now they gazed at the valleys and rivers below from an elevation of 2,000 feet.

From August 19th to August 27th their long marches were incessant. At last they came to a kraal which the King had left early in the morning; mats, blankets, and a snuff-box were recognised as belonging to him. Marching all night, they came at daybreak within four miles of the kraal in which they were told that the King was lying. They knew that he was footsore and very weary. By and by his hut was surrounded, and the native friendlies said to the King's men, "The white man is here; you are caught!"

Major Marter, who commanded the detachment, rode up and called on Cetewayo to surrender.

The King replied, "Enter into my hut; I am your prisoner."

This Marter declined to do, and the King came forth with a dignity which could not have been surpassed, and when a dragoon tried to lay hands on him, he said to the soldier, "Do not touch me. I surrender to your chief."

When Lord Gifford, who had commanded the expedition, came upon the scene, the King said that he surrendered to him, and not to Marter; and then, as an eyewitness tells us, with head erect and regal, though savage, dignity, and the mien of a Roman Emperor, he marched between the lines of the 60th Rifles to

the tent prepared for him, the men presenting arms as he passed.

Thus ended the Zulu War. Cetewayo was taken as prisoner to Cape Town; and the Zulu country, so well governed by a single man, was split up into thirteen districts, each governed by its own chief.

CHAPTER VII

THE PACIFICATION OF AFGHANISTAN

AT the risk of repetition, we must give an account of Great Britain's dealings with India under the Beaconsfield Government, on which we have already touched in the chapter devoted to the general survey of his Ministry. The suppression of the Mutiny marked an epoch in the relations of Great Britain to her Indian dependency. The conquest of India within natural frontiers was at an end. The native States were at peace, their limits defined, their dynasties were established, and their existence was guaranteed. In 1869 Sir John Lawrence was succeeded as Viceroy by the Earl of Mayo, appointed by Disraeli just before his Government came to an end. The appointment was far from popular, and Gladstone was urged to cancel it; but the proposed Viceroy proved a success. On his arrival in India he found the Afghan question still unsolved, the dispute about the frontier being difficult to determine. From Baluchistan to Chitral there is a debatable zone of tribal territory, occupied by restless warriors, who owed a very imperfect submission to their nominal suzerain, the Amir of Afghanistan; and it was hard to decide where the limit of British rule should be drawn, especially in view of the advance of Russia in Central Asia. Various plans had been formed of a very divergent character, some authorities holding that the frontier of the British Empire should be withdrawn to the Indus; others that the intermediate zone should be conquered; some that Afghanistan should be partitioned, or the country conquered between the Oxus and the Indus; but, as a fact, Great Britain had stopped at the base of the mountains, had left the tribes independent, and had regarded Afghanistan as an inviolable buffer State.

A new epoch began with the death of Dost Mohammed in 1863, an event which was followed by an internecine war between his sons. Shere Ali held the throne for two years, and was then driven from Cabul and Candahar by his elder brother Afzal. Afzal died and, as his eldest son, Abdurrahman, gave up the claim to the succession, the throne passed to another brother, Azim. In 1868 Shere Ali, starting from Herat, gained possession of all

the dominions of Dost Mohammed, and ruled them for ten years. The policy of Great Britain, at this time, was to recognise the *de facto* ruler, whoever he might happen to be. Lawrence, therefore, recognised Shere Ali, as soon as he had consolidated his power, and made him a present of arms and money. Lord Mayo met Shere Ali in conference at Amballa in March, 1869; but when the Amir made proposals for a closer alliance the Viceroy was compelled by the Home Government to refuse them, much to Shere Ali's disappointment. He took back with him no treaty, but only a promise of moral support, whatever that might mean. In 1869 an agreement had been made with Russia that the Oxus should be accepted as a boundary of Shere Ali's dominions to the north, and that Russia should respect the integrity of his country so long as he promised not to interfere with Bokhara.

In 1872 Lord Mayo, while visiting the convict settlement in the Andaman Islands, was assassinated by a fanatic, and was succeeded by Lord Northbrook. The latter's relations with the Amir were not so good as those of his predecessor. Russia was making rapid advances in Central Asia, and Shere Ali was alarmed at them, especially at the conquest of Khiva in June, 1873. The Amir was deeply anxious for an alliance with Great Britain to protect him against Russia. But the Liberal Government, afraid of entanglements, gave him nothing but vague promises. Yet the opportunity of making friends with the Amir ought not to have been allowed to pass. Shere Ali was bitterly disappointed, and sought with Russia the friendship which Great Britain had denied him. Consequently, when Disraeli became Prime Minister, the Government, with a dread of the advance of Russia, suspected Shere Ali of friendly feelings towards their enemy, and desired the Viceroy to press upon him the admission of a British Resident into his country, to be stationed first at Herat and afterwards at Cabul. The Viceroy and his whole Council protested against the proposal, on the ground that this change of policy would produce a disastrous effect in the mind of the Amir. In 1868 and 1873 Shere Ali had entreated the British Government to make a close alliance with him, in order to protect him against Russia, and he had been assured there was no need for apprehension. It would be inconsistent and unwise to force upon him the alliance which had been emphatically rejected, together with a condition which he had always regarded as impossible. Unable to convince the Home Government of the soundness of his views, and unwilling to commit himself to their adventurous

policy, Lord Northbrook magnanimously resigned his office, and Lord Lytton was appointed in his place.

Lytton proved himself the willing instrument of the new Imperial policy, which, if he did not originate, at all events he executed. He acceded to the demands which Shere Ali had put forward in 1873, but the latter was stubborn in refusing the acceptance of a Resident. The Amir pointed out, with truth, that he would be unable to protect a British Resident against the fanaticism of his subjects, and urged that if he admitted a representative from Great Britain he must also admit one from Russia. Lytton apparently believed that Shere Ali was intriguing with Russia, and such ultimately became the case, although up to May, 1877, all letters from Russia were opened in the presence of the native who represented the British Government at Cabul, and communicated to the Viceroy. The occupation of Quetta in 1876 increased the terror of the Amir, and an interview which took place at Peshawar between the representatives of the Viceroy and the Amir produced no result. When the Afghan envoy, Syed Nur Mohammed, whose name should be mentioned with honour, died, Lytton refused to receive his successor, who was already on his way, and broke off communications with Shere Ali, who naturally turned to Russia. It is difficult to defend the vacillating and yet precipitate policy of Great Britain towards Afghanistan during the ten years which followed 1868.

We have already narrated at length the conduct of the British Government towards Russia. The two nations were on the brink of war, which was only averted by the Congress of Berlin, and Russia naturally endeavoured to create a diversion in India. On June 13th, 1878, the very day on which the Congress of Berlin held its first sitting, a Russian mission, under General Stoletov, began its march from Tashkent to Cabul. Shere Ali endeavoured to arrest its progress; but the Russians threatened him with the rivalry of Abdurrahman, his nephew, who resided in their country, so that he was compelled to submit, and possibly even signed a treaty with the Russian Government. This news decided Lytton upon vigorous action, and he announced his intention of sending Sir Neville Chamberlain to Cabul. Stoletov, on hearing of this, left Cabul, and, on September 30th, Major Cavagnari, who commanded the advance guard of Chamberlain's mission, was stopped at the fort of Ali Musjid, refused an entrance to the Khyber Pass, and eventually war was declared on November 21st, 1878. Shere Ali deserves our pity; he had done his best to avert the dangers

which threatened his country, and the death of his younger son, Abdullah Jan, had nearly disordered his mind.

Afghanistan was invaded by three columns—Sir Samuel Browne marched from the Khyber to Jelalabad; Sir Frederick Roberts executed his famous advance through the Kuram Pass, and stormed the heights of Peiwar; and Sir Donald Stewart marched from Quetta to Candahar. Shere Ali fled northwards to Turkestan, leaving his son Yakub Khan to make terms with the invader; and, rejected by the Russian General Kauffmann, died broken-hearted in February, 1879. Lytton would have preferred to dismember the conquered country, but the British Government made with Yakub Khan the Treaty of Gundamuk in May, 1879. By the terms of this treaty the Amir was to follow the orders of the British Government in conducting his foreign relations, to receive a British Resident at Cabul, to place under British control the districts of Kuram, Pishin and Sibi, together with the passes of Khyber and Michni. In return for these concessions the Amir was to be protected, by arms, money and troops, from foreign aggression and to receive an annual subsidy of six lakhs of rupees.

The chief object of the Treaty of Gundamuk was to secure that a British Resident should be established at the court of the Amir Yakub Khan of Afghanistan, and in accordance with it Sir Louis Cavagnari was received at Cabul as Resident on July 24th, 1879. He had, as escort, a mounted guard of twenty-five sowars, and fifty sepoys of the Guides, the Amir having promised to protect him. Certain regiments arrived from Herat on August 5th and swaggered through the streets of Cabul, declaiming against the admission of the ambassador. Cavagnari was warned of the coming storm, but remained calm, refusing to believe the rumours and, when convinced of their truth, saying, "They can only kill the three or four of us here, and our deaths will be avenged." On September 2nd he sent a message to the Viceroy that all was well; next day he and the whole mission were murdered; not one of them was left. Yakub Khan sat in his palace, vacillating and sullen, but did nothing. Instead of employing the troops which were faithful to him to quell the disorder, he only sent the Commander-in-Chief to remonstrate. It was not till Cavagnari's head was carried through the bazaar by an excited crowd that he began to fear British vengeance.

The news reached Sir Frederick Roberts at Simla at midnight on September 4th, and he secured the Shutargardan Pass and determined to move 6,000 men upon Cabul as soon as possible.

On September 27th the Amir arrived in the British camp and was treated with every possible mark of respect and given a guard of honour. The visit proved that he had lost all authority in his capital, and he expected that the British Government would avenge the murder of the Embassy but replace him on the throne. The Amir tried to delay the advance, but Roberts told him that not a day's delay would take place. Roberts, however, issued a proclamation that a distinction would be observed between the peaceful inhabitants of Afghanistan and the treacherous murderers of Cavagnari. On October 6th the mutinous troops were defeated and driven from the heights above Charasiah, and next day the force encamped within a few miles of the Bala Hissar and the city of Cabul. On October 12th Roberts took formal possession of the Bala Hissar, and a durbar was held at which the terms imposed upon Cabul were announced. The proclamation asserted that justice would be done if Cabul were utterly destroyed and its name for ever blotted out, but that the British Government would be merciful and spare the city. At the same time, the buildings which interfered with the military efficiency would be levelled with the ground and a fine imposed upon the inhabitants. Cabul and the country for ten miles round were placed under martial law; a military governor of the city was appointed to administer justice; the carrying of arms within the city or within five miles of the gates was forbidden, and anyone infringing this regulation was liable to the penalty of death.

Cabul is, in itself, not an impressive city, nor is the Cabul river a majestic stream. Sometimes it rises in flood, carrying away all obstacles and drowning those who attempt to cross; generally it crawls along, impotent for good or evil, a shallow streamlet which a child could wade. But the city is the link between Central Asia and India, and its bazaars contain both the cloths of Bokhara and the textiles of Manchester, the hardware of Sheffield and Birmingham, and the jewellery of native artificers—everything, in fact, from a diamond to a dhoti. Although the reception of the British troops had been fairly friendly, suspicions were aroused by an explosion in the arsenal, in which were stored some millions of cartridges and nearly seventy tons of gunpowder. The explosion was like the shock of an earthquake. Darkness blotted out everything, and showers of bullets, stones, cartridges, and rubbish fell into the surrounding garden, some twelve men being killed and seven wounded. When another explosion took place in the afternoon the city was seized with panic, the shops were shut, and the

streets deserted. The disaster was due to the treachery of those who resented the British occupation.

At the time of the occupation of the city Yakub Khan had resigned the office of Amir. Roberts was strongly opposed to his doing so; but Yakub declared he would rather be a grass-cutter in the British camp than Amir of Afghanistan. He was ready to go to India, London, Malta, or wherever the Viceroy should send him. The resignation could not be valid until it was accepted by the Viceroy, and when this was given Roberts assumed the government; but the Amir was kept under close guard, lest he should escape to Turkestan. During this time the causes of the rising against Cavagnari were being carefully and systematically investigated. No one was condemned without a fair and deliberate trial, nor executed without the personal order of Roberts. Altogether eighty-seven persons were executed under the Military Commission, either for complicity in the massacre or for subsequent disturbances of the peace. At the beginning of November the British army moved into cantonments at Sherpur, and the Bala Hissar was dismantled. The cold grew intense, and the watercourses were frozen, which made the life in tents very trying.

Roberts tells us that probably the general expectation among the Afghans was that, after punishment had been exacted from the people and the city, the British force would be withdrawn; but the occupation of the fortified lines which had been prepared by Shere Ali for his own army, the capture of the artillery and the munitions of war of which they were so proud, and which had been so laboriously collected, the destruction of the Bala Hissar, and the exile of the Amir, had animated the Afghans with a patriotic hatred of the foreign invader. This feeling was made more intense by the preaching of the aged mullah, or priest, Mushk-i-Alam, who denounced the British in every mosque throughout the country, so that the movement speedily assumed the character of a religious war. Thus, in the winter, there were many serious risings in the neighbourhood of Cabul, and it was only by hard fighting that Roberts was able to keep his communications with India open. With great skill he prevented the different sections of the enemy from concentrating at Cabul.

At the beginning of 1880 Roberts considered the condition of Afghanistan fairly satisfactory. The country had become tranquillised, even as far as Candahar, and preparations were made for the advance of Sir Donald Stewart's force into southern Afghanistan. But before the troops could withdraw, it had to

be settled what Great Britain was to do with Afghanistan now that she had got it, and who could be set up as ruler, with any chance of being able to hold his own. Abdurrahman Khan, who occurred to some as a likely man, had been living since 1868 in exile beyond the Oxus, under Russian protection. Roberts now heard that he was at Kanduz, on his way to Badakhshan. A fortnight later Sir Donald Stewart was informed by the Prince's mother, who lived at Candahar, that his cousin, Ayub Khan, having asked him to march with him against the British, her son had replied that he would have nothing to do with the family of Shere Ali, that he had no intention of opposing the British, that he could not leave Russian territory without the permission of the Russians, or come to Cabul without an invitation from the British; but that, if he received such an invitation, he would obey it at once. Lytton felt very sanguine about Abdurrahman, and desired to place him on the throne of Cabul. By the end of March it was known that Abdurrahman had made himself master of Afghan Turkestan, and overtures were made to him. He answered them in a guarded manner, saying that he wished to be friends with the British, but that he was under great obligations to the Russians. In the meantime, Roberts held a durbar on April 13th, at which it was declared that Yakub Khan would not be allowed to return, that there was no intention of annexing the country, that the British would withdraw as soon as a suitable ruler had been found, and that Candahar would not again be united to Cabul.

Sir Donald Stewart had left Candahar on March 30th, had gained a victory at Ahmed Khel on April 19th, and reached Cabul on May 5th. On the same day Roberts heard that Beaconsfield had ceased to be Prime Minister, his place having been taken by Gladstone, that Lytton had resigned the Viceroyalty, that Lord Ripon was to be his successor, and that Hartington was Secretary of State for India. Ripon's instructions were to effect a peaceable settlement with Afghanistan, the Liberal Cabinet being determined as far as possible to return to the state of things which existed before 1876. On July 22nd Abdurrahman was formally proclaimed Amir, with the understanding that he was to have no foreign relations with any other State except Great Britain. He was to be defended against outside aggression so long as he observed this condition, and he was not required to admit a British Resident. It was not, however, intended that he should succeed to all the dominions of Shere Ali, for Candahar was to be ruled by an independent

prince, and Herat was to remain for the time in the possession of Ayub Khan, a son of Shere Ali.

Immediately after the durbar orders were issued for the retirement of the troops. Some time later Roberts started off to ride to the Khyber Pass; but, obeying a sudden presentiment, determined to return to Cabul, and on the way was met by Sir Donald Stewart, who told him that Ayub Khan had almost annihilated a British brigade at Maiwand on July 27th and was besieging General Primrose in Candahar. Roberts was deeply affected by the news. It was impossible to say how far what had happened would affect the arrangements with Abdurrahman or what the attitude of the tribesmen would be; but it was certain that his first duty was to send assistance to Candahar from Cabul. He was strongly in favour of this course, although the Government first thought that the advance should be made from Quetta. He promised that he would reach Candahar within the month, and Lord Ripon assented to this proposal. The force under him consisted of about 10,000 men of all ranks and 18 guns, comprising three brigades of infantry, one of cavalry, and three batteries of mountain artillery. The army had to take with them 8,000 animals, and had great difficulty in providing food and fuel. Sometimes the soldiers could only cook with tiny roots of southern-wood, which had to be dug out and collected after a long day's march before the men could eat their dinner.

Roberts began the memorable march on Monday, August 6th. As a rule, the army rose at 2.45 in the morning and by 4 everything was ready for the day's start. A halt of ten minutes was called at every hour, and at 8 twenty minutes was allowed for breakfast. The column changed its face every day, the front brigade becoming the rearguard, which had the most arduous duty, in preventing the followers from lagging behind, which meant certain death. Towards the end of the march the followers were so weary and footsore that they laid themselves down in ravines, making up their minds to die and, when discovered, entreating to be left where they were. But such care was taken that only twenty were lost, besides four native soldiers. The temperature varied from freezing-point to 110° F., and was very trying, and the force suffered from sandstorms as well as want of water. The Zambak Kotal, 8,000 feet high, had to be crossed on August 12th, and by August 15th the army reached Ghazni. At Charden they learned that Candahar was closely invested, but had supplies for two months and forage for fifteen days, and on August 21st they opened heliograph communication with the

town. On August 23rd the army rested for a day, having made a continuous march of 275 miles. On August 31st Roberts—still weak from the fever which had attacked him—rode into Candahar, 313 miles from Cabul. He had covered the whole distance in twenty days. The garrison turned out and gave the relieving force a hearty welcome, very grateful for rendering their assistance so quickly. They were in a state of deep depression, and had not even hoisted the Union Jack until succour was close at hand. The decisive battle took place on September 1st, and Ayub Khan was completely defeated. Roberts was so exhausted that he with difficulty found strength to announce his victory to the Queen; but he woke on the following morning to realise that the march had ended. Candahar had been saved, Ayub Khan's army was routed and dispersed, and southern Afghanistan was freed from further disturbance.

The evacuation of the country proceeded, the British troops being withdrawn through the Bolan and Khyber passes. The policy of placing Candahar under an independent ruler proved a failure and he was allowed to resign. Candahar was evacuated in 1881, although a great clamour against its surrender was made by the so-called Imperial party, of which Gladstone was believed to be a bitter antagonist. In point of fact, the evacuation proved to be a most salutary measure. Nothing bound the Amir so closely to the British alliance as the possession of a place he had always ardently coveted. It is true that it was not obtained without a struggle, because Ayub Khan, advancing from Herat, occupied and held the city for a few months; but he was defeated by Abdurrahman, who thus became master both of Candahar and Herat, and in 1883 his subsidy was increased to eight lakhs. In this manner the dominions of Dost Mohammed were at last consolidated under a capable ruler, who was firmly convinced of his divine right to hold them and also understood that, while it was the interest of Russia to dismember his country, it was the interest of Great Britain to preserve it intact. He thus fulfilled his part as an outpost in defence of the northern frontier of India.

Ripon was succeeded as Viceroy by Lord Dufferin, and in 1884 the occupation of Merv by Russian troops once more raised the question of a definite boundary between Afghanistan and Russian territory in Asia. The chief difficulty arose with regard to Penjdeh, which had been occupied by the Afghans; but in March, 1885, they were attacked and driven out by the Russians. War between Russia and Great Britain, however, was avoided by the statesmanlike good sense of Abdurrahman and the diplomacy of

Dufferin. The Amir was determined at all costs to prevent a war between the two Powers which enclosed his frontier, well knowing that it would be a fatal calamity. He was ready to abandon Penjdeh if he were allowed to hold Zulfikar. An Afghan Boundary Commission was appointed which worked hard to arrive at a conclusion during the years 1885 and 1886, and their conclusions were supplemented and ratified by an agreement signed at St. Petersburg in 1887. A frontier line was marked out between the Heri Rud and the Oxus, beyond which Russia was not to advance towards India, and there was prospect of peace for the future.

From this time Abdurrahman remained consistently faithful to Great Britain; but his personal relations with successive Viceroys naturally varied with their character and their policies. Lord Lansdowne, who succeeded Dufferin, was not so intimate with the Amir as his predecessor had been, and there had come about a gradual change in British frontier policy. Between the two countries lay a belt of territory occupied by semi-savage tribes which it was the duty of the Indian Government to keep in order, although it was impossible to foresee anything to prevent their depredations, while it was easy for the Amir to foment disturbances if he desired to do so. A school of administrators arose in India who were in favour of a forward policy, of the rectification of the frontier, the extension of railways, and the reduction of these semi-independent clans to order. The Amir viewed approach to his frontiers with jealousy, and desired that the tribes under his religious headship should be left alone. Abdurrahman also cherished grievances against Great Britain for acts of aggression in the Pamirs, and was alarmed at the approach of the British railway to the neighbourhood of Candahar. However, satisfactory arrangements were made in 1893, when it was agreed that the Afghan frontier, both as regarded Great Britain and Russia, should be settled as soon as possible. The Amir's yearly subsidy was raised from £80,000 to £120,000, and he was promised further supplies of arms and ammunition. Up to the time of his death, in 1901, the friendliness of his relations with the British Government remained unbroken.

The difficult question of Indian frontier policy had to be settled by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, who succeeded Lord Elgin as Viceroy in 1899. Having made a special study of the frontier question before he assumed office, he held a position intermediate between the two schools, the forwards and their opponents. He did not, on the one hand, believe in extending the British

dominion until it touched the Afghan frontier; nor, on the other, was he in favour of evacuating Chitral, Quetta, and the points already reached. He held that in the restless districts the place of British troops should be taken by tribal levies, trained and commanded by British officers. The tribes were assured that no interference would be permitted either with their religion or their independence, but they were given to understand that strict order must be kept on the borderland. Advantage was taken of their mutual jealousies and suspicions, and they were set to watch each other, instead of looking for an opportunity to attack their common enemy. A concentration of force and an increase of garrison were effected within the British lines, the traffic in arms and ammunition was suppressed so far as possible, and strategic railways were pushed forward. This wise policy brought about an era of peace on the north-western frontier, thus testifying to the success with which it had combined the advantages of economy, efficiency and respect for tribal independence.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TRAGEDY OF KHARTUM

TEWFIK PASHA had been placed on the throne of Egypt in 1879 by the joint action of Great Britain and France. He entered upon his office with a high reputation for integrity and accessibility to Western ideas. His habits were simple, thus contrasting in a striking manner with those of his predecessor, Ismail. His first act on succeeding to the Khediviate was to reduce the Civil List from £360,000 to £200,000 a year. The Porte issued a firman confirming Tewfik in all the privileges enjoyed by his father. Cherif Pasha was ordered to resign, and Riaz Pasha, who was reported to be the most Liberal of Egyptian statesmen, and had been one of the creators of the system of Dual Control, was placed at the head of the Government. It seemed that an era of peace and tranquillity had settled over the land. In 1880 a law of liquidation was passed which appeared to place the financial affairs of Egypt on a satisfactory footing, and other reforms were begun. But the East is the land of surprises, and it is difficult for Western rulers to understand or to divine what is passing in the Eastern mind.

There was, indeed, some cause for discontent. The law of liquidation, passed to secure the interests of foreign bondholders, prevented the Khedive and his ministers from devoting the revenue of their country to the development of Egypt, and the Dual Control involved the employment and maintenance of more than 1,300 persons at the cost of nearly £400,000. A cry arose of " Egypt for the Egyptians ! " and in 1881 signs of trouble began to show themselves. Under Ismail Egypt had not been free from military pronunciamientos and the interference of the army in the government was to be expected. On February 1st a quarrel broke out between the Circassian and Egyptian officers, the latter complaining that the Circassians were treated with undue favour, the Minister of War being himself a Circassian. Three of the Egyptian colonels having been placed under arrest, the regiment commanded by one of them marched to the military prison, broke open the doors, and released their chief. The soldiers clamoured for his reinstatement and the dismissal of the Minister of War.

The Khedive took counsel of his masters, the French and British consuls-general, but it was found that the troops in Cairo were not strong enough to put down the mutineers, and that a black regiment was marching to join the latter. Their demands were acceded to, the Minister of War was dismissed, and the soldiers returned with shouts of "Long live the Khedive!"

Military discontent continued, however, and a colonel in the army, known as Ahmed Arabi, "the Egyptian," but better perhaps as Arabi Bey, put himself at the head of the movement. Some believed that he was an enthusiastic patriot, eager to free his country from a foreign yoke, and this view was probably correct; but he could not make himself champion of the national cause without becoming a mutinous soldier, and as that he had to be regarded. He would certainly have deposed the Khedive if he had found an opportunity of doing so. The tone of Arabi's party in addressing Tewfik grew increasingly disrespectful, and early in September the Khedive ordered that the 4th Regiment, of which Arabi was colonel, should be transferred from Cairo to Alexandria.

To resist this a meeting was held by Arabi and his partisans on September 7th, at which it was determined to make a demonstration for the purpose of intimidating the Khedive and compelling the resignation of Ministers. On Friday, September 9th, the Minister of War received a letter at 1 in the afternoon, signed "Arabi Bey," in which he was informed that at 3 the army would assemble in the square before the Abdin Palace at Cairo, and demand the dismissal of Riaz Pasha and his colleagues, the summoning of the Chamber of Notables, and the increase of the army by 18,000 men. Tewfik, who was at the palace of Ismailieh, asked the advice of Sir Auckland Colvin, one of the comptrollers of finance, and Mr. Cookson, the consul-general, and, in accordance with their views, went first to the Abdin barracks, where he summoned the 1st Regiment of the Guard, and then to the citadel, where he found another loyal regiment, being received by both with acclamation. Had he marched with these two regiments to Abdin Square, all would have been well, but instead he drove to Abassieh, where Arabi's regiment was posted, with the view of intercepting him. On arriving there he found that Arabi had marched off half an hour before with eighteen pieces of artillery, and on returning to Abdin Square he saw that it was held by 4,000 troops, with cavalry in the centre and guns pointed at his windows. The two regiments on whom he had relied had joined the mutineers, and he had to enter the

palace by the back door. Stimulated by Cookson, he went into the square, but showed little vigour or determination, and the result was that Riaz Pasha, who would have hanged Arabi at once, was forced to retire. Cherif Pasha was reinstated, the Chamber of Notables was summoned, and the mutinous Arabi was created a pasha.

It was time for the Dual Control to interfere, but nothing was done at the moment. Tewfik telegraphed to the Porte for 10,000 men to put down the revolt; but Arabi believed that he had the support of the Sultan. Cherif Pasha refused to accept office unless the mutinous regiments were dismissed from Cairo; but Arabi's party refused to allow this, and demanded the right to appoint the Minister of War, an increase of the army, and a constitution. Discovering, however, that they were not supported by the Notables, the officers agreed to leave Cairo for a time, to adjourn the questions of the increase of the army and the constitution, and to allow Cherif Pasha to choose his own Ministers. But although peace was apparently restored it was evident that Tewfik's power had been seriously weakened.

In the first week of January, 1882, Arabi returned to Cairo, and was appointed Under-Secretary in Cherif's Ministry. A manifesto, which appears to have been drawn up by him, was published in *The Times*, demanding the abolition of the Dual Control, the dismissal of European officials, and the adoption of the principle of Egypt for the Egyptians. This movement was resisted by the Powers. The Notables claimed the right of regulating the budget, to which the comptrollers objected, and Cherif Pasha resigned, his place being taken by Mahmud Samy, while Arabi was appointed Minister for War. The Notables became an important part of the Government. Gambetta, the Prime Minister of France, was eager for intervention, and supported the sending of a joint Note to the Khedive assuring him of the support of the Western Powers; but France was not strong enough to support a statesman of Gambetta's energy, and he fell from power, Freycinet, a man of very different stamp, taking his place. Tewfik was helpless and Arabi became the most powerful man in Egypt.

The party of revolution impudently ignored the authority of the Khedive, and even went so far as to summon the Chamber without consulting him. The French and British Governments were so much alarmed for the safety of Europeans that they each sent an ironclad to Alexandria. The Nationalist Government promised to protect the lives of foreigners, but intimated that

they only recognised the authority of the Porte and not that of Tewfik. France and Great Britain now moved their whole fleets from Suda Bay in Crete to Alexandria, declaring that they would use such means as they might think necessary to maintain order and the authority of the Khedive. This terrified the Ministers, and they hastened to the Ismailieh Palace and made their submission to Tewfik. But they were strongly opposed to more vigorous measures. Arabi was ordered to retire from Egypt for a year, but he refused to go, and the whole Ministry resigned. Cherif Pasha was asked to undertake the work of government, but he refused. The military party became more arrogant than ever, and informed the Khedive that they would not listen to the remonstrance of the Powers and rejected all authority except that of the Porte. Indeed, on May 27th, Arabi stimulated a demonstration with the object of warning Tewfik that, unless the portfolio of the War Office were returned to him, the Khedive's life would be in danger.

When the combined fleets arrived at Alexandria, Arabi, the only person in the country whose authority was respected, gave orders to put the harbour in a condition of defence, and earthworks were thrown up and batteries erected. This caused great uneasiness and, on May 30th, Mr. Cookson, the British consul-general, sent to Lord Granville a memorandum, signed by the principal merchants, stating the dangerous condition of affairs. Arabi proceeded to increase the defences; and the Porte sent a commissioner, Dervish Pasha, to examine the situation, but no one, apparently, paid the slightest attention to him. Arabi treated the Khedive, the Sultan, and the British admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, with equal contempt.

At last, on June 11th, a riot broke out. Mr. Cookson was dragged out of his carriage, the Greek consul-general was attacked, and a French consular dragoman and several French and British subjects were killed. The loss of life was estimated at from fifty to 200. The representatives of the Powers at Cairo appealed to Dervish Pasha to ensure the security of Europeans throughout Egypt, but he declined to undertake the responsibility, as he had no troops. They had, accordingly, no alternative but to apply to Arabi, who undertook the duty, the Khedive and Dervish Pasha associating themselves with him.

What was to be done? Gladstone and Granville would have been false to their promises and antecedents if they had not used their best efforts to keep clear of Egyptian entanglements; but they could not continue to recognise Arabi as the ruler of Egypt.

They endeavoured to act in concert with France, but the Government of that country was not in a position to take vigorous measures, and the only French statesman who could have done so had recently fallen from power. The task was therefore left to Great Britain alone, and the stress of circumstances imposed upon this country a duty which had been continually offered to her, which she had persistently rejected, but which she was now forced to accept.

On July 10th Sir Beauchamp Seymour sent an ultimatum to Arabi, demanding not only that the work on the forts should be discontinued, but that they should be placed in British hands. By this time nearly all the European inhabitants had taken refuge on the foreign ships. As no message was received from Arabi at nightfall on July 10th the British ships left the inner harbour and took up their position for the bombardment of the forts, and the French ships sailed away to Port Said. France deliberately left Great Britain master of the field.

Thirteen British vessels were present, and at 7 in the morning of July 11th the first shot was fired by the *Alexandra*, and the conflict became general. One of the forts was blown up at 8.30 and at 11.30 the guns of another were silenced. Fort Pharos, at the extremity of the beautiful bay, which preserves the undying memory of Cleopatra, and perhaps enshrines her embalmed remains, held out till 4, and the order to cease fire was not given till 5.30. The British loss was five killed and twenty-seven wounded. As the forts were not formally surrendered, the bombardment was resumed on the following morning. The Egyptians hoisted a white flag, but said to those who replied to it that they could not surrender the forts without the authority of the Khedive. A truce was agreed to, but at the expiration of it the *Inflexible* opened fire.

It was then found that the entire line of fortifications had been evacuated by Arabi and his troops under cover of the white flag. But, by accident or design, the prisons had been thrown open and the city was filled with abandoned criminals, who committed every outrage. During two days, July 12th and 13th, the city was given up to every kind of horror. Property was destroyed and many people were killed, chiefly Greeks and Levantines. On July 14th Seymour deemed it absolutely necessary to send a force of bluejackets and marines ashore to quell the riots. The work was executed promptly and efficiently. Plunderers caught red-handed were shot, and malefactors were sent to the prisons from which they had escaped, to await their

trial. Within twenty-four hours order had been restored. The Khedive had been confined in the small palace which lies at the end of the Ramleh, the beautiful sandy stretch which extends six miles from Alexandria and ends with the Victoria College. He was now released and, placing himself under British protection, was conveyed to the Palace of Ras-el-tin, in the vicinity of the harbour. Alexandria was now in the hands of the British, but Cairo was still in the power of the insurgent military chiefs; and Arabi, having withdrawn all his troops from the former city, was prepared to defend himself in the desert.

It may be supposed that this action of the British Government was not consented to by Gladstone without great pain—a feeling intensified by the fact that John Bright felt constrained to retire from the Ministry. At the same time it met with the approval of Europe. Germany and Austria were cordial and respectful; France was only desirous of obtaining some equivalent for the decline of her power in Egypt; Italy was pleased that British association with France had become less close; and Russia was thinking chiefly of her interests in the Black Sea. Freycinet would have fought for the Canal, but France would not support him; the terror of what Bismarck might attempt paralysed her energies. Indeed, on July 29th, the French Chamber turned Freycinet out of office by a large majority rather than sanction intervention even for the protection of the Suez Canal.

Let us now hear what Gladstone said in defence of his action: "It had come to pass that in Egypt everything was governed by military violence; every legitimate authority—the Khedive, the Sultan, the Notables, and the best men of the country—had been put down. A situation of force had been created which could only be met by force, and everything had been done to make that force the force of a united Europe acting in the interests of civilisation. The British fleet at Alexandria found itself threatened by the armament of fortifications. Demands of surrender having been met by fraud and falsehood, there was no alternative but to destroy them. The pillage of the released convicts which followed was done by the wickedness of Arabi. These were the causes of our action, which has not been met with a word of disapproval, great or small, from any source having the slightest authority. It brought again to light the benignness of British rule, and advanced the Egyptian question towards a permanent and peaceful solution." Gladstone came to the conclusion that in this work he had been a labourer in the cause of peace.

It now became necessary for the British Government, having gone so far, to take stronger measures. A vote of credit of £2,300,000 was obtained from Parliament on July 27th, and three days later the first battalion of an expeditionary force sailed for Egypt. Originally numbering 1,010 officers and 21,000 men, the force was afterwards increased, first to 33,000, and later, by the addition of Indian troops to the number of 7,200, to 40,560. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had command of the expedition, having been delayed by an attack of fever, did not reach Alexandria till August 16th. Finding that Alexandria was full of spies, he had recourse to stratagem to conceal his operations. He gave out that he was going to Abukir to silence the forts and land the troops, and on August 18th the whole fleet of warships and transports sailed apparently for that place. But next day the public heard that Port Said had been the objective, that it was occupied by the first division of the Guards, and that the fleet was blockading the land. This was done with such ease that the duty of taking possession of the offices of the Suez Canal Company on behalf of the British fleet and army was entrusted to a single midshipman.

It was a great advantage that the waterway of the canal was available for the advance. Ismailia was seized without delay, a Highland Brigade which had arrived from India occupying Shaluf and the Freshwater Canal. On August 22nd the first division disembarked at Ismailia, and on August 24th a strong body of the enemy was found posted at Tel-el-Mahuta, about two miles from Ismailia. They were some 10,000 strong and were defended by twelve Krupp guns; but two British pieces of artillery served to dislodge them. By the end of the day the insurgents were entirely defeated, and retreated. After another combat by the Freshwater Canal the belligerents rested for a time.

Arabi had taken up a position at a place called Tel-el-Kebir, or the "Large Mound," a place distant about thirty miles by railway from Ismailia and a little farther than that from Cairo across the desert. This he fortified whilst Wolseley was waiting for the reinforcements from England and India; but on September 9th Sir Garnet advanced from Ismailia towards the enemy's fortifications. Arabi's position was very strong. It was four miles in length, and consisted of a double line of earthworks, interrupted at intervals by redoubts, mounted with guns which could fire both in front and on the flank. This fortress was manned by 20,000 Egyptian troops, while the force opposed to them did not exceed 13,000.

Wolseley determined on a night attack as best suited to his purpose, and on September 12th, after dark, the camp was broken up and the British army advanced. After a short halt, an hour past midnight, the march was resumed, and the attacking force arrived within 500 yards of the entrenchments before they were perceived by the enemy. Suddenly a shot was fired by the Egyptians and a sheet of flame burst from the whole position. The first line was carried by the Infantry Brigade at the point of the bayonet, the second and stronger line offering little difficulty. The redoubts were scaled, the gunners bayoneted at their guns, and in less than twenty minutes the whole of the right of the Egyptian line was broken and taken. The attack was equally successful against their left. Indeed, the Egyptian army was in danger of being enclosed, as in a net, by the two divisions of the attacking force. The cavalry completed the rout, and Arabi's soldiers fled far and wide across the desert, hotly chased by General Drury-Lowe and Sir Baker Russell. The flat of the sword was used more than the point, and a smart smack of the cold steel on the cheek or the hinder parts was sufficient to effect complete collapse.

Wolseley then, with the audacity of genius, dispatched 300 cavalry and mounted infantry under Drury-Lowe across the desert, the small force, after a trying march of thirty-nine miles through heavy sand and beneath a torrid sun, reaching Cairo on the evening of September 14th. The invaders were admitted into the city without resistance, and Arabi was taken prisoner in his own house. Thus Cairo was taken by a brilliant *coup de main,* the enterprise of Napoleon and his French in Egypt paling before the exploit of Wolseley and his British troops. The Indian contingent, under General Macpherson, pushed forward from the battlefield of Tel-el-Kebir and occupied Zagazig.

With the fall of Cairo and the capture of Arabi the national movement collapsed, and Wolseley was soon able to send home the bulk of the British troops, retaining only a force of about 10,000 men. Wolseley's brilliant achievement has scarcely ever been surpassed in British military history. The country showed its gratitude by giving him the thanks of Parliament, a grant of £30,000, and a peerage with the title of Lord Wolseley of Cairo.

What was to be done with Egypt, which had now suddenly and unexpectedly fallen into British hands? Some wished to re-establish the Dual Control, which had proved a complete failure and was the cause of all the troubles. Others desired Great

Britain to withdraw altogether and leave the country to the Khedive, and this opinion was held by no less a veteran than Leonard Courtney, then Secretary to the Treasury. Great Britain made the serious mistake, which she is now expiating, of not assuming boldly the responsibility which circumstances had laid upon her, and of which she could not divest herself. The assumption of the government of Egypt, if not its actual possession, would have been treated by Europe as a relief, and would have received the approbation of all reasonable men. But British statesmen were haunted by dislike of Imperialism, which had certainly been discredited by the disastrous adventures of Beaconsfield, and had not learnt that British rule in the East means the establishment of civilisation in place of barbarism. Lord Dufferin, sent out to arrange matters, arrived at Cairo in the first week of November, 1882, and within a fortnight of his arrival a Note was delivered from the Egyptian Government to the Governments of London and Paris, asking that the Dual Control should terminate. In fact, it had already come to an end at Alexandria and Tel-el-Kebir. France objected to the loss of her influence, which she had emphatically refused to make an effort to preserve, and perhaps too much heed was paid to her susceptibilities.

Great Britain, however, was determined that the canal should be safeguarded, its destruction having formed part of Arabi's insane plan for the liberation of his country. In January, 1883, Lord Granville, a perfectly delightful personality, but a dawdling and timid Minister, addressed to the Powers a circular dispatch of unwonted firmness and decision, saying that the British Government considered that the free and unimpeded navigation of the canal at all times, and its protection from destruction or damage by act of war, were matters of importance to all nations, and proposing that it should be free for the ships of all nations, in any circumstances, and that it should never be affected by military operations. There was considerable delay before this suggestion was put into a regular form; but two years later, Waddington, the French Foreign Minister, suggested that an International Commission, consisting of representatives of each of the six Great Powers and Turkey, should be convened, and this was done. The discussions really turned on the different views of France and Great Britain, Britain wishing to internationalise the canal completely, being anxious to preserve the independence and territorial rights of Egypt, with which her interests were closely connected. The treaty embodying

these conclusions was not signed till October, 1886, and in the end the canal was not wholly internationalised, but, in the language of Lord Granville, "clothed with that neutrality which attaches by international law to the territorial waters of a neutral State, in which a right of universal passage for belligerent vessels exists, but no right to commit an act of hostility." How this artificial fabric would stand the strain of war remains to be seen.

Peace was established in Cairo and Alexandria; but on the upper waters of the Nile, in the south of the Sudan, a storm was arising. At the beginning of November, at the time of Dufferin's arrival, news reached Cairo that a Mahdi, or prophet, had arisen in those regions and was preparing to march against Khartum with a formidable force. Already it was seen that Great Britain had committed a grave error in not establishing a protectorate in Egypt. Neglect to do this created a situation which has always been, and still is, difficult. Lord Cromer tells us that no British Ministry since the occupation began has held any other language with regard to Egypt save that of declaring that Great Britain's presence there is merely a temporary expedient, and that she will withdraw as soon as Egypt is fit to govern itself. When will a country admit that it is not fit to govern itself? Every advance made by Egypt in security and civilisation is regarded by her as an indication of her capacity for self-government.

These considerations agitated Gladstone and Granville in the year 1884, and the historian must take some account of them. Gladstone admitted in the spring of this year that he was principally animated by three considerations—respect for public law, the just claims of the Khedive, and the reluctance to increase the responsibilities of England. These were mere phantoms. It was not likely that France would undertake a war against us, when she had refused her support both to the vigorous Gambetta and the cautious Freycinet. All the other European countries would have supported us. The fault of Gladstone's mind was that he applied his faculty of psychological and ethical analysis to every question equally, and never allowed himself to follow an instinct more powerful and more just than any course which could be arrived at by an elaborate process of ratiocination. Instinct induced Beaconsfield to purchase the canal shares; instinct should have led Gladstone to establish an English Protectorate in Egypt in 1882. As it was, circumstances proved too strong for him. We were forced by them to annex a territory larger than Egypt and to govern it on principles which

secured us a far greater liberty of action than we have ever been able to use in Egypt itself.

A Mahdi is a hermit, an inspired prophet, honest or dishonest, or a mixture of the two, as the case may be, and not infrequently arises among some Eastern peoples. Such a Mahdi, a native of Dongola, appeared in the Sudan, as we have seen, in the autumn of 1882, his mission being to confound the wicked, the hypocrites, and the unbelievers, and turn the world to the true faith in the One God and His prophet. He was assisted by a powerful friend, afterwards known as the Khalifa. The Sudan belonged to Egypt, having been captured by Mehmed in 1829, and the Equatorial Provinces were added to it by Sir Samuel Baker in 1870. The Sudan had always been badly ruled from Cairo, but that was no reason for abandoning it, and whoever reigned at Cairo was responsible for its proper administration. In the spring of 1883 General Hicks, belonging to the Staff of the Egyptian army, was dispatched by the Khedive from Khartum for the recovery of regions which had revolted under the Mahdi's influence. He succeeded in clearing Sennar of rebels and protecting Khartum; but, against the advice of Dufferin, Malet and Stewart, he continued his operations in Darfur and Kordofan, which the British advisers of the Khedive at Cairo were anxious to abandon. When Gladstone was asked to restrain Hicks from further advance, he said that it was not within the responsibility of Great Britain. However, Hicks' rashness brought with it signal punishment, for on November 5th, 1883, the whole of his force was cut to pieces and the victorious Dervishes were free to march upon Khartum.

The British authorities at Khartum declared that the Egyptian Government could not hold it against an attack, and that, unless some other force came to the rescue, the Sudan must be abandoned. Gladstone refused to employ British or Indian troops for the purpose, but would have allowed the Turks to act at their own expense. He therefore advised the Khedive to abandon all territory south of Assuan or Wady Halfa, and Evelyn Baring agreed with him. Baring was instructed to inform the Egyptian Government that the Sudan would be abandoned. Upon this Cherif Pasha resigned, Riaz Pasha declined to take his place, and Nubar Pasha was with difficulty persuaded to accept office.

When the evacuation of the Sudan was determined upon, it was assumed that this would carry with it the duty of extricating the Egyptian garrisons, which occupied posts in the several provinces, lest they should be massacred by the Mahdi's forces.

But it is doubtful whether this conclusion was correct, for in the cases where opportunity afforded, the garrisons were not massacred, but joined the Mahdi. When, however, it was declared that British honour rendered deliverance necessary, means had to be devised for carrying out the operation effectively. In December, 1883, the Cabinet conceived the idea that General Gordon might be the man for the purpose, and there was much to justify this opinion. After gaining a great reputation and the title of "Chinese Gordon" for suppressing the Taiping Rebellion in 1869, he was appointed by the Egyptian Government, in 1874, Governor of the Equatorial Provinces of Central Africa. He resigned this office in 1876, but in 1877 was created Governor-General of the Sudan, Darfur, the Equatorial Provinces, and the coast of the Red Sea. He held this position till 1879, having succeeded in establishing comparative order. The work he had done did not survive his departure, but it was reasonable to assume that what he had done once he might do again. The authorities in Egypt were reluctant to agree to his appointment, but under pressure from home at last yielded, provided he would pledge himself to carry out the work of evacuation. Gladstone somewhat reluctantly gave his consent on January 16th, 1884, and the die was cast.

Gordon was at this time in Brussels, conferring with the King of the Belgians about a proposed mission to the Congo, which afterwards produced remarkable results. On receiving a telegram from Wolseley summoning him to England, he started at once and arrived in London at 6 in the evening of January 16th, when he had a long interview with the general who had summoned him. On January 18th Hartington, who was Secretary for War, Granville, Northbrook, and Sir Charles Dilke, who was Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, met at the War Office in Pall Mall. Wolseley brought Gordon and left him in the ante-room. After a conversation with the Ministers, he came out and said to Gordon, "Government are determined to evacuate the Sudan, for they will not guarantee its future government. Will you go out and do it?" Gordon said that he would, and Wolseley told him to go into the room.

Gordon says: "I went in and saw them. They said, 'Did Wolseley tell you our orders?' I said, 'Yes; you will not guarantee future government of the Sudan, and you wish me to go up and evacuate now.' They said, 'Yes,' and it was over, and I left at 8 p.m. for Paris." Such is Gordon's own account, written in 1884. It is graphic, but probably does not give a full narrative

of what passed. At the station Granville bought Gordon's ticket, Wolseley carried his bag, and the Duke of Cambridge held open the carriage door. Next day one of the four Ministers said, "We were proud of ourselves yesterday; are you sure that we did not commit an act of gigantic folly?"

Lord Morley has given an excellent account of Gordon's character. "Gordon," he writes, "was a hero of heroes. He was a soldier of infinite personal courage and daring; of striking military energy, initiative and resource; a high, pure and single character, dwelling much in the region of the unseen. But, as all who knew him admit, and as his own records testify, notwithstanding an undercurrent of shrewd common sense, he was the creature, almost the sport, of impulse: his impressions and purposes changed with the speed of lightning; anger often mastered him; he went very often by intuitions and inspirations rather than by cool inference from carefully-surveyed fact; with many variations of mood he mixed, as we often see in people less famous, an invincible faith in his own rapid prepossessions while they lasted. Everybody now discerns that to send a soldier of this temperament on a piece of business that was not only difficult and dangerous . . . . but profoundly obscure . . . . was little better than to call in a wizard with his magic."

Gordon left England with the intention of going to Suakin; but the plan was changed, and he proceeded to Cairo to confer with Baring, and then went on to Khartum. He left Cairo on January 26th, and reached Khartum on February 18th. His first idea had been that he could pacify the Sudan by restoring the old rulers of the different provinces; but on his arrival he found that, with one exception, they had all disappeared, and his plan of action had to be reconstructed. On February 28th he wrote to Baring, "If Egypt is to be quiet, Mahdi must be smashed up. Remember that once Khartum belongs to Mahdi, to leave it will be far more difficult. I repeat that evacuation is possible; but you will feel the effect in Egypt, and will be forced to enter into a far more serious affair to guard Egypt." Gordon clearly saw what afterwards became obvious, that with the Mahdi at Khartum the whole situation in Egypt became uncertain.

Immediately after his arrival at Khartum, Gordon sent a message to Baring proposing that, upon his withdrawal from the city, Zobeir Pasha should be named as his successor in the Governorship of the Sudan. He should be made a K.C.M.G. and have presents made to him. Zobeir had been a noted slave-dealer and had acquired Darfur for Egypt. He was a great

soldier and the ablest leader in the Sudan. He is described by Wingate as a far-seeing, thoughtful man, of iron will, a born ruler of men. Gordon had been responsible for the shooting of Zobeir's son, and this would naturally have produced a death feud between them; but they met at Cairo, and although Zobeir reproached Gordon with having killed his son, they were apparently not bitter enemies. Baring and Stewart supported Gordon's request for Zobeir, and Nubar was favourable to it, but it was strongly opposed by the religious and anti-slavery societies in England. Gordon said that if Zobeir was not sent there would be no chance of getting the garrisons away. Gladstone came round to Gordon's opinion, and the Queen supported it, but it became certain that the opposition in Parliament would be too strong, and therefore he was not sent—a fatal and irreparable mistake. Gordon was from this time gradually surrounded by the Mahdists until all chance of escape had vanished. From the end of March it was probable that no road of retreat was open, and when Berber fell, on May 26th, the investment became complete. As the troops could not be depended upon, Gordon was obliged to remain on the defensive behind his earthworks, but he succeeded, nevertheless, in sending down 2,600 persons in safety to Assuan.

During the remaining months of 1884 the question of the relief of Gordon was debated. Popular opinion was strongly in favour of it, and it occupied the attention of the Cabinet during the whole of May and June. At last Hartington declined to be responsible for the War Department unless a decision were reached, and before Parliament was prorogued a pledge was given that an expedition should be sent, and the money necessary for it was voted. But long weeks were consumed in the discussion as to the best route to be adopted, whether the relief force should be sent up the Nile or from Suakin to Berber. Wolseley, who was to command the expedition, strongly advocated the Nile route, and a Departmental Committee, after careful deliberation, reported in favour of it on July 29th, so that he was able to leave London for Cairo on September 1st. Ten days later Gordon sent Colonel Stewart, his second in command, down the Nile in the *Abbas* steamer to convey news to Lower Egypt, but the steamer was treacherously run aground and the party murdered. All their papers were captured, among which were some which gave full details of the stores and food in the city up to September 9th, with the exact strength of the garrison. It was thus possible

for the enemy to calculate exactly how long Gordon could hold out, and the siege was therefore more closely pressed.

Kitchener recommended that the expedition should consist of a small and handy column, but it gradually grew to an unwieldy body of 10,000 men. In consequence, it moved very slowly, and on October 21st was still at Wady Halfa, struggling with difficulties of transport and the lack of coal. On November 12th the Dervishes made a strong attack upon Omdurman, on the other side of the Nile, opposite to Khartoum. Gordon was suffering much from want of food, and actual starvation set in; rats and mice, the leather of boots, the straps and plaited strips of native bedsteads, the flower of the mimosa, the inner fibre of the palm tree being all eagerly consumed. The enemy were pressing the attack night and day, and the relief seemed as far off as ever.

On December 14th, which marks the last entry in Gordon's diary, the leading troops had just reached Korti, the point where the caravan route crosses to Metammeh. A halt of sixteen days was made here, and the march was not resumed until December 30th. Even then the advance was very slow. The column was short of baggage animals and was obliged to move in detachments, sending the camels back to Korti to fetch up more men and stores. The column did not reach Gakdul until January 12th, and the camels were so exhausted that another rest of three days was necessary. After Gakdul they met with severe resistance, and on January 17th was fought the battle of Abu Klea, in which Sir Herbert Stewart was mortally wounded and was replaced by Sir Charles Wilson. On January 19th a battle took place at Metammeh, but on the evening of the same day the Nile was reached at Gubat, only 100 miles distant from Khartum.

Here, on January 21st, four steamers arrived from Gordon and, to the great delight of the expedition, brought tidings of him. Every consideration urged immediate departure, and it is probable that if the steamers had started at once the sight of the red coats would have driven the Mahdi's army into Kordofan and Khartum would have been saved. But three days were unaccountably wasted, partly in exchanging the Egyptian troops for Sudanese, and partly in making reconnaissances, and it was not until January 24th that Sir Charles Wilson started with steamers, containing a detachment of the Sussex Regiment, for the beleaguered city. At midday on January 28th, the steamers, having cleared the cataract which lies between Gubat and Khartum, reached the island of Forti, from which Khartum can

be discerned. Alas! no flag was flying from the roof of the palace. Half an hour later the city was in full view, and they were received by the fire of artillery and musketry. Khartum had fallen. In the Dervishes' final assault, only made on January 26th, Gordon boldly met his fate on the steps of the palace which he had so long defended. He was killed by a revolver shot, and his head was cut off and thrown at the feet of Slatin Pasha.

The news of the fall of Khartum was received in Great Britain on February 5th, and caused an outbreak of universal indignation. Gladstone, who was staying at Holker with Hartington, hurried to London. The Queen sent an angry telegram, not written in cipher, blaming her Ministers for what had happened. Votes of censure were moved in both Houses; that in the House of Lords was carried by 181 votes to 81, but in the Commons the Government escaped defeat by a majority of 14. Resignation was thought of, but Gladstone was opposed to it. Some feeble attempts were made to repair the disaster. A mixed British and Indian force, with a contingent of Colonials from New South Wales, advanced from Suakin and began to lay down a railway from that point to Berber. But the pressure on the Afghan frontier caused unexpected difficulties; and in April, in spite of the strong opposition of the Queen, the Sudan was finally deserted. Its eventual recovery will be related in another place.

All the circumstances connected with the loss of Khartum were undoubtedly most discreditable, and exhibited a culpable feebleness in every part of the Administration. Between the end of March and the beginning of August the Government showed constant vacillation, military operations dawdled on through August and September, and this incompetence lasted until the fatal delay at Gubat, which sealed the fate of the hero. The death of Gordon remains an indelible stain on the Liberal Government of 1880.

CHAPTER IX

INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRANSVAAL

WE must now relate the events which led to the resignation of Gladstone's Ministry in 1885. Charles Bradlaugh became prominent, and we must give some account of him. He was a man of high character and rigid sternness, but held opinions which shocked the conscience of the people, partly on religion and partly on questions of sexual morality. Being elected to Parliament in 1880 as junior member for Northampton, he claimed to make an affirmation instead of taking an oath, as he had been already allowed to do in courts of justice. The matter was referred to a Select Committee, which decided against Bradlaugh by a majority of one. He then agreed to take the oath, but this he was not allowed to do. A second committee decided he could not take the oath, but might affirm at his own risk. Then, on June 29th, a motion was carried that he could neither affirm nor take the oath. Bradlaugh came to take the oath, but was ordered to withdraw, and, refusing to do so, was committed to the Clock Tower. On July 1st Gladstone proposed that any member might affirm without taking the oath, subject to his liability by statute. This was carried by a large majority, and Bradlaugh took his seat, ending for the time a most discreditable scandal.

In March, 1881, the Court of Appeal decided that Bradlaugh, not being a Quaker, had forfeited his seat by voting without taking the oath. He was re-elected for Northampton, but on attempting to take his seat was excluded from the precincts of the House, and, afterwards, on endeavouring to force his way through the doors, was dragged by policemen into Palace Yard. Being re-elected in 1882 and denied the oath as before, he administered the oath to himself and took his seat. For this he was expelled the House, but by an absurd compromise was allowed to sit below the bar. In 1883 the House of Lords decided that he was not liable for the enormous debt of £45,000, which he was supposed to have incurred for having voted without having been sworn; but before this award Ministers had introduced a Bill which allowed members to choose between affirmation or oath.

In spite of the eloquent advocacy of Gladstone, the Bill was defeated by the majority of three. In 1884 Bradlaugh again administered the oath to himself, voted in three discussions, resigned his seat, and was re-elected by a larger majority than ever. However, the Court of Appeal decided that Bradlaugh had not taken the oath and, having no religious belief, was incapable of taking an oath, so that the sore continued unclosed; but at the meeting of the new Parliament in 1886 the Speaker declared that he would not allow any objection to a newly-elected member taking the oath, so that Bradlaugh sat and voted till his death in 1891. He died universally respected, and three days before his death the House of Commons expunged from its journals the resolutions passed against him eleven years before.

At this time London was startled by an apparent conspiracy to destroy it by dynamite, attempts to produce wreckage by explosion taking place at four railway stations—Victoria, Paddington, Charing Cross and Ludgate Hill. Two men were sentenced to penal servitude respectively for life and twenty years; but this did not stop the evil, for in January, 1885, an explosion occurred in the banqueting-room in the Tower and a piece of dynamite under the Treasury Bench blew up Mr. Gladstone's usual seat. Another packet was placed under the steps of the crypt of Westminster Hall, but was prevented from doing damage by the courageous promptitude of Constable Cole. Though none of the Irish members had anything to do with these crimes, they inevitably discredited the Nationalist cause.

The year 1882 was critical in the history of Great Britain, and the divisions of opinion which agitated the public mind were reflected in the Cabinet. Mr. Chamberlain, then President of the Board of Trade, began to give trouble as a Radical. He attacked the House of Lords and described England as the paradise of the rich but the purgatory of the poor. He was in favour of compulsory allotments, small proprietors, a large tax on property, and free education. The Queen remonstrated with the Prime Minister on his leniency, but he replied that these proposals did not raise any definite point on which he was entitled to interfere. Chamberlain went on to say worse things and to advocate the abolition of plural voting, the payment of members, and manhood suffrage, drawing up, in fact, a valuable programme for a future Radical Ministry, which, however, by the irony of fate, he was condemned violently to oppose when these reforms came within the range of practical politics.

Lord Spencer was at this time Viceroy of Ireland, where his administration had been a conspicuous success. Shortly after his appointment Forster resigned the office of Chief Secretary, and was succeeded by Lord Frederick Cavendish. Spencer and Cavendish entered Dublin together, on Saturday, May 6th, the day on which Michael Davitt was released from prison at Portland, and the work of conciliation seemed to have begun in earnest. Returning from the Castle to Phœnix Park, Spencer rode with a small escort, and Cavendish walked across the Park with the Under-Secretary, Burke. Four men, who, on April 19th, had only been prevented by accident from assassinating Forster, were now waiting for Burke, whom they stabbed to death near the Viceregal Lodge; Cavendish, of whom they had never heard, went to his assistance, and he also was killed. The miscreants then drove away and disappeared. Englishmen who were alive at this time will never forget the gloom which fell upon the country on that terrible 7th of May. No one felt the blow more than Parnell. He went to Gladstone and offered to retire from Parliament, but Gladstone dissuaded him. Forster chivalrously offered to take the place of Cavendish, but that could not be accepted. The office was given to George Trevelyan, who nobly did his duty, though suffering severely from the strain. It had previously been determined by the Cabinet to introduce a Coercion Bill of a mild character, which, although making the law more stringent, did not authorise the imprisonment of any man without a trial. But the murder of Burke and Cavendish led to its being made more severe, by the addition of clauses which were never employed, but which irritated Irishmen.

Lord Spencer devoted his energies to the discovery of the Phœnix Park murderers, and seventeen men were arrested in January, 1883. Three of these were identified as having been in Phœnix Park on May 6th, and Kavanagh, a car-driver, declared that he had driven four of the arrested men to the Park, and that one of them, James Carey, had given the signal for the murder by waving a white handkerchief, and that after the deed he had driven the assassins away. Carey turned Queen's evidence. He said that the crime was arranged by a body known as the Invincibles, under the orders of "Number One," a man called Tynan. Carey said that he was himself responsible for what had happened in Phœnix Park, and that the original plan had been to murder Earl Cowper, Forster and Burke, but that the first had escaped and Cavendish was slain because he defended his

companion. By this evidence five men were hanged, and three were sent into penal servitude for life. The Invincibles detested Parnell, and had nothing to do with the Land League. Carey was sent to the Cape to save his life, but was shot before he reached his destination by a former comrade, named O'Donnell, who was tried and executed for the crime.

In this way Spencer had put down political assassinations in Ireland without resorting to the exceptional measures of the Crimes Act. But the Irish trouble was not over. In February, 1883, Forster made a violent attack on Parnell, not accusing him of murder, but of presiding over an organisation which encouraged outrage. This speech showed clearly that, although Parnell and the Land League had had nothing to do with the Phœnix Park murders, its members had stood passively by while landlords were shot and while tenants who had offended the League were dragged from their homes to be slain in the presence of their families. The speech was unanswerable. Parnell did not reply till the next day, when he did not rebut the assertions, but only said that he was not responsible to England, but to Ireland, and that the House had no jurisdiction in the matter. He did not refute the charges, because it was impossible to do so.

The Government was gradually becoming weaker, and one of the issues used most persistently against it was that of the retrocession of the Transvaal after the Battle of Majuba. It is necessary to explain this. In May, 1880, in pursuance of the policy of reviving the Imperialism of Beaconsfield, it was decided by the Cabinet not to relinquish the Queen's sovereignty over the Transvaal, but to give the country self-government as part of a South African federation. This was a bitter disappointment to Kruger and Joubert, who, relying on the Midlothian speeches, had expected entire independence. Bright and Chamberlain were in favour of independence—although Chamberlain was, at a later period, to be the author of the Boer War—and Gladstone was inclined to agree with them; but Lord Kimberley was strong on the other side. The Dutch farmers took up arms, and on December 16th, 1880, the Boer Republic was proclaimed at Heidelberg and the British garrisons were invested. On January 28th, 1881, the Battle of Laing's Nek was favourable to the Boers, but Sir George Colley, the Governor of Natal, occupied Majuba Hill, four miles within the frontier of Natal, in the hope of making Laing's Nek untenable. He reached the summit unobserved, and believed his position to be impreg-

nable; but next day, February 27th, the Boers climbed the mountain and opened fire on Colley. He was shot through the head, about 90 others fell, and 60 prisoners were taken, although the force of the Boers was less than 200 strong. Roberts was sent out to succeed Colley, who had been ordered by the Cabinet to tell Kruger that, if he would cease from further resistance, a commission would be appointed to settle the terms in dispute. This message was dispatched on February 21st, a reply being demanded in forty-eight hours. As Colley did not receive it, Majuba Hill was occupied as described on February 26th; but, in point of fact, the letter did not reach Kruger till February 28th, the day after the disaster. Kruger replied on March 7th that he accepted the terms offered. Some distinguished officers thought that Colley's death ought to be avenged; but the Cabinet determined to go on with the negotiations, as the Boers had acted in perfect good faith. The Convention of Pretoria was signed in August, and Roberts was recalled from Cape Town twenty-four hours after his arrival. The righteous act of restoring the independence of the Transvaal afterwards formed for a time a favourite subject of attack on the Liberal Government, and the refusal to avenge Majuba was ignorantly declared to be one of the most prominent causes of the second Boer War.

The great measure of 1884 was the Reform Bill for the enfranchisement of the counties, which was introduced on February 28th. Counties were given the household and the lodger franchise, which had existed in boroughs since 1867, and the number of voters in the United Kingdom was increased from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000. The question of the redistribution of seats was left over for another year. The Bill was not directly opposed by the Conservatives, but they moved an amendment that redistribution should precede reform. Ireland was included in the Reform measure, which made Home Rule certain at some time or other.

The Bill passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. Gladstone thereupon announced an autumn session, when the Bill would again be introduced. Parliament met on October 23rd; but, through the influence of the Queen, a meeting was arranged between the leaders of the two parties, and Salisbury and Northcote went to tea in Downing Street and discussed the question of redistribution. Before the adjournment on December 6th the Franchise Bill had passed the Lords, and the Redistribution Bill had been read a second time in the Commons. Boroughs

having a population of less than 15,000 were merged in the counties; those with less than 50,000 lost one member if they had two; the members for the City of London were reduced from four to two, and thirty-seven members were added to the remainder of London. Towns having more than two members were divided into wards with one member each, and the counties, with the exception of Rutland, were all divided. The number of members in the House was slightly increased. The dissensions between the two Houses, which seemed nearly incurable, had been healed by the interposition of the Sovereign.

The Government eventually fell from an attack upon the budget, which was introduced by Childers on April 30th, 1885. A deficit of £15,000,000 had to be met, and the national expenditure had reached the then unparalleled amount of £100,000,000. Childers proposed to raise the income tax from sixpence to eightpence, to increase the succession duties, to impose a heavier duty on spirits and beer, and to suspend the Sinking Fund. It was a budget difficult to attack, but the Opposition knew that Chamberlain and Dilke were opposed to the increase of the duty on beer, and that the landed proprietors would stubbornly resent a larger succession duty unless a more generous subsidy were given to the local governing bodies. An amendment was therefore moved by Sir Michael Hicks Beach that the duty on spirits and beer should not be made higher without a corresponding change in the duty on wine, and that the new succession duty was unjust without a corresponding grant from the Treasury for the relief of land rates. On a division the Government was beaten by twelve votes (264 against 252), and the Cabinet resigned. The defeat was due to a coalition between the Tories and the Irish, the latter opposed to renewal of the Crimes Act in any form, the former to any relaxation of it. It was evident that parties would never resume their normal position until the Irish question was settled. The Cabinet was itself divided on the Irish question as well as on the policy to be pursued in Egypt.

It was time, however, that the Administration should cease to be, but it had done a great work. It had passed the Irish Land Act, had largely increased the franchise, had improved the condition of the farmer, protected him from the ravages of agrarian agitators, obtained for him compensation for improvements; secured the decent burial of Dissenters; protected workmen against accidents; defended the property of married women; improved the law of bankruptcy; and more fully provided for

the purity of elections. Egypt could wait, but Ireland remained to be pacified, and Parnell was a man needing to be dealt with. He was, in truth, the master of the situation. What he had failed to obtain from the Liberals he hoped to win from the Tories, but he was doomed to disappointment.

CHAPTER X

HOME RULE

BEFORE Gladstone resigned office, difficulties with Russia had arisen on the Afghan frontier with regard to Penjdeh. A Joint Commission of British and Russians had been appointed to settle the boundary north of Herat, the two Commissioners being Sir Peter Lumsden for Great Britain and Zelenov for Russia. Lumsden reached the debatable land on November 19th, 1884, but Zelenov was supposed to be ill and did not appear. However, bodies of Russian troops, under the command of Alikhanov, a Russianised Mussulman, advanced south of Sarakhs. The Amir moved to the north to defend his territory, and the two hostile forces met at Penjdeh, which was regarded as indisputably Afghan territory. The Russians refused to retire at the request of the British, but said that they would avoid a conflict with the Afghans.

There was such danger of hostilities that the Queen approached the Tsar personally in favour of peace. A half-promise was given, but on March 30th, 1885, Komarov attacked the Afghans and routed them. Penjdeh was declared to be annexed to Russia, and Lumsden retired towards Herat. It was impossible to pass over this violent conduct in silence. Dufferin prepared to dispatch 25,000 men to Quetta, in order to occupy Herat before the Russians should arrive there, and an arrangement was made which allowed 50,000 men to cross the frontier if war were declared, while the construction of the railway to Quetta was hastened. On April 21st Gladstone asked for a credit of £11,000,000, £4,000,000 of which were for the Sudan and the rest for special preparations. Port Hamilton, an island in the Pacific, which threatened Vladivostok, was occupied. Negotiations, from which a friendly issue might be expected, were, however, continued; but little progress had been made when the Gladstone Ministry came to an end. They were resumed by Salisbury, and Sir West Ridgeway was appointed in the place of Lumsden. A compromise was made which allowed the Russians the road and the Afghans the command of the pass; but the final treaty which delineated the whole frontier between the Heri Rud and the Oxus was not signed till July, 1887.

LORD SALISBURY'S MINISTRY

Lord Salisbury, on taking office, found himself in a minority of nearly 100 in the House of Commons, and it was impossible for a dissolution to take place before November, when the new Franchise and Redistribution Bills would come into operation. This led to a crisis, which lasted a fortnight, during which period there was practically no Ministry. Salisbury could not take office unless pledges were given not to embarrass his government in Parliament, and Gladstone would only come back if Salisbury failed to form a Ministry. Sir Henry Ponsonby, the Queen's Private Secretary, one of the most devoted and most self-sacrificing servants that the Crown ever possessed, called on Gladstone no fewer than six times on June 22nd. On the following day the Queen was able to tell Salisbury that in her opinion he might trust Gladstone's assurances that the Opposition in majority would have no idea of withholding ways and means, and the crisis, almost unique in British history, came to an end. It remains as an example of the dignity, the patriotism, and the wise spirit of compromise which animated the Sovereign and the leaders of the two contending parties—qualities which tend to make party government a blessing rather than a curse.

But the foundation of a Tory Ministry was no easy task. As Gladstone had to reckon with Chamberlain, so Salisbury had to reckon with Lord Randolph Churchill, the most prominent member of the Fourth Party, a little group of active Conservatives, which included also Arthur Balfour, Drummond Wolff and John Gorst. Lord Randolph had an extraordinary power of speech, which did not consist wholly of invective. He was more of a Liberal than a Tory, or even a Conservative, and might be called a Tory Democrat with original ideas of his own. He believed that the working classes could unite with the Tories in framing a fresh energetic and moral policy for the country. He was in favour of a different treatment of Ireland; but, above all, he wanted new men in office, and spoke contemptuously of the "old gang." Salisbury gave in to him. Stafford Northcote was banished to the House of Lords with the title of Lord Iddesleigh and the unmeaning office of the First Lord of the Treasury. Salisbury became Prime Minister and Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Randolph Churchill received the seals of the India Office, and Carnarvon was made Viceroy of Ireland, a pledge that a different attitude towards that country was in contemplation. Cross received the seals of the Home Office, and Hicks Beach led the House of Commons as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

After adjourning for a few days to enable the new members

of the Government who belonged to the House of Commons to be re-elected, the House met for business on July 6th. Little was done except to wind up the session as soon as possible. Carnarvon declared that he did not ask for a renewal of the Coercion Act in Ireland, and Hicks Beach accepted the budget of Childers as far as it was possible to do so. Randolph Churchill made an impressive speech on Indian finance, which showed his capacity for managing important business, and justified the opinion held of him by distinguished Indian officials such as Sir Henry Maine; and on August 14th Parliament was prorogued by commission, on the understanding that it was shortly to be dissolved. Churchill signalised his tenure of the India Office by the annexation of Upper Burma, governed by King Thebaw, who was an impossible sovereign. He gave the order to advance in November, 1885; the conquest was announced as complete on December 1st, and annexation was authorised before the end of the month. He also carried the foundation of the Indian Midland Railway against considerable opposition. There is little doubt that, had health permitted and circumstances been more favourable, the name of Randolph Churchill would stand to-day in the first rank of British statesmen.

It soon became certain that the question of Home Rule for Ireland would be a dominant factor in the new election for Parliament. Gladstone stated in his address that history would combine to disgrace the name of every man who, having it in his power, did not aid in providing and maintaining an equitable settlement between Ireland and Great Britain; and John Morley expressed a confident hope that Gladstone would complete his work in Ireland by giving that country a system of government which would meet her highest claims. At the same time Gladstone desired that the Irish Question should be settled by a Parliament in which the Liberal majority should be so powerful as to be able to act independently of the Irish vote. This was misunderstood by the Irish party, and the consequence was that the Irish vote was cast for the Tories. It is true that Carnarvon was at this time in favour of a kind of Home Rule and was negotiating with Parnell, but it is doubtful how far he could have carried the Cabinet with him. The results of the elections became known in the middle of December. The Liberals returned 334 members, the Conservatives 250, and the Irish Nationalists 86 out of 103. It is clear that if the Liberals were joined by the Irish Nationalists they would have a very large majority, but if the contrary were the case the Tories might sometimes have a

majority of two or three votes. It became known that Gladstone was being gradually converted to Home Rule as a remedy for Irish grievances. He had been studying the question for many years, but in accordance with the habit of his mind he would have thought it wrong to advocate it publicly unless he was sure that the Irish people were in favour of it. The present election left no doubt on that score.

Joseph Chamberlain, whose name now comes prominently forward, had made his reputation as mayor of Birmingham, where he had established a model of municipal government, besides amassing a fortune by the scientific manufacture of screws. First elected to Parliament in 1876, he proved himself to be one of the keenest and most formidable debaters in the House. He had a clear, incisive voice, great self-control, and readiness of repartee. He was thought to be a first-class fighting Radical, whose object was to overthrow the altar and the throne. He was an enthusiastic Home Ruler, and when he opposed Home Rule in Birmingham in 1892 many of those whom he attacked said that they had first learnt Home Rule from him. He was now ambitious of leading the Liberal Party in succession to Gladstone, whose age, he thought, would soon drive him into retirement from the stage of politics. He therefore issued what was known as the Unauthorised Liberal Programme, demanding, under the name of "ransom," the sacrifices from the rich many of which afterwards became law—free education, improved dwellings for the poor at moderate rents, the abolition of indirect taxation, the restoration of enclosed land to the people, disestablishment of the Church, a graduated income tax, and an increased burden on landowners; in fact, the whole Radical programme as we know it in these modern days.

Parliament was opened by the Queen on January 21st, 1886, but it was evident that the Government would be defeated on the Address. The amendment which effected this was proposed by Jesse Collings, a staunch friend and faithful henchman of Chamberlain, and proposed the policy of giving small allotments and small holdings to agricultural labourers—afterwards commonly known as "Three acres and a cow," although he was not the inventor of the phrase. This amendment, supported by Gladstone, Joseph Arch and Chamberlain, but opposed by Hartington and Goschen, was carried by a majority of 329 votes to 250, and Salisbury immediately went out of office. In Gladstone's new Government Harcourt became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Childers Home Secretary, Rosebery Secretary for

Foreign Affairs, Granville for the Colonies, Kimberley for India, Lord Aberdeen was made Viceroy of Ireland with John Morley as Chief Secretary, and Chamberlain was appointed President of the Board of Trade. Hartington's name did not appear on the list, and it was known that he differed from Gladstone on the policy of Home Rule.

On April 8th, 1886, Gladstone moved in the House of Commons for leave to introduce the Bill which was eventually known as the Home Rule Bill. The excitement was beyond all description. Although the House was opened at the unusually early hour of 6 in the morning, some members arrived as early as 5, and stood ready to rush in as soon as the doors were open. The Chamber was so crammed that chairs were placed across the floor from the bar to the table. Gladstone rose in the House at 4.40 in the afternoon, and spoke for nearly three hours and a half, yet the speech did not appear to anyone too long.

The Bill provided that Ireland should have a Parliament of her own, and that the Irish representation at Westminster should cease—an arrangement which had been accepted by Parnell and his colleagues. They thought that it would be better to allow Irishmen to manage their own affairs apart, without direct communication with Westminster, and that it would be more easy to attract the best intellects of Ireland to a Parliament sitting in Dublin if the attraction of Westminster were out of the way. The new Legislature, as it was called instead of Parliament, was to consist of two Houses or Orders, the Upper formed of Irish Peers and members elected under a high pecuniary qualification, the Lower of the present Irish members and an additional 101 chosen by all Irish constituencies except Trinity College. The Irish judges were to be subject to the Irish Legislature, and the Irish Executive were to control the police. The Legislature would be unable to deal with matters affecting the Crown, with military or naval forces, trade, navigation or coinage, and proposals to establish or endow any religious institution. It would have no power to impose duties on British or foreign goods. Ireland would levy her own taxes and pay to the London Treasury a sum amounting to one-twelfth of the British revenue. The Legislature, as well as the Executive, were to be subject to the Lord Lieutenant, who could hold office independently of British parties. There was great discussion whether the refusal of consent to any Bill was to rest with the Irish or the British Ministry; but the Irish members had no doubt that it would be in the hands of the British Executive, and this opinion was confirmed by Mr. Gladstone.

The Home Rule Bill was accompanied by a Land Bill, introduced a few days afterwards, by which every Irish landlord would have the option of selling his estate to his tenants, at the price of twenty years' purchase, the money being lent by the Treasury under stringent conditions. The Land Bill was not agreeable to the Irish Home Rulers, but was accepted by them as a price for self-government.

It was probably a mistake to introduce an elaborate measure like that of Home Rule in the form of a Bill containing so many conditions which would give rise to acrid discussion, and it would have been better to proceed by resolutions; but Gladstone was old and conscious of the shortness of life, and his mind delighted in the task of working out details. It is, therefore, scarcely surprising that the Bill was opposed by some who reckoned themselves as stalwart Liberals. Trevelyan and Chamberlain left the Cabinet. Trevelyan had been Chief Secretary in the troubled times following the murder of Cavendish, and he could not bring himself to consent to leave the Irish police in the hands of the Executive. He voted against the Bill because, in his opinion, it was bad; but he afterwards regretted his action and returned to the Liberal fold.

The case of Chamberlain was different. He had been a Home Ruler before Gladstone; his friends in Birmingham, who voted against his son Austen in 1892, declared, as we have seen, that whatever they knew about Home Rule they had learnt from him. But he was a man of strong personal ambition, and desired to be leader of the Liberal Party and Liberal Prime Minister, and he was too impatient to wait until Gladstone's vigorous life had run its natural course. He therefore determined to oppose the measure—more, it may be feared, from pique than from political prescience. He might have hoped to be able to turn Gladstone out and fill his place, but he could hardly have foreseen that he was to be the founder of an anti-Liberal party and a prominent member of a Tory Government. He, like Trevelyan, rejected the Land Bill, but had difficulty in finding reasons for voting against Home Rule. He took his standing on the sacredness of federal principles, and the bad policy of excluding Irish members from Parliament, which Bright, on the other hand, regarded as the redeeming feature of the measure. When Gladstone proposed a different arrangement in his second Home Rule Bill, Chamberlain again found reasons for opposing what he had previously advocated. This was the turning-point of his career. Up to this moment the world would have predicted a brilliant and

victorious rise; from this time he pursued a devious course which ended in disaster and failure.

A large meeting was held in Her Majesty's Opera House to uphold the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. Lord Cowper, who had been an Irish Viceroy, presided, and Hartington and Salisbury were found on the same platform. Goschen was one of the prominent speakers, and many lifelong Liberals and even Radicals supported the movement. Churchill gave to the party the name of Unionist, which has remained ever since, although the designation has frequently changed its meaning. The intellect of the country was against Home Rule, chiefly because it took people by surprise and they had not adequately considered the question. They were reluctant to admit that a British Parliament was incompetent to govern Ireland, and the conduct of the Irish had not been such as to command respect.

The debate on the second reading took place on May 10th, and lasted for nearly a month. Hartington moved the rejection of the Bill. The attitude of Chamberlain was well sketched in Gladstone's concluding speech. Chamberlain had said that a dissolution had no terrors for him. Gladstone rejoined: "I do not wonder at it. He has trimmed his vessel, and he has handled his rudder in such a masterly way that, in whichever direction the winds of heaven may blow they must fill his sails. If an election were favourable to the Bill he would say, 'I declared that I accepted the principles of the Bill'; if public opinion were in favour of a large measure of Home Rule, he would say that he had advocated the principle of federation; if in favour of a smaller, he would declare that he had been in favour of four provincial councils, controlled from London." At 1 o'clock in the morning of June 8th the House divided, and the Bill was defeated by 343 votes to 313. Ninety-three Liberals voted with the "Noes," including Bright, Hartington, Chamberlain, Goschen, Trevelyan and Henry James. Gladstone determined to dissolve Parliament, which was effected on June 26th. The elections began on July 1st, and from the beginning were unfavourable to the Government. In the midst of the polls, just before the counties began to vote, John Bright issued a strong manifesto against Home Rule which had a powerful effect. The final result was the election of 315 Conservatives, 78 Liberal Unionists, 191 Liberals, and 86 Nationalists. The Cabinet resigned at once. If they had not done this they would have been beaten on the Address, as there was a majority of more than 100 against them.

RANDOLPH CHURCHILL'S RESIGNATION

Salisbury succeeded Gladstone as Prime Minister; but the Conservatives, although the most numerous party in the House, did not command an absolute majority, and had to depend on the support of the Liberal Unionists. Hartington was offered a place in the Cabinet, but refused it, and continued to sit on the same bench as Gladstone and his former friends, although he persistently voted against them, a most inconvenient and disturbing arrangement. Lord Iddesleigh became Foreign Secretary, Randolph Churchill led the House of Commons as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hicks Beach became Secretary for Ireland, and Henry Matthews, afterwards Lord Llandaff, was Home Secretary. The disorder in Ireland became worse; the rents, although fixed by law, were more than the tenants could pay. Parnell introduced a Bill to relieve the tenants, which was supported by Gladstone, but it was rejected by a large majority, and the consequence was the establishment of the system called the Plan of Campaign, by which the tenants of any Irish estate who considered their rents too high should agree what they would offer to the landlord, and if the landlord refused the offer the money was paid to trustees for the purpose of resisting evictions. This method of procedure was undoubtedly illegal, and was declared by the Irish judges to be a criminal conspiracy; but it worked well and saved many Irish tenants from ruin and starvation. Parnell disapproved of it, but Gladstone did not condemn it, and Spencer was well disposed towards it.

Then a thunderbolt burst from a clear sky by the sudden resignation of Randolph Churchill. As a Tory Democrat he was anxious to identify his party with progress and reform, and had drawn up a budget which, besides reducing the expenditure on the army and navy, increased the estate duties by £4,500,000, the house duties by £1,500,000, and lowered the tea duty, the tobacco duty, and the income tax. This masterly scheme was opposed by the heads of the departments threatened with reduction, and when the Chancellor made the acceptance of it a condition of his remaining in office the Prime Minister refused to give way and Churchill resigned, Goschen being appointed in his place. Churchill said afterwards that he had forgotten Goschen. By this sudden and inconsiderate step he ruined what promised to be a first-rate political career. This characteristic event led to other changes. Mr. W. H. Smith, who had made a fortune by selling newspapers and establishing railway bookstalls, became leader of the House of Commons, and Salisbury was so taken aback by the Churchill incident that he took the seals of the

Foreign Office himself, without informing Iddesleigh, the actual holder of them, that he had done so. This caused the aged statesman such a shock that he died in Salisbury's presence on January 12th, 1887.

An attempt was made to patch up the quarrel with the dissident Liberals by a friendly meeting at the house of Sir William Harcourt, at which Herschell, Morley, Chamberlain and Trevelyan sat at a round table and endeavoured to come to an agreement. Gladstone and Hartington held aloof. Chamberlain went so far as to acknowledge the expediency of establishing a Parliament in Dublin and having an Irish executive; but just as the first proceedings of the round table conference were being communicated to Gladstone, an article of Chamberlain's in the *Baptist* produced a breach, and he afterwards declined to have anything more to do with the matter, so the Tory Government in Ireland was left to pursue its own course.

When Parliament met in January, 1887, coercion was proposed as a remedy for Irish disorder, and was supported by the Liberal Unionists. The "resolute government," advocated by Salisbury as an alternative to Home Rule, was begun, and Arthur Balfour, Lord Salisbury's nephew, was entrusted with the duty of carrying it out, becoming Irish Secretary in the place of Hicks Beach. Balfour began by bringing in a permanent Coercion Bill of most stringent character. It gave the power of trying in England murders and other serious crimes committed in Ireland; it allowed the Lord Lieutenant to declare an assembly unlawful if he thought it dangerous, and to permit resident magistrates to try cases of conspiracy without juries.

In order to secure the passage of this measure, and to prevent obstruction, a new method of parliamentary procedure was introduced by Mr. Smith, which gave the power of closing the debate at any time by the vote of 200 members if the Speaker allowed the motion to be put. This machinery of the "guillotine," as it has been called, has been strengthened since, and used by both parties. It has proved indispensable in the congested condition of business in the House of Commons, but at the moment it was a triumph for the Irish in their attempt to render Parliamentary government for Ireland impossible. The Coercion Bill was strongly opposed by Gladstone. Indeed, the situation was a tragic one for Home Rulers. The country was about to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's accession. London was full of evidences of exuberant loyalty; the whole Empire was asked to concur in honouring the national festival, but a thick pall

of tyrannous government hovered over unhappy Ireland. The contrast was striking, and Gladstone might well ask whether Ireland deserved this exceptional treatment for having been born with a double dose of original sin.

The division on the second reading of the Coercion Bill was fixed for April 18th, 1887, and on the morning of that day *The Times* published the facsimile of a letter signed, "Yours very truly, Chas. S. Parnell." Any critic of historical sources would have pronounced the authenticity of this document to be extremely doubtful, as the signature, even if genuine, appeared on a different page from the substance of the letter and might have had nothing to do with it. The letter was dated nine days after the murder of Frederick Cavendish. It purported to run as follows :—

> "DEAR SIR,—
>
> "I am not surprised at your friend's anger, but he and you should know that to denounce the murders was the only course open to us. To do that promptly was plainly our best policy. But you can tell him and all others concerned that, though I regret the accident of Lord F. Cavendish's death, I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts. You are at liberty to show him this, and others whom you can trust also, but let not my address be known. He can write to the House of Commons.
>
> "Yours very truly,
>
> "CHAS. S. PARNELL."

Parnell, like many others, regarded this letter as so absurd in itself that he did not, perhaps, take sufficient pains to denounce it in the face of the great excitement of public opinion. However, rising in the House after midnight, he stigmatised it as a villainous and barefaced forgery, and declared that he never had heard of the letter, or directed such a letter to be written, or seen such a letter, before he saw it in *The Times*. A society of fair-minded gentlemen should have at once accepted this statement, but the temper of the Tories was at this time not fair-minded, and within two days Salisbury made a speech at Battersea in which he assumed the authenticity of the letter. The Coercion Bill was passed by the end of the month.

Arthur Balfour showed unexpected qualities in the administration of the Crimes Act. He had the reputation of being something of a dilettante, and he undoubtedly cared more for music and philosophy than he did for politics; but he now showed he

could govern in a manner steady, courageous and determined. His health and vigour improved in the conflict, and he developed qualities seldom found save in the first rank of Cabinet Ministers. His chief object was to defeat the Plan of Campaign, and from this he never flinched. He gave orders to the executive officers of the Castle, the resident magistrates, and the Royal Irish Constabulary as to the duty which lay upon them of executing the law in all circumstances and at all costs. He ordered them to employ such force as might be necessary for the purpose, and promised them the fullest support if they did their duty, while, on the other hand, slackness would be severely punished.

A crisis occurred at Mitchelstown on September 9th. A public meeting of several thousand people was held there, at which two English members of Parliament were present and several English ladies. While John Dillon was speaking, some police endeavoured to press through the crowd to make way for a Government reporter, and were driven back with shillelaghs. The constables retreated to their barracks and fired upon the people, killing one man and mortally wounding two others. No proper inquiry into this outrage, which was, on the face of it, murder, was held; and Balfour, three days after the event, said in the House that those who called the meeting were responsible and that the police were blameless. In the following month the coroner's jury found the county inspector and three constables guilty of wilful murder; but in February, 1888, the High Court in Dublin quashed the verdict, so that the question of murder, manslaughter or justifiable homicide was never decided at all.

Besides this, 200 branches of the National League were suppressed in six counties, and the Lord Mayor of Dublin was prosecuted and committed to prison. William O'Brien, Balfour's chief opponent, was convicted on a similar charge, but, unlike the Lord Mayor, he was deprived of his ordinary clothes and treated as if he had been a malefactor. The struggle in Ireland aroused great interest amongst English Liberals, and many of them went over to Ireland to help in the movement, as they would have helped Garibaldi in Italy. But Balfour was determined to put this down. He threw Wilfrid Blunt, a man of great literary and social distinction, into prison, treating him as an ordinary criminal, for creating a disturbance on Lord Clanricarde's estate, and was bent on carrying out the law ruthlessly and without respect of persons. In this course he gained great esteem and popularity, which was felt even by the Irish whom he attacked. He was not hated as Forster had been, for the Irish

admired chivalry, even when it was turned against themselves. "Prince Arthur," as he was called, became the darling of both countries, and Gladstone's influence was correspondingly diminished. It looked for the moment as if Salisbury's "resolute government" would assert its pre-eminence over the policy of Home Rule.

In the summer of 1888 the Home Rule controversy entered into a new phase. A year before, about the time of the publishing of the supposed Parnell letters in *The Times*, that journal had also printed a number of articles entitled "Parnellism and Crime." They contained charges of an indefinite character against the Irish leader. They used, as Morley says, allusion, suggestion and innuendo to make a crude and hideous mosaic. These articles were afterwards published in book form, and O'Donnell, a former member of the Nationalist party, whose name occurred in them, brought an action for libel against Mr. Walter, the proprietor of *The Times*, claiming as damages £50,000. As O'Donnell would not go into the witness box he lost the action, in the course of which the Attorney-General, Sir Richard Webster, counsel for *The Times*, read a number of letters, purporting to be written by Parnell, showing complicity in and approval of the Phœnix Park murders. Parnell having no legal redress for these libels, took the only course possible. He emphatically denied in the House the authenticity of the letters, and asked for a Select Committee, from which all Irish Members of Parliament should be excluded, to investigate the matter. This reasonable demand was refused, and, instead, the Government offered to bring in a Bill to appoint a Commission, consisting wholly or mainly of judges, to inquire into the allegations and charges made against members of Parliament by *The Times*. This was accepted by Parnell and his friends, but the Government then altered their offer by inserting the words "and other persons" after "members." This changed the Commission from an inquiry into specific charges made against known individuals into a general investigation into the course of Irish politics since the establishment of the Land League.

This Commission consisted of three English judges, Sir James Hannen, a man of the highest character, presiding. It first met on September 17th, 1888, and sat for 120 days, rising for the last time on November 22nd, 1889. It examined more than 450 witnesses; one counsel spoke for five days, another for seven, and a third for nearly twelve. The questions put to witnesses numbered nearly 8,000. The Commission was itself unconsti-

tutional and unfair, for it tried men on a political charge without giving them the benefit of a jury, and left to the judges the decision on the facts.

The letters which formed the occasion of the Commission were not reached till the fiftieth day—February 14th, 1889. The manager of *The Times*, called to tell his story, said he had purchased three batches of letters for £2,500 from the Secretary of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union. It was not known to whom they were addressed, there were no envelopes with the letters, the signatures corresponded with those admitted to be Parnell's; but the editor's chief reason for believing in their genuineness was that he thought that they were the kind of letters which Parnell would be likely to write.

After some reluctance on the part of the prosecution, the judges called the secretary of the union, and he said he had received them from a certain Richard Pigott, who was the next witness. This man was notorious in Dublin as "Dick" Pigott, a broken-down hack, living from hand to mouth, and begging from anyone who was likely to believe him. In the autumn of 1885 he had received, from the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, £60 for a pamphlet called "Parnellism Unmasked," and had been paid a guinea a day and travelling expenses to collect evidence against Parnell and his friends. He appeared to make a substantial living, and took trips to New York, Lausanne and Paris. He forged the letters which he pretended to have obtained from Parnellite conspirators, and received £500 for the conspirators and £100 for himself. He said, at a later period, "I have been in difficulties and great distress for want of money for the last twenty years and, in order to find means of support for myself and my large family, I have been guilty of many acts which must for ever disgrace me." In October, 1888, just after the opening of the Commission, he made a full confession to Parnell's solicitor, which he afterwards withdrew.

He went into the witness-box on February 21st, 1889, and, under the cross-examination of Sir Charles Russell, who conducted the defence with rare dignity and statesmanship, he completely broke down. It was shown that his customary errors in spelling were precisely similar to those which occurred in the Parnell letters. Correspondence between him and the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, as well as with W. E. Forster, was read. Pigott entirely collapsed, and when the court opened on the following morning he did not appear. After confessing his crime, he went to Spain, thinking that England had no treaty of extradition with

that country. But when the police entered his hotel in Madrid on March 1st with a warrant for his arrest he shot himself.

The report of the commission was presented to Parliament on February 13th, 1890. It was eagerly read and admitted to be an acquittal. The only condemnation expressed was that the Parnellites had denounced crime, yet did not denounce the system which led to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with a knowledge of its effects. No action was taken by Parliament with regard to the report, but on the first appearance of Parnell in the House after its publication he was greeted by an extraordinary demonstration. The House was crowded when he appeared, and at the sight of him the whole of the Liberals rose to their feet and, standing up, cheered him again and again, while even some Tories joined in the applause. Parnell took it very quietly, but with some embarrassment, and as he sat down said to a friend next to him, "Why did you fellows all stand up? You almost frightened me." That scene was the zenith of Parnell's parliamentary career.

We must now give some account of Salisbury as Foreign Secretary. When he took office at the beginning of 1887 Egypt was a burning question. Five years before Great Britain had talked about leaving in six months, but she was still in possession, and likely to remain. In May she proposed a treaty to the Sultan, promising to leave in three years; but this was never ratified, and she had, moreover, signed an agreement with France which effectually neutralised the Suez Canal. Salisbury also attempted to settle the long-standing dispute with France about the Newfoundland fisheries, but his endeavours were frustrated by the rashness of his chosen envoy, Joseph Chamberlain. In the autumn of 1887 a change took place in the international relations of Europe by the formation of a Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy, which claimed to be a league of peace. It was inaugurated by Crispi, on a visit to Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe. In Italy dread of France had taken the place of hatred of Austria, and France, in her jealousy of Italy, was inclined to turn to Russia. Salisbury favoured the Triple Alliance, thinking it favourable to European quiet. He also believed that friendship with Italy would be useful in checking the preponderance of France in the Mediterranean.

In Egypt Salisbury made no attempt to reconquer the Sudan, but left it to the Khalifa. He, however, sent an expedition to secure Suakin against attack by the Dervishes. At the same time, he saw that, in order to prevent complications with

Germany, it would be well to make some arrangement for the delimitation of Africa, in which country exploration and annexation had gone on with extreme rapidity. In 1885 Carl Peters, a German explorer, had acquired for the German East Africa Company a large amount of territory which might have been obtained for Great Britain. In 1887 the Royal Niger Company had been formed, and the King of the Belgians had become Sovereign of the Congo State. Bechuanaland had been placed under British protection, and Matabeleland and Mashonaland had been annexed. For the administration of these districts the South Africa Company had been founded, and the Imperial British East Africa Company had been established in the previous year. The head-quarters of this company were at Mombasa, but their principal acquisition was Uganda, on the shores of Victoria Nyanza. A charter was given to the South Africa Company on October 15th, 1889, which eventually brought about unexpected results.

In 1890 Germany had acquired a considerable portion of East Africa, and put in a claim to what is called the hinterland or back country of Zanzibar, affirming the doctrine that when a Power has taken possession of a coast line the unoccupied territory behind it cannot be claimed by any other Power. Thereupon Caprivi, who had succeeded Bismarck as Chancellor of the German Empire, set to work to define what were called British and German spheres of influence. By an agreement signed between Great Britain and Germany on July 1st, 1890, a road called the Stevenson Road was recognised as the frontier between the two Empires. Nyassa and Uganda became British, the frontier line being drawn across Victoria Nyanza, and a British protectorate was established over the island of Zanzibar and the adjacent island of Pemba. In return, Great Britain ceded Heligoland to Germany, a place of great use to us during the Napoleonic wars, but which had ceased to be of much value. A French sphere of influence was also marked out, which included the French Congo on the West Coast, occupied in 1888, and the whole of the Sahara from Algeria to Timbuctoo, a very valuable possession. Portugal received 1,000 square miles on the north of the Zambesi in return for a narrow slip of Manicaland which gave access to the domain of the Chartered Company. The results of these "arrangements" have been on the whole satisfactory, and since their conclusion no disputes have arisen in Africa of any importance with regard to undefined and unoccupied land.

On November 15th, 1890, ten days before the meeting of

Parliament for the autumn session, a case came before the Divorce Court in which Parnell was involved as co-respondent. Parnell was unmarried, had no regular home, and no address except that of the House of Commons. The intrigue with Mrs. O'Shea had gone on for a long time, the suit was undefended, and judgment was bound to go against him. This unfortunate affair ruined for the time being the cause of Home Rule. Many of the Irish Nationalists expressed their unabated confidence in Parnell, but British Liberals refused to support the cause of Home Rule if he continued to be at the head of it. It was hoped that he would resign the leadership of his own accord, but he declined to go. For several days the battle between the two sections of the Irish Party raged within the walls of the House of Commons in Committee Room No. 15. Parnell stood at bay and fought with tremendous energy. As he was chairman of the meeting it was impossible to turn him out. At last the majority of forty-five left the room, and elected Justin McCarthy as their chairman, though twenty-five continued to follow Parnell's lead. On December 5th Parnell crossed over to Ireland and conducted a hopeless battle with restless vigour and passion, but he found little support in the constituencies. He married Mrs. O'Shea on July 7th, 1891, and by so doing offended the Catholics more deeply than ever by the disregard of the prohibition of marriage between divorced persons. He was a stricken man, and died at his house at Brighton on October 6th, 1891, at the early age of forty-five; he was buried at Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin on October 11th, amidst manifestations of profound sorrow and respect.

Mr. Goschen's budget for 1890 produced an important result which was entirely unanticipated. He had to deal with a surplus of £3,500,000, which was popularly supposed to be due to the excessive consumption of whisky. He used it to remit taxation, reducing the duty on tea and currants, and diminishing the house duty. With the residue he proposed to create a fund for the purchase and extinction of publicans' licences. This raised a storm among the friends of temperance, the licensing clauses were dropped, and the money was given to the county councils to be spent upon technical education. This laid upon the county authorities, for the first time, the duty of considering how education, other than elementary, could be best provided in the districts which they controlled. The operation of this and other causes is gradually removing from our country the well-merited reproach of being an uneducated people.

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In the following year free education was established in the public elementary schools of England and Wales, greatly through the influence of Chamberlain, who, many years before, had been one of the founders of the Birmingham Education League, and had included free education in the Unauthorised Programme to which we alluded on an earlier page. The country was already familiar with the payment for education by the Government. All elementary schools certified by an inspector to be efficient received a contribution from the rates, whereas the so-called voluntary schools, which were generally Church schools, were maintained largely by subscriptions. It was proposed to endow both classes of schools at an estimated cost of 10s. a child, and the Act, originated by the Liberals, was passed by the Tories. It has had an effect little contemplated, and even now little observed and understood. Since 1891 the standard of national culture has been raised in a surprising manner. The democracy, educated in elementary schools, or in higher schools of the elementary type, has developed a knowledge and love of literature, music and art which in some respects places it above that of other nations. Shakespeare has taken his place by the side of the Bible as the chief source of national education, and the culture thus obtained has tended to compensate for the withering blight which devotion to amusement and self-indulgence has cast upon the governing classes.

The Parliament of 1886 was now nearing its natural end, and was dissolved on June 26th, 1892. It was understood that the contest would turn on the question of Home Rule, although temperance and the disestablishment of the Welsh Church would also be considered. The election was fought with great enthusiasm. Gladstone declined to give a sketch of the Bill which he intended to propose, except that it would provide for the Irish members sitting in Parliament. But the results of the contest were unsatisfactory, as it gave no party a majority of the whole House, and the balance was held by the Irish. Salisbury did not resign until he was defeated on an amendment to the Address by 350 to 310 votes. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the fourth time, but he was at the mercy of the Irish. Any Home Rule Bill, moreover, which might be passed by the Commons was certain to be rejected by the House of Lords. He formed a strong Cabinet, Rosebery going to the Foreign Office and Morley becoming again Chief Secretary for Ireland. Asquith, then at the outset of a distinguished career, was given the Home Office, and the Queen, as she gazed

with veiled apprehension at the Minister to whom she was obliged to entrust the seals of office, thought him very young for the post. Bryce, the brilliant Oxford historian, became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill on February 13th, 1893. It was virtually the same as the first, excepting that Irish members were allowed to vote at Westminster on any Imperial question or any question affecting Ireland, their numbers being reduced from 103 to 80. The second reading was passed on April 22nd, by a majority of 43. The Unionists caused great obstruction in Committee, and Balfour declared his intention of voting for any amendment which might improve the Bill and for any which might destroy it. In the discussion the clauses limiting the subjects on which Irish members might vote were dropped, after some very stormy scenes, which culminated at the end of July in disorder unparalleled in Parliament in recent years. The Bill was read for the third time by a majority of 34 and was taken to the Lords on September 1st. Lord Spencer did his best for it, but there could be no doubt as to its fate. The Bill was rejected in a House of unprecedented fullness by 417 votes to 41, the largest division ever taken in the Lords.

Gladstone had previously given a pledge that he would not dissolve if the Lords threw out the Home Rule Bill, so that the session went on, all Liberal legislation being nullified or impeded by the action of the Upper House. This reached such a pitch that Gladstone thought a new election might be favourable to his party, based upon the conduct of the Lords. They had rejected the Home Rule Bill, to which the Commons had given eighty-two days' discussion, and had marred the Parish Councils Bill, which had been debated for forty-one days in the Lower House. Gladstone urged that, for practical purposes, the Lords had destroyed the work of the House of Commons, unexampled as that work was in the time and pains bestowed upon it. But the Cabinet were entirely averse to dissolution, and the only alternative was his own resignation; but Lord Morley tells us that up to the last moment he held that it would have been a right course to dissolve upon the relations between the two Houses. His desire to resign office was intensified by his inability to persuade his colleagues of the necessity of reducing the naval and military Estimates.

Gladstone's last Cabinet Council was held on March 1st, 1894. Morley has given us a touching account of it. "Mr. Gladstone sat, composed and still as marble, and the emotion of the Cabinet

did not gain him for a moment. He followed the 'words of acknowledgment and farewell' in a little speech of four or five minutes, his voice unbroken and serene, the tone low, grave and steady . . . then hardly above a breath and every accent heard, he said, 'God bless you all.' He rose slowly and went out of one door, while his colleagues, with minds oppressed, filed out of the other." He entered in his diary that "it was a very moving scene."

His last speech in the House of Commons, delivered the same afternoon, was a vigorous assault upon the House of Lords. The question, he said, was whether the function of the House of Lords was not merely to modify but to annihilate the whole work of the House of Commons. He ended by saying that the present state of things could not continue, and that the issue which was raised between a deliberative assembly, elected by the votes of more than 6,000,000 people, and a hereditary assembly occupied by many men of virtue, many men of talent, of course with considerable diversities and varieties, was a controversy which, when once raised, must go forwards to an issue. On his resignation being accepted by the Queen, he wrote to General Ponsonby that he had witnessed in him such a combination of tact and temper, with loyalty, intelligence and truth, as he could not expect to see again.

If Gladstone had been consulted about his successor, he would have recommended Lord Spencer; but his advice was not sought, and the Queen on her own responsibility sent for Lord Rosebery, although Sir William Harcourt had superior claims. The new session began on March 12th. Rosebery was not keenly in favour of Home Rule. He agreed with Lord Salisbury in thinking that, before it could be conceded, England, the predominant partner, must be convinced that it was just. The session was mainly occupied with Harcourt's Radical budget, which largely increased the death duties. The difference between real and personal property in this matter was abolished, duty was made payable on the estate as a whole, and it had to be assessed according to its value in the open market, and not on the worth of the estate to the recipient. The rate of duty was graduated from 1 to 8 per cent., according to the value of the estate. By alterations in the income tax the burden of the poorer taxpayers was lightened; while the death duties, under the new scheme, brought to the Exchequer an increase of more than £4,000,000. The Finance Bill was much abused, and only passed the House by a majority of 14, but time proved its

soundness, and no Conservative Government has attempted to repeal it.

In the session of 1895 efforts were made to redeem the promises given in the general election of 1892, by dealing with the questions of Welsh Disestablishment and temperance reform. The Welsh Disestablishment Bill, which included a large measure of disendowment, was read a second time on April 3rd, by 304 votes to 260, Chamberlain voting in the majority; but, owing to the fall of the Government, did not get beyond the Committee stage. The Local Option Bill, as it was called, did not get beyond a first reading. The defeat of the Government was paltry, but dramatic. Mr. Brodrick moved an amendment to the Estimates, calling attention to the small supply of cordite in the Government magazines, although there was really a larger supply than usual or than was necessary. He had, with great astuteness, collected members of his party for a snap division, and when this was taken it was found that his amendment was carried by 132 votes to 125, the Government being beaten by a majority of 7. There was no need for the Cabinet to resign on such a vote, but they were weary of their position, and were glad to be relieved of it. Lord Rosebery, in a farewell speech, dwelt on the misery of governing with a small and uncertain majority, and, he might have added, with a leader in the Lower House who was thoroughly unsympathetic. He reiterated the attack already made by Gladstone on the House of Lords. Thus ended the Gladstonian regime, and the curtain was about to rise on a new phase of Imperialism, in which Joseph Chamberlain was the chief actor.

CHAPTER XI

Old China and New Japan

In the sixteenth century the Christian nations of the Aryan stock did not occupy more than a five-and-twentieth part of the surface of the globe, whereas the followers of Mohammed, Buddha and Confucius had spread themselves over nearly one half. During the last three centuries this proportion has notably changed. Armenia, Siberia, South Africa, and the islands of Asia have been conquered by Europeans. This progress, which had been hindered in Central and Southern Asia by the increasing power of the Manchus, received a great impulse in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Europeans now govern, directly or indirectly, three-fourths of the globe; indeed, their only formidable antagonists are the Arabs and the inhabitants of Eastern Asia. The Arabs have less importance, because they are not a seafaring nation and have no fleet of war, so that the struggle between the Aryans and other races for the domination of the world is likely to concentrate itself in Eastern Asia, and it is possible that the conflict between them may become prominent in the impending future.

The chances of success seem to be on the side of the Europeans. The United States and Canada are the centre and the starting place of a conquering civilisation. India, Hong Kong and Shanghai are becoming rapidly Europeanised; Australia, Manila and Saigon are pressing the Eastern Asiatics from the south, while Russia presses them from the north. It is hardly likely that Japan will be able to place herself at the head of a new Eastern Empire under the rule of the Mikado, because the Malays differ from the Japanese in race, language, religion and political ideas. However, since 1900 a change has taken place in favour of the Eastern civilisation, and it is possible that the independence of ideas and government which has made Japan almost a member of the European family of nations may spread to China and produce results difficult to foresee. There can, however, be no doubt that Japan has won a strong position for herself by her own strength, and is likely to keep it. The war of 1894 had

the effect of giving to Japan a considerable moral and material development.

The intercourse between Great Britain and China began later than that of other European Powers, but has grown to large dimensions. In 1613 the East India Company established a factory in Japan and, two years later, opened agencies in Formosa and Amoy. Little progress, however, was made until Oliver Cromwell concluded the treaty with Portugal which gave England free access to China by way of the East Indies. In 1644 the reigning dynasty in China was replaced by the Ts'ing, a Manchu, dynasty, and the new government showed itself hostile to the foreigner. The East India Company's factory at Amoy was destroyed in 1681. Trade continued, subject to great difficulties and interruptions, and it was only in 1771 that permission was given to foreigners to reside at Canton during the winter—that is, during the trading season.

For more than two centuries the relations of the East India Company towards the new government were those of a suppliant, humbly acknowledging the supreme sovereignty of the Son of Heaven. The higher classes, the Court, the officials, and the educated mandarins despised trade as only fit for the lowest class; foreign traders were tolerated for brief periods in the suburbs of Canton, but were not allowed to enter the gates or travel inside, nor to come into contact with any but the lowest orders of the Chinese. The embassies of Lord Macartney in 1792 and of Lord Amherst in 1816 were treated as tribute-bearing deputations, and, until a comparatively recent date, Great Britain was only allowed a place in the roll of tributary nations. At last, in 1839, war broke out, the results of which were that the island of Hong Kong was ceded to the British, and five ports—Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai—were opened to British trade. Another war broke out in 1856, and the Treaty of Tientsin was signed in 1858 and confirmed by the Convention of Peking in 1860. Additional ports in China were opened to British trade, a British representative was allowed to reside permanently in Peking, and the territory of Kowloon opposite to Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain.

The Treaty of Tientsin and the subsequent conventions which accompanied it form an epoch in the relations between China and Europe. China was brought, for the first time, face to face with the fact that her supposed supremacy was at an end, and that she must acknowledge the equality of other States. But whatever privileges were granted to foreigners on paper, the

Chinese were, in spirit, as much opposed to them as ever. In 1875 friendly relations between Great Britain and China were seriously interrupted by the murder of Augustus Margary, an official in the British consular service. Trade between China and Burma having been interrupted by a rebellion of the Mussulmans of Yunnan, which was suppressed in 1873, the British were desirous of reopening it, and collected an expedition for the purpose at Bhamo, to which Margary was to act as interpreter. Margary readily went ahead of the expedition to test the feeling of the Chinese, and was killed just across the frontier. Colonel Horace Browne, who was in command of the expedition, had to retire, and reached Bhamo in safety. Sir Thomas Wade, the British representative at Peking, demanded reparation, and when delays took place hauled down his flag and left the Chinese capital. He, however, agreed to meet Li Hung Chang, a prominent and powerful Chinese statesman at Cheefoo, and an envoy was sent to London with an apology for the crime. In 1872 the Emperor Tung-chi, having arrived at the age of sixteen, was obliged to assume the Imperial sceptre and to take to himself a wife. Aluli, the daughter of a Manchu official, was chosen for the purpose, and the marriage took place on October 16th.

It was hoped that the succession of the new Emperor would place the representatives of foreign Powers in a better position. They had hitherto been denied personal audiences, on the ground that the Sovereign was not of age to receive them, but that excuse now became invalid. So on June 29th, 1873, they were permitted to have an audience. But the ceremony, instead of being held in the State Hall of the Imperial Palace, took place in an apartment used for less solemn occasions, and the concession was regarded rather as a slight than an honour. Any effort in the direction of improving the relations between China and Europe was cut short by the sudden death of Tung-chi on January 12th. It was announced that he died of small-pox, but it is believed he was poisoned by the two Empresses, into whose hands the Regency now returned. These were the widow of the late Emperor Hien Fung and the mother of Tung-chi. It was the duty of the Regents to nominate a successor to the throne, and the choice fell upon Tsai-tien, a child of four years old. This nomination was illegal in several ways. It violated the rule that the successor to the throne must belong to a later generation than the previous occupant, and it disregarded the fact that Aluli, the widow of Tung-chi, was with child and that no appointment should be made until it became known whether the infant was a son or a daughter.

Aluli, however, conveniently died, the other objection was overruled, and the boy of four years old was recognised as Emperor under the name of Kwang Hsu, the "Successor of Glory."

It was only natural that these events should strengthen the feeling in China against the foreigner. Mission houses were destroyed and missionaries attacked and murdered, the outbreaks taking place in country districts where their causes were difficult to ascertain. However, the pressure for greater liberty continued, and in 1876 four new ports were opened to foreign trade. The feeling towards the foreigners was further improved by the action of the missionaries, who organised relief for the sufferers from the terrible famine of 1878, which destroyed 9,000,000 people. The Chinese Government went so far as to send a formal letter of thanks to the foreign representatives at Peking.

Great activity was now shown in external affairs. In July, 1871, the Chinese had allowed the Russians to occupy the province of Kuldja, on the understanding that they should receive the territory back again so soon as they were able to occupy it effectually. After the death of their great enemy, Yakub Khan, the Chinese considered that the time for this had arrived, and began negotiations with the Russians for this purpose. An incompetent ambassador completed an agreement in October, 1879, which ceded the greater part of the province to the Russians, and when he returned to Peking he was promptly condemned to death and a more discreet emissary, the well-known Marquis Tseng, was dispatched in his place. By the payment of a sum of money he recovered the ceded territory.

In April, 1881, the co-regent died and the government remained in the hands of Tsu-tsi, the mother of the late Emperor. She, however, became responsible for a war with France, which lasted from 1882 to 1885. The origin of this lay in the desire of the Ferry Ministry in France to force the note of colonial enterprise, which led to the mission of Admiral Courbet, first, to compel the Emperor of Anam to acknowledge the French protectorate, and, secondly, to wrest the delta of Tonking from the Black Flags, which was effected in the Treaty of Tientsin, signed on May 11th, 1884. The Chinese Government, who had secretly assisted the Black Flags, resented this arrangement and attacked a French force, with the view of expelling the hated foreigners from Tonking. But Courbet destroyed the arsenal of Foochow, took possession of Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands, besides blockading the southern part of China to prevent the trade in rice. The Chinese were compelled to accept peace, which was signed on June 9th,

1885, at Tientsin, under which they definitely recognised the establishment of a French protectorate over Tonking and Anam.

The young Emperor came of age in 1889, when he not only had to take to himself a wife, but also to assume the reins of government, and the Dowager Empress chose her own niece for his consort. The Emperor followed the example of his predecessor in receiving the foreign envoys, and with some difficulty was persuaded to do this in the large Hall of Audience, instead of in the smaller which had been used for the purpose by Tung-chi. The head of the progressive party at this time was Li Hung Chang, who persistently urged the desirability of constructing railways for commercial and military purposes. The Emperor strongly opposed the project, but eventually Li gained a certain amount of success for his policy. Attempts were also made to modernise the system of official examination, to establish schools and colleges, to open a college of science at Peking; but all these failed for the moment. Reforms were introduced in the currency, which were absolutely necessary for commercial operations; but these, too, for the time, did not meet with success.

In 1888 a new era was opened by a number of concessions of Chinese soil to foreign Powers. Macao, which in 1557 had been handed over to Portuguese traders for a sum of money, which ceased to be paid in 1848, was in 1887 surrendered to Portugal on the same footing as any other Portuguese possession, Portugal promising not to alienate it without the consent of China. Russia also began to advance, her left eye looking, as was said, covetously at Korea and her right at Mongolia. In 1888 a treaty was concluded between Russia and Korea, which gave her the right to trade at various Korean ports, such as Chemulpo, Gensan, Fusan, and the town of Seoul. Li happened to be a warm supporter of the Russian schemes. Li and the Empress were opposed by the Marquis Tseng, a man of great ability, who might have rendered to China invaluable assistance in the troublous times which were approaching, but he was taken ill after a dinner given by one of his colleagues which he was foolish enough to attend, and died on April 12th, 1890.

Before we deal with the war between China and Japan in 1894, which forms such an important epoch in the history of the Far East, we must give some account of the development of Japan and Korea, which was the cause of the war. The most remarkable fact about the history of Japan in modern times was the sudden abolition of feudalism, effecting at one stroke what it cost other nations similarly situated years to accomplish.

JAPAN AND FEUDALISM

Feudalism in Japan is generally considered to have begun in 1192, when the civil government of the several provinces, previously chosen from the *Kugé*, or Court nobles, was replaced by one composed of *Shugo*, or protectors drawn from the military class. However, three hundred years before that time an economical change had taken place which substituted large estates exempt from taxation for peasant holdings subject to taxation, which had previously existed. Four centuries of civil war succeeded, favourable to the development of the great territorial lords, who had risen from the military order, and to whom the peasants were responsible for the payment of taxes and the performance of services in labour.

The feudal system was completely established at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when power was vested in the *Daimios*, or great feudal lords, owing a nominal allegiance to the Mikado, a phantom sovereign without power, and in a number of smaller owners, who were really dependent on their feudal lords. The Daimios and their feudal followers formed the *Samurai*, the military and noble class who were the rulers of the land. These, however, were subdivided, as in other countries, some being granted land, others receiving pay, usually in the form of rice; some serving with their personal vassals, some alone, some on horseback, some on foot. Service in the cavalry was considered more respectable, as in Greece and Rome and other feudal States, and the man who had a horse was able to ride it in times of peace. The Mikado and the Kugé retained all their titles and prerogatives, but lost every vestige of influence and power. They were allowed only a moderate income, and were excluded almost entirely from intercourse with the external world. But, curiously enough, this entire deprivation of power was coincident with the theory that the Emperor was supreme, and for this reason devotion to the Emperor never died out. He lived in his palace, as in heaven, in order to keep his noble heart unharmed. Every day he was to pray to heaven that he might be an example to his country, for by such means the lofty virtues of the Emperor were spread abroad; all the country under heaven belonged to the Emperor; his duty was to help and educate his people, and for this reason he committed the care of the peace and prosperity of the country to officials and warriors. This duty might have been entrusted to the Kugé, but the people preferred that it should be given to the *Buké* or military class. The rulers of provinces were called *Kokushu*, and of them the *Shogun* was the chief. Beginning at first as *primus inter pares*, he gradually arrived

at predominant authority. The Kokushu could only approach the Mikado through the Shogun; all direct communication with the Imperial Court was forbidden; they were not allowed to visit the capital without the approval of the Shogun, and even then they must not come within a certain distance of the Imperial palace. Marriages between the Buké families and the Kugé families were not allowed without the permission of the Shogun, and also every precaution was taken to maintain the authority of the Shogun over the Daimios, generally on the principle of dividing and governing. The most powerful of the Shoguns was Iyemitsu, who held the office from 1623 to 1651, and made himself and his successors masters of Japan. The visit he paid to the Mikado in Kioto in the first year of his reign was the last paid by any Shogun until 1863. Under his rule the British and Chinese were sent to Nagasaki, and all other foreigners were expelled the country, the Japanese themselves being forbidden to leave it. The administration of his dominions was admirable in all respects. He was the first to assume the title of Tycoon, or "great lord," which he used in intercourse with other countries.

It must not be supposed that the supremacy of the Shogun was universally accepted without opposition. Iyemitsu belonged to the powerful family of the Tokugawa, but there were divisions in this family itself as to the policy by which the Mikado had been deprived of his rights. The opposition to it was mainly literary, and the leaders of it were the princes of the House of Mito. Mitsukumi, who died in 1700, published a great history and a book of ceremonial, which drew attention to the early history of Japan and prepared the way for the restoration of the Mikado. The poverty of the Samurai, the growth of *Ronins* (or masterless Samurai), who were no better than brigands; the rise of a bureaucracy which ate like a canker into the land of the Shogunate, the spread of foreign ideas, the desire of the Daimios for independence, led to the formation of parties at the courts both of the Mikado and the Shogun, and the situation was brought to a crisis by the appearance of foreign vessels off the coast. Political parties arose, some of which were for the Mikado, some for the Shogun, while others wavered between the two. In the midst of this ferment in 1853, Commodore Matthew Galbraith Perry arrived at Yokohama and demanded the opening of Japan in the name of the United States of America. By treaty signed on March 31st, 1854, the ports of Shimonoseki and Hakodate were opened to the Americans. The Mikado and his followers seized the opportunity of raising the cry of "*Jo-i!*" ("Drive

out the strangers!") with the object of weakening the power of the Shogun.

At length, in 1858 conventions were executed with the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia and Portugal, and Prussia in 1861, by which the ports of Kanagawa, Nagasaki and Hakodate were thrown open to foreign trade, diplomatic representatives were admitted to Yedo and consuls to the Treaty ports, the Mikado still opposing the policy for his own purposes. As may be imagined, the movement was not universally popular, and a number of murders of foreigners took place. It became evident that no finality could be secured unless the conventions made with foreigners by the Shogun were recognised by the Mikado. This concession was obtained in November, 1866, but the feeling against foreigners remained. The struggle between the Mikado and the Shogun continued, with varied fortunes, until on January 13th, 1868, the Shogun was finally defeated at Fushimi. His life was spared, but the Tokugawa was deprived of nearly all its revenue and of a large portion of its territory. Resistance was finally crushed on June 26th, 1868. Thus fell the dynasty of the Tokugawa Shoguns which, for nearly 400 years, had given peace and prosperity to the country. Its fall was due to its own weakness and the treachery of those whose interest it was to support it. It is certainly one of the most remarkable facts in history that a dynasty, which had been powerless for 700 years, and had been excluded from all intercourse with the outer world for 250 years, should have been able to assert itself in this decisive manner.

The movement against the rule of the Shogun had begun with the cry of "Down with the foreigner!" The fact that they had one national object in view consolidated the Mikado's party as nothing else would have done. But some of their influential advisers realised that progress was intimately connected with the admission of foreigners and foreign ideas, and they did not hesitate to give utterance to these opinions even at the risk of their lives. More than one of them suffered death or damage at the hands of the Jo-i party.

The Mikado had, indeed, a difficult task in reorganising his government. The first plan was to re-establish the *Taikwa*, a constitution promulgated by the Emperor Kotoku in 645, which implied a well-organised centralised government. But in April, 1868, the Mikado gave a solemn assurance that a deliberative assembly should be summoned; a few days afterwards he reviewed the army and fleet at Osaka, and on January 5th,

1869, received the representatives of foreign courts at Yedo. The work of reform was carried on with less difficulty than might have been expected.

A great problem was how to raise the position of the lower classes and depress that of the Samurai so as to form a fairly homogeneous population. As we have seen, the Samurai were formed of the Daimios and their retainers, and occupied themselves as notabilities have done in all countries and in all ages—the more intelligent as statesmen, the lower ranks in fencing, riding, and learning the use of the spear and the bow. The remainder of the population consisted of three classes—the *No*, or farmers, the *Ko*, or artisans, and the *Sho*, or traders; but below these were two other classes, or rather two unclassed sections, reminding us of ancient Rome and modern India, the *Eta* and the *Hinin*, the latter word meaning "Not human," the pariahs of the nation, living entirely apart from their fellow-countrymen. They were employed in slaughtering animals, tanning skins, burying executed criminals and similar pursuits, the No, the Ko, and the Sho regarding the touch or presence of these people as contamination. Yet the position of the two lowest classes, with regard to those immediately above them, was not worse than the relation of these latter to the Samurai. In the presence of a Samurai they either prostrated themselves on the ground or stood bowing with downcast eyes. They could not retaliate if struck, nor would they be avenged if murdered.

On such foundations the fabric of modern Japan had to be built. The first task was to abolish or modify profoundly class distinctions. The Kugé and the Daimios were merged in a new class of nobles; the remainder of the Samurai were grouped together with distinctions of rank, and the rest of the population, including the Eta and the Hinin, were formed into a single class of commoners. Disabilities of every kind and all sumptuary laws were abolished, and every office in the Government was thrown open to the people. The foundations of a national army, with universal military service, were laid; railway, postal, and telegraph services were organised; a system of compulsory education was established, and a uniform coinage was introduced.

The moving spirit of all these reforms was Prince Ito, of whom Professor Longford enables us to conceive a trustworthy picture. Born a simple Samurai, he early discerned the advantages of Western civilisation. Leaving his country with four others, under pain of death, he made his way to England. To do this he shipped

before the mast and worked his way as a common sailor. When he returned he ran the danger of assassination, but was saved by the devotion of a young girl, who afterwards became his wife, He held many offices in his own country, but his chief merit lies in the fact that in every crisis of the Empire, whenever a mission required special tact, decision, sacrifice, broad-mindedness and elaborate investigation, he was chosen as ambassador. He was the first Prime Minister when the system of responsible government was introduced, and before his death, in 1909, had held that office four times.

Great pains were taken in the preparation of a Constitution, and the best intellects of Europe were consulted on the subject, and at last, on February 11th, 1890, the document was formally presented to his subjects by the Emperor. The first general election took place in the summer of 1890, and the parliament met in the following November. The Constitution resembled that of Germany rather than that of Great Britain, the Ministers being responsible to the Emperor and holding their offices at his will; but, considering the difficulties in the path, parliamentary government in Japan cannot be regarded as other than a success.

The narrow peninsula of Korea, jutting out from the continent of Asia, washed on one side by the Yellow Sea and on the other by the Sea of Japan, has, during the greater part of its history, been an apple of discord and a theatre of war between its contending neighbours. Struggles between China and Korea occupied the two centuries before the Christian era. These wars, which continued for nearly 1,400 years, ended in the acknowledgment of the supremacy of China. Korea had been the teacher of Japan in almost all its arts and sciences, and a higher civilisation existed in the "Land of the Morning Calm" than in China itself; but under the Ming dynasty the country became wholly dependent on China, the calendar, chronology, methods of government, and the dress of the Chinese being adopted. Buddhism was almost entirely suppressed, and priests were forbidden to enter Seoul, the capital, strict Confucianism becoming the State religion of the country. At the same time advances were made in civilisation; the practices of human sacrifice and of burying slaves alive at the burial of their masters were given up. But whatever advances were made in Korean self-government, the country was dependent on its more powerful neighbours, and embassies were sent both to China and Japan as bearers of tribute.

Tribute to Japan was discontinued in 1460, but in 1592 Hideyoshi, the ambitious ruler of Japan, set out to conquer

Korea, as the first step to the conquest of China. In eighteen days Seoul was captured, and the Japanese reached the Ta Tung. It is said that Hideyoshi's army consisted of nearly 200,000 men. Chinese troops came to the assistance of the Koreans, but they were defeated, and peace was made between Japan and China. By this treaty the southern provinces of Korea were ceded to Japan and her tributary relations with that country were acknowledged. A few years later war broke out again, and the Japanese were again victorious, Korea, however, retaining a certain measure of independence, though greatly weakened. On the fall of the Ming dynasty, Korea was invaded by the Manchus and forced to pay tribute to China. We see, therefore, that from the dawn of its annals, Korea, although proud of its individuality and possessing a noble history and many excellent traditions, was obliged to live on sufferance, a buffer State between two imperious neighbours.

After the revolution in Japan and the restoration of the Mikado the new Government demanded from Korea the resumption of the payment of tribute, which was indignantly refused. The Japanese clamoured for conquest, and an expedition against Formosa was undertaken to direct popular sentiment into another channel. However, in September, 1875, when a Japanese warship, which was surveying the coast of Korea, was captured, it was impossible to restrain the popular feeling. The Japanese sent an embassy to Peking to ask for definite information with regard to the position of the Chinese Government in respect to Korea, and, upon the Chinese declining all responsibility for the affairs of that country, an expedition was sent to the peninsula. Negotiations took place, however, and on February 27th, 1876, a convention was signed in which Japan recognised the independence of Korea, and her harbours were thrown open to Japanese trade.

This led to the rebellion of the Satsuma in Japan. Saigo, the head of that clan, one of the most powerful personalities in Japan, was profoundly dissatisfied with the peaceful policy adopted towards Korea, and withdrew to his native province, where he was said to devote his time to farming and field sports. But he was really organising rebellion, as in his own clan he had kept the Samurai on their former footing and had trained them as soldiers of the modern type. He was able to do this without difficulty, because his clansmen regarded him with passionate devotion.

Satsuma was the most powerful of all the Daimiotes; it lay

in the extreme south of Japan, and was protected by a frontier of hills; while Kagoshima, the capital, situated at the head of a long, narrow bay, could easily be guarded. Everything, therefore, favoured its isolation and secrecy. In 1871 the Daimios accepted the new order of things; but Saigo refused to admit the officials dispatched from Tokio and sent them back by the steamers which brought them. The Government, not being able to coerce, attempted to flatter, heaping honours on Saigo himself and giving important duties to other members of the clan; but Satsuma continued to maintain its *quasi*-independence. When, however, an edict was issued in 1876, forbidding the Samurai to wear their accustomed swords, Saigo lost all patience, and, on February 14th, 1877, marched out of his capital at the head of 14,000 men, equipped with modern weapons and well drilled in their use, to "address," as he said, "some inquiries to the Government."

The campaign lasted more than seven months; at first the Satsuma were victorious. After firing a few volleys with their rifles, they rushed upon the troops of the Government with their terrible swords and routed them. But the Imperialists, largely exceeding the rebels in number, gradually gained confidence, and the clansmen were driven back and eventually surrounded. Saigo, with a few faithful followers, broke through the investing forces and entrenched himself on a hill near Kagoshima, leaving the others to surrender if they pleased. On September 24th the hill was stormed by the Imperial troops, and all the insurgents, excepting 200, who were made prisoners, were killed. The campaign cost the Government 17,000 lives and £8,500,000, but feudalism received its last blow; Satsuma was placed under the Tokio officials, and has been quiet ever since.

In 1882 the United States, and then Great Britain and Germany, followed the example of Japan and concluded conventions with Korea. But in that year a rebellion broke out in Seoul, directed against the Japanese, and the members of the Japanese Embassy had to flee the country. They returned, however, a few weeks afterwards, and a convention was signed at Chemulpo, by which Japan obtained the right to keep troops in Seoul for the protection of her Embassy. In 1884 fresh disturbances occurred in Seoul, the object being to destroy the Chinese conservative influence and substitute the Japanese progressive party in its place. Fighting ensued, but ultimately the Chinese gained possession both of the palace and the person of the King. At the same time an anti-Japanese riot broke out, the houses of Japanese

traders were destroyed and their inhabitants murdered. The Japanese Legation was attacked, the members of the Embassy had great difficulty in making their way to the coast, and the Legation itself was burned.

Popular opinion in Japan was more excited against the Chinese than against Korea; but the Government, better informed, kept the parties quiet, and Ito was sent to Peking. A treaty was drafted providing that both China and Japan should withdraw their troops from Korea, but should have the power of sending them back should circumstances require it; neither country, however, was to act without the knowledge of the other. Korea was to be left to herself and to be encouraged to train her own population to arms. This was signed on April 18th, 1885, by Ito and Li Hung Chang, under the name of the Convention of Tientsin. Peace continued for some years, although the commercial rivalry of the two Powers created perpetual friction, and the establishment of constitutional and parliamentary government in Japan caused a recrudescence of a more vigorous foreign policy. The proceedings of the ambassador, Oishi, who was sent to Seoul in 1893, would have produced a war but for the diplomatic wisdom of Li Hung Chang.

In 1894 a fanatical religious sect revolted in Korea, and the Government, being unable to suppress the disturbance, applied to China for help. Two thousand troops were sent to Seoul by orders from Peking, the Chinese Government informing the Japanese of what they had done. Upon this the Japanese dispatched an army of equal strength to the peninsula and collected a reserve in case of emergency. The first Chinese troops landed on the east coast of Korea on June 8th, and the first Japanese troops at Chemulpo on June 12th. The revolt was quickly suppressed; but, when the Chinese sent information of the fact and of their intention to withdraw their troops, the Japanese replied that they had no intention of evacuating Korea until an understanding had been come to with China as to the reforms to be introduced into the affairs of the peninsula. China refused to take part in this policy, and maintained that Korea should be left to take care of herself and work out her own reforms. Japan then addressed Korea in the same terms, and, not meeting with an adequate response, sent an ultimatum on July 20th, 1894, demanding that reforms should be accepted within three days. Two days later an unsatisfactory reply was delivered, Seoul was attacked and captured, and the King was taken prisoner.

This was an act of war, and the civilised world heard that the two great nations of the Far East were about to contend for supremacy. Those who thought they knew the situation best considered that China would have an easy victory, and were not sorry that the upstart Japanese should receive a lesson from their more solid and more trustworthy neighbours. The innate strength of China and the hollowness of Japanese civilisation would become apparent to the world. Chinese transports were dispatched to the Yalu River, the northern boundary of Korea, and to Oram, on the south-western coast. On July 25th three Japanese men-of-war sent to guard the coast sighted two Chinese ships of similar strength. Within an hour one of these ships was driven ashore and the other escaped to Wei-hai-wei. At the end of the action a Chinese man-of-war appeared, apparently escorting the *Kowshing*, an English vessel. The Chinese ship hauled down its flag, but the *Kowshing* refused to obey. Thereupon the Japanese opened fire, and sank the transport with 1,500 men. Asan was captured shortly afterwards, and the struggle shifted to Ping Yang, a very strong place farther north. This was captured on September 16th. The garrison were pursued, and 1,500 of them killed, the rest making their escape across the Yalu. Two days later a great battle took place off the island of Hai Yang, at the mouth of the Yalu. The battle lasted three hours; four Chinese ships were sunk, but the Japanese did not lose one. The Japanese then crossed the Yalu and continued their victorious march into Manchuria. They now proceeded to attack Port Arthur, which was defended by a wall of forts consolidated by French engineers, and fell on November 21st. The Chinese retreated northwards along the coast.

Li Hung Chang now advised the Emperor to sue for peace; but the Japanese were unwilling for the moment to consider it. The one remaining Chinese fortress, Wei-hai-wei, was attacked by Admiral Ito and, after the loss of five ships of war, surrendered by Admiral Ting, who, shamed by this defeat, committed suicide. Li Hung Chang presented himself personally at Shimonoseki on March 19th, 1895. By the treaty signed on April 17th, China ceded to Japan the Liao-tung peninsula, the island of Formosa and the Pescadores; a war indemnity of £50,000,000 was to be paid in eight instalments; four new cities were to be open to trade; and Japanese vessels were allowed to navigate the Upper Yangtsze-kiang and other Chinese waters. As a guarantee of the fulfilment of these conditions the Japanese were to occupy Wei-hai-wei.

But the European Powers now interfered. They could not

view with indifference the surrender of Port Arthur, which, they said, would dominate Peking. The Japanese wisely yielded on the payment of a larger indemnity. Out of this originated the secret convention between Count Cascini, the Russian Minister at Peking, and China, which is supposed to have guaranteed the integrity of her Empire to China and resistance to any attempt of the Japanese to gain a footing on the mainland. The Chinese in return were to give facilities for the making of Russian railways through Manchuria, and to agree to the settlement of certain disputed questions concerning the long-extended frontier between China and Russia. Russia did not gain her way without some difficulty, but the general result of the war was to place her in Korea instead of China, although one of the objects of Japanese policy had been to check the advance of that aggressive Power.

CHAPTER XII

FEDERATION OF AUSTRALIA

TASMANIA was discovered by Abel Tasman (who named it Van Diemen's Land) in 1642, and Australia by Captain Cook in 1770, though Australia had often been sighted before that date. When the exportation of criminals to Virginia came to an end after the Declaration of Independence in 1776, Botany Bay, of which Sir Joseph Banks, the botanist, had given a glorious account, praising its magnificent scenery and splendid climate, was chosen as a dumping-ground for convicts. A more rational plan of colonisation by exiled American loyalists was proposed by Matra, afterwards British Consul at Algiers, and Lord Sydney, Secretary for the Colonies and Plantations, favoured the scheme in 1784, but afterwards recurred to the plan of transportation. It is a pity that the idea did not receive the serious attention of Pitt.

On May 13th, 1787, a frigate and tender of the Royal Navy, six transports, and three store ships sailed from England with 1,100 men, of whom some 250 were free, and landed at Botany Bay about January 20th, 1788, but removed in a few days to the site of the modern city of Sydney. The expedition was commanded by Captain Arthur Phillip, the son of a German governess who had married an English seaman. Phillip remained Governor for five years (1788–92) and did his work admirably. Sheep-farming owes its origin to John MacArthur, who was also the first to introduce Australian wine culture. In 1797 he procured some fine merinos from Cape Town, and these, with some ordinary Cape sheep which were afterwards added, were the progenitors of the immense flocks which were the foundation of the wealth of the island-continent. MacArthur obtained a concession in perpetuity of 5,000 acres of grazing land, with convicts as labourers, and founded the Camden estate, so called in honour of the Secretary of State who had given it to him. The results of this policy were prodigious. On the retirement of Phillip in 1792, only 1,700 acres were under cultivation, and the number of domestic animals could be reckoned by dozens. In 1806, after five years of the government of Gidley King,

the stock amounted to 37,768 and the white population to 9,462 persons.

The close of the Napoleonic wars gave a great impulse to Australian emigration, and New South Wales received, besides criminals, a large number of free colonists, mainly time-expired soldiers or discharged convicts. When Governor Macquarie retired in 1821, after holding office for eleven years, the white population was reckoned at 39,000 persons, 32,267 acres were under cultivation, and there were 103,000 head of cattle, 4,564 horses, and more than 250,000 sheep. The revenue of the community was £30,000. After Macquarie's departure the power of the Governor was limited, and Brisbane, his successor, who held office from 1821 to 1825, was obliged to act in conjunction with an advisory board. Under him the income of the colony more than doubled. Brisbane was succeeded by Darling, who ruled from 1825 to 1831, but did not gain that popularity which his name would seem to imply. He treated the convicts with inhumanity and the free settlers with tyranny and hostility. Still, his term of office witnessed an increase of material prosperity. On May 22nd, 1840, transportation to New South Wales was abolished, but it still continued to North Island and Tasmania; afterwards it was partially restored and did not come finally to an end till 1868.

Of the six States of which the Commonwealth of Australia is composed, only three—Tasmania, Victoria and Queensland—were offshoots from New South Wales. South Australia and Western Australia were founded, like New Zealand, by direct colonisation from Great Britain. Tasmania was founded as a penal colony by Lieutenant Bower in June, 1805, the reason being fear of French aggression, and the necessity for providing additional accommodation for the convicts, who were becoming too numerous for New South Wales. The wanton destruction of the natives in Tasmania is a blot on civilisation. They were naturally peaceable, harmless, and contented, and bore the cruelty of the barbarous criminals with exemplary patience; but in 1826, driven to desperation, they retaliated and murdered all the whites who fell into their hands. Since the landing of the whites they had lived upon the produce of the sea; but, being driven into the interior, this supply failed them. They fought heroically for their existence. At last large sums of head-money were offered for the shooting or capture of the blacks, and aboriginals were brought over from Australia to track them more securely. The process of extinction was cruel and pitiless. The convicts killed

the natives from lust of blood, the settlers pursued them in self-defence, and the Government helped to destroy them from desire of territory. At last Colonel Arthur, the then Governor (1823 to 1836), organised a colossal drive. A cordon was drawn across the island from coast to coast and the natives were forced into a narrow peninsula. This elaborate design, which cost this country £30,000, resulted in the capture of two natives. The last Tasmanian native, called Trukanini, or Lalla Rookh, died in London in 1876. She had been born in 1803, the year of Bower's expedition, when the native population was numbered at 8,000. In 1830, the time of the native war, they had been reduced to 700, and in 1861 to 18. The last male Tasmanian died at Hobart in 1869, aged thirty-four.

Originally known as Port Phillip, Victoria, which changed its name in 1851, was founded in 1835 by settlers from Van Diemen's Land, against the will of the Government of New South Wales. But the colony, once established, soon developed and grew very prosperous. In 1840 Melbourne became a free port; in 1843 the trade of the colony amounted to £341,000, and in 1848 to £1,049,000. The relations between the colonists and the natives were friendly. In 1851 it was separated from New South Wales and raised to the position of an independent colony.

Queensland derives its origin from settlers who proceeded from New South Wales to the north, from the Liverpool Plains to the Darling Downs, the best pasture grounds in the world. There was at this time a penal settlement at Moreton Bay, which is the modern Brisbane, but it could only be reached from the interior by a difficult mountain path, and settlement by squatters was absolutely forbidden. It was not until the abolition of the penal settlement in 1839 that good roads were made over the mountains, and the value of the position was enormously increased. Therefore the development of this country is unique from the fact that it proceeded from the interior to the coast. Queensland was declared an independent colony in 1859, the population then consisting of 30,000 souls.

West Australia, formerly Swan River Settlement, was founded directly from England in 1829 by Thomas Peel, who had grand schemes, but lost £50,000 in attempting to carry them out. Lack of labour compelled the colonists to invite convicts to their shores, an offer which was readily accepted by the British Government in 1849. By 1852 there were 1,500 transported men in the country, half of whom were ticket-of-leave men. This proved to be a blessing, and the influx of new workers brought money and

life into the colony. Coalfields were discovered, guano beds were exploited, sandal-wood was exported, a pearl fishery was established, and studs for breeding horses were introduced on a large scale. It profited largely by the money obtained from the Mother Country for the support of the convicts. Transportation to Western Australia finally ceased in 1868, after the colony had received 9,718 convicts. The stoppage of this source of men and money hindered the development of the colony, which was not considered ripe for responsible government until 1890.

South Australia was, like West Australia, colonised from England, and the South Australian Land Company, formed in London in 1831, contained amongst its directors Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the distinguished originator of scientific colonisation. According to his plan, large tracts of land were to be assigned to a colonisation company and provided with sufficient means, on the understanding that it founded settled communities. The company was to recoup itself for its initial expenditure by selling land at fixed prices, the profits to be expended by bringing over British workmen. In 1834 the Government gave its practical consent to Wakefield's scheme, and the success of the experiment was very great. A capital was chosen, called Adelaide, after the name of the consort of William IV. In 1840 there were 10,000 settlers, who owned 200,000 sheep and 15,000 head of cattle. Indeed, the flood of prosperity was so great and so sudden that the colony soon got largely into debt. The situation was saved by the appointment of the great statesman, George Grey, to govern the colony. He adopted drastic measures, especially in the direction of economy, and in five years ended a brilliant term of office, after which he was transferred to New Zealand. In 1849 the population amounted to 52,000, and in the following year South Australia became a recognised colony.

Australia having thus been called into existence with its six colonies (counting Tasmania as one), each as large as a European kingdom, the next step was to endow it with the magic powers of self-government. New South Wales had enjoyed this privilege since 1842, and a Bill became law on August 5th, 1850, by which Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria, now separated from New South Wales, received Constitutions. Every proprietor of land of the value of £10, who was at least twenty-one years of age, received the franchise, as well as anyone who rented or held a farm of the annual value of £10. Customs and excise were left to the colonies under the condition that no preferential duties were to be proposed; but the customs continued to be collected

by officials nominated from Great Britain. Self-government was incomplete, as half the profits drawn from Crown lands were at the disposal of the Mother Country, and the nomination of the higher officials rested entirely with the Colonial Office in London. At last, owing to the discovery of gold, fear lest the colonies might secede, and the distractions of the Crimean War, the demands of South Australia and Tasmania for greater and more complete liberty were granted in 1854, and those of Victoria and New South Wales were confirmed by Parliament in the following year.

These new Constitutions introduced a bicameral system. The former Legislative Council became an Upper House, and to this a Lower House was added. In New South Wales the Upper Chamber consisted of twenty-one members, nominated by the Crown for life, and the Lower Chamber of fifty-four elected representatives, a number which has now increased to 125. In Tasmania the Council has always numbered eighteen and the Lower House thirty-seven, all elected. The Governor is nominated by the Crown but paid by the Colony, and holds office for six years. He occupies the position of a constitutional sovereign, but is controlled by the Colonial Office. His consent is necessary to all colonial legislation, but his actions may be reversed by the Colonial Secretary. The Colonial Parliaments are regarded as Parliaments of the King, passing laws which bind the Australian subjects of the Sovereign. Indeed, the Crown is the link which binds the colonies—recognised as States since the founding of the Commonwealth—and the Mother Country together. The colonists enjoy all the rights and privileges of British subjects, without paying one penny to Great Britain, and English law holds good in Australia, except so far as it has been superseded by local legislation. The executive power is in the hands of the Ministers, who vary in number from six in Tasmania to nine in New South Wales. Their nomination depends upon Parliamentary majorities in the different colonies, and in consequence they change very rapidly. Between 1858 and 1876 South Australia had twenty-nine different Ministers at the head of affairs.

The discovery of gold produced a profound effect upon the development of the country. The ore was first found in the mountains near Bathurst in 1851; a few weeks later near Ballarat, in Victoria; in October in Mount Alexander, not far from Melbourne, and a little later at Bendigo; in 1856 in Queensland; and in 1886 in West Australia. The whole population rushed to the goldfields. Melbourne was left with a single policeman, South Australia seemed to be inhabited by women and

children, and crowds of emigrants flocked from the Old World. The growth of population was phenomenal. In ten years that of Victoria increased from 70,000 to 581,000. This enhanced the difficulties of the Government, which was still more embarrassed when the majority of the Civil Service deserted their offices for the goldfields. Soldiers had to be imported from England, and the place of government officials was supplied by English pensioned prison warders.

Another difficulty was to determine to whom the gold belonged. At the outset it was claimed for the Crown, and it was even proposed to stop mining altogether; but this was impossible, even if it had been desirable. It was difficult to insist even on the payment of a royalty, and the questions of the amount to be imposed and the tax on the exportation of the precious metal were not settled for some time. The average yearly output of gold from 1851 to 1901 was not less than £9,000,000 sterling. But great expenditure was needed to meet the new problems which had arisen. In 1900 the public debt of Australia reached £187,000,000, or £50 per head of the population. The land question assumed great prominence, and there was a severe contest between the large and the small proprietors, which is not even now completely at an end. The population trebled in forty years, owing mainly to emigration from the United Kingdom.

The internal development of Australia was accompanied by the desire and the effort to spread its sway beyond the limits of the continent. This was shown, first, in the anxiety to relieve the Mother Country of Fiji, and, secondly, in the wish to take over at least a portion of the immense island of New Guinea, on which Germany had cast covetous eyes. The Australians suggested the acquisition of that part of New Guinea which was not occupied by the Dutch, and Great Britain consented on condition that Australia bore the cost of administration, but this she refused to do. As the fear of German encroachment grew more imminent, the Prime Minister of Queensland declared, in March, 1883, that he had taken possession of the island. The Mother Country still refrained from decisive action, and Germany did actually annex the northern portion of the island, whereupon, on November 6th, 1884, the British flag was hoisted on the southern coast. British New Guinea became a Crown Colony, Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria paying a fixed sum every year towards the cost of its administration. The authority at the head of British New Guinea communicates with the Colonial Office through the Governor of Queensland. Pitcairn and Norfolk

Islands stand in the same relation to New South Wales. Questions of a kindred character have also arisen with regard to Samoa, but these so far have been happily settled, though it is impossible to predict what may be the future of a greater Australia.

The necessity or prudence of federation in course of time became a question of importance. Early in the 'fifties the creation of an Australian Parliament was proposed to settle the differences of tariff, but it was rejected. Then the adoption of a Customs union in Canada in 1871 stimulated the movement. From the first one of the greatest obstacles to union had been conflicts on the tariff. In the 'forties, New South Wales and Tasmania differing in opinion on the subject, it was felt to be undesirable that the colonies should pass hostile or retaliatory measures which were likely to interfere with trade and commerce and excite feelings of jealousy and ill-will, and possibly produce even worse results. As early as 1849 the establishment of a uniform tariff for Australia, to be fixed by the British Parliament, was proposed, to be adjusted from time to time by representatives of all the colonies in council. Thus the federation of Australia, like the federation of the United States, took its origin from the difficulties arising out of the adjustment of mutual trade.

Indeed, a Constitution Bill was introduced by Earl Grey to establish a general executive and legislative authority in Australia for the promotion of the common welfare and prosperity of the separate communities, as well as a Supreme Court for the settlement of disputes between them. The clauses passed the Commons, but were withdrawn in the Lords. The movement was premature. However, in 1851 Sir Charles Fitzroy was appointed Governor-General for the whole of Australia, with lieutenant-governors for the separate provinces; but this arrangement only lasted until 1855, and was finally repealed in 1861, so that the attempt of Earl Grey to construct a central government came to an end. Efforts at federation still continued. In 1858 New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria and South Australia agreed to a conference, and in 1860 the new colony of Queensland gave her adhesion. But some of the colonies thought that the proper moment had not yet come, and the first conference, held in 1863, to discuss questions of tariff, declined to consider federation.

As the six colonies developed separate interests and separate politics the prospects of union became more and more remote. The tariff had, as we have seen, been a source of trouble from the beginning. Each of the colonies had a separate scale of import duties, and it was found that goods imported into a colony with

lower duties could easily find their way into another colony, while the colonies could not bear the expense of guarding their several frontiers. Also the natural port of one colony might be situated in another. Accordingly, rough-and-ready agreements were made to provide a kind of remedy. A modified system of intercolonial free trade was suggested by the South Australians in 1862, but received little encouragement. Indeed, all the colonies were restrained by Act of Parliament from establishing differential or proportional duties, either between themselves or with the world outside, and attempts made to abrogate the Act were not successful. At last, in 1873, an Australian Duties Act was passed which removed all obstacles to tariff arrangements between the Australian colonies. This, in some ways, made matters worse. Victoria had adopted a strong protective policy, and she was just as anxious to protect her agricultural and pastoral industries against her neighbours as her manufactures against the competition of Europe. She would not hear of Free Trade, unless her manufactures found a free market in other colonies. Protection begat retaliation, and in the interests of internal peace the question of a common tariff had to be laid aside.

Beside the question of a Customs union, the general political condition of Europe favoured a federal union of the Australian colonies. The year 1870 brought war very close to the United Kingdom, and it was thought that if Great Britain were involved in a European war the colonies might be a source of danger to the Mother Country, while the connection with Great Britain might cause danger to them. There were also some who feared lest federation should be a step towards independence. Imperial troops had recently been withdrawn from the colonies, a fact which tended to expose them to the dangers of war. A commission, presided over by Charles Gavan Duffy, emphasised the view that the colonies possessed responsibility without either authority or protection. They were exposed to the hazards of war, which they were powerless to avert, and could not rely on defence from the Mother Country. The commission, therefore, was in favour of greater independence, especially in the direction of power to contract agreements with foreign States. It also approved of the eventual separation between the colonies and the Mother Country. As a French writer once expressed it, in somewhat infelicitous language, Great Britain says to her colonies when they have grown up, "Wayward sisters!" (*Allez, mes sœurs!*), imagining that "wayward" was a synonym for "onward."

After 1870 the power of other countries began to develop in

the Pacific, and the necessity for definite action became urgent. Great Britain annexed Fiji in 1874. There being some likelihood of France acquiring the New Hebrides and using them for the transportation of convicts, in 1878 an agreement was made between France and Great Britain that neither country should annex these islands, but suspicion of danger still remained. Similar difficulties arose with regard to Samoa. The result was that in 1883 federation assumed a more tangible shape, which was strengthened by the question of New Guinea, to which we have already referred. In August, 1885, a Federal Council of Australia was established for the purpose of considering the marine defences of Australasia, the relation of Australia to the islands of the Pacific, the prevention of the influx of criminals, the regulation of quarantine, and—using a phrase employed on a similar occasion by Alexander Hamilton—"other matters" of general Australian importance and interest. The council was a permanent body; it was to meet at least once in every two years and had power to make laws. At its first meeting, in 1886, it appointed a standing committee to assemble out of session and communicate, through its chairman, with the Secretary of State. But the council was not received with equal enthusiasm by all the States. Queensland, Victoria, Tasmania and West Australia were the only constant members, Fiji was represented only at the first meeting, and South Australia soon withdrew. New Zealand and New South Wales were not represented at all. The great weakness of the council was that it did not possess the power of the purse.

The further development of the principle of federation was connected with Imperial defence. In 1887 an agreement was made by which Australia was to contribute £126,000 a year towards the expenses of an Australian squadron. This was the result of a conference held in London on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, when the widespread character of the British Empire was the subject of an ocular and visible demonstration to the colonies, to the Mother Country, and to the Powers of the world. It was also agreed that periodical inspection of the Australian forces should be made by a general officer of the Imperial army. The first report, issued by the inspector in October, 1889, recommended the federation of the colonies for the purposes of defence, and the adoption of a common gauge for the Australian system of railways. In pursuance of this idea, a conference of the six colonies met at Melbourne on February 6th, 1890, when a resolution was unanimously adopted that it was

desirable to effect union between the colonies under the Crown, and under a single legislative and executive government. Consequently, a National Australian Convention was appointed, consisting of not more than seven delegates from each of the self-governing colonies and four from each of the Crown colonies. The Convention met at Sydney on March 2nd, 1891, and sat till April 9th. In these short weeks they agreed that a federal Constitution should be formed, containing a Parliament of two Houses, a federal Supreme Court, and a federal Executive. Committees were formed to deal severally with questions of Constitution, finance and justice, and finally a drafting committee of four produced a Bill to constitute the Commonwealth of Australia. This draft Bill contained in substance the Constitution which received the Royal assent in 1900 and came into operation on January 1st, 1901.

When the Convention had drawn up the draft Bill of 1891, it recommended that as soon as the Constitution had been accepted by three colonies the Home Government should take steps to put it into execution. But much had to be done before that result could be realised. New South Wales held back; Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania were uncertain; and the other colonies did nothing. Sir Henry Parkes suggested that the matter should be taken out of the hands of Parliament, and that the Australian people should elect a federal Congress representing all the colonies and the whole people. Steps in this direction were taken, and a conference of Premiers, held at Hobart in January, 1895, recommended that the duty of fixing a federal Constitution should be given to the representatives of each colony directly chosen by the electors, the Constitution so formed to be submitted to the electors for acceptance or rejection by a direct vote, and that these resolutions should be confirmed by the Parliaments of each colony.

The elections for the Convention took place in March, 1897, and four colonies were represented—Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia and Tasmania. The Convention met at Adelaide on March 22nd, 1897, and it was evident that Edmund Barton was the leading spirit. The draft Bill of 1891 was adopted as the foundation of the work of the Convention. The first session came to an end after a month, and the Bill was sent to the Colonial Parliaments for consideration and amendments. At the second session, held in Sydney between September 2nd and September 24th, the most troublesome problems lay in the difficulty of determining the Constitution and the power of the Senate,

and, as in the American Constitution, the conflicting claims of population and the rights of individual States. Financial questions also occupied much time. The third and final session was held at Melbourne between January 21st and March 17th, 1898. The Bill had now to be submitted to a popular vote by means of the referendum. It was passed in Victoria and Tasmania by a majority of five to one, and in South Australia by two to one; but in New South Wales, although there was a small majority for it, the statutory number of votes was not obtained. As the Bill had been accepted by three colonies, it was competent to present it to the Crown for enactment, but it was felt impossible to move without the concurrence of New South Wales. At last matters were adjusted, and on June 20th, 1899, the Bill was passed by New South Wales. In September Queensland, which had hitherto stood aloof, came in; but West Australia did not join until the Act had received the Royal assent.

In every federal Constitution it is necessary to determine who is the residuary legatee. Is the central federal authority entrusted with certain regulated and defined powers, everything not so enumerated being left to the component parts? Or, are the States entrusted with certain powers, everything not so given being left to the central government? America is representative of one system, Ireland under Home Rule would be an example of the other.

Australia followed the American model, every power not directly given to the central authority being left to the States. The States remained separate entities, sovereign within their own sphere, intact in their territories, capable of modifying their own Constitutions, and in direct relation with the Imperial Government, not being obliged to communicate through the federal body. They surrendered to the central body certain specified powers—the control of commerce, Customs, post office, foreign affairs, defence, navigation, naturalisation, railways and State debts. The States retained control over education, the police and the land.

The federal Government consists of a Parliament, a Federal Council, and a High Court of Judicature, the Parliament having two Chambers, a Senate and a House of Representatives. The qualification for members and for electors is the same for both Houses, and the members of both receive the same salary. In this bicameral Parliament the principles adopted in America and in Switzerland are followed. The Senate represents the States, each State sending an equal number of representatives, six for

each province. The senators are chosen for six years, and one half of the members retire every third year. The Lower House is elected according to population, it sits for not more than three years and is twice as large as the Senate. The Senate cannot initiate or amend money Bills, but it may reject them. A dispute between the two Houses that cannot be arranged is met either by a simultaneous dissolution or by a joint sitting of the Houses. The head of the Executive is a Governor-General. The ministers are appointed by the Governor-General to administer certain departments, their number, however, being fixed by Parliament, and they may be dismissed by him. The ministers are always members of the Executive Council, but all members of the council are not necessarily ministers. The High Court has original jurisdiction in certain defined matters, and a general appellate jurisdiction, but appeal may be made from its decision to the Privy Council.

The Constitution of Australia, following the lead of America and Great Britain rather than that of Canada, is essentially democratic. It bears every mark of confidence in the capacity of the people to undertake any and every function of government. In the constitution of Parliament, in the relations between the Houses, and in the amendment of the Constitution the people play a direct part, and the qualifications both for members and electors rest on the widest possible basis.

The creation of the Commonwealth has opened a new phase in the history of Australia. No great change has taken place in the policy of the country, because the principles and objects of its government remain the same as before. But the unity to which all progress had been tending was now embodied in definite institutions, and the ideals which had been cherished in different parts of the Commonwealth could now be regarded as the expression of national feeling. A firmer stand was made against slavery. The importation of native labourers was forbidden in 1901, and in 1906 those already introduced were sent out of the country. Care was taken in the introduction of new citizens, educational tests were imposed on immigrants, and sugar planters who only employed white labour received pecuniary encouragement from the State. Tariff barriers between the several States were removed, the bonds between the separate provinces rapidly increased, and a policy of Protection was introduced, partly from the necessity of providing for the heavy expenses of the Government and partly from the desire to encourage nascent industries. At the same time the policy of Imperial Preference has made some

progress; but the question of preference between Australia and Great Britain divides parties in the Mother Country, and is still far from settlement.

One of the most notable facts has been the growth of the Labour Party, which has brought the regulation of industry in the interests of the workman into prominence. This, again, has made it necessary to determine what are the spheres of the State and what of the individual. A tendency has been shown towards the increase of federal power, a movement which is observable in all federal constitutions, and which is checked in Switzerland by the operation of the referendum. It has been felt that a revision of the Constitution is desirable to increase the authority of the central Government. The Labour Party has shown itself desirous of strengthening and extending federal control, and a change of this nature would have an important bearing on the policy of Protection, on government regulation of industry, and on legislation with regard to land and labour. An increase of federal revenue has also become desirable, and it is possible that the future will see an increase of federal taxation. The site of a federal capital has been settled by the choice of a territory about 140 miles to the south-west of Sydney.

It is impossible to forecast the history of Australia, but there is no doubt that the Pacific Ocean will gradually become more and more important in the history of the world. Australia is at the outset of a great career and will play a more energetic part in the policy of the Pacific than has hitherto been the case. For a long time to come her policy will be identical with that of the Mother Country, but the opening of the Panama Canal may produce results which cannot be foreseen.

CHAPTER XIII

RECONQUEST OF THE SUDAN

WE have already seen how, after the death of Gordon in 1885, the Sudan was abandoned by Egypt to the rule of the Mahdi and Osman Digna. This lasted for thirteen years, during which period the country was devastated and almost depopulated. Five months after the capture of Khartum the Mahdi died and was succeeded by the Khalifa. The Dervishes under him conceived the design of invading Egypt, but their troops were crushed at Toski on August 3rd, 1889. Osman Digna, the chief supporter of the Mahdi and the Khalifa, was defeated in February, 1891, near Tokar, an event which permitted the Egyptians to reoccupy part of the Eastern Sudan, and establish a settled frontier and a tranquillised province. Before this date fighting had taken place on the border of Abyssinia. Some of the Egyptian garrisons, abandoned in 1883, were in great danger, from the Mahdi on the one side and the Abyssinians on the other. King John of Abyssinia was eventually persuaded to allow them to retire through his country. The Italians, who were anxious to follow the example of the rest of Europe by acquiring a colonial dominion, occupied Massowah, a port on the Red Sea. This led to hostilities between King John and the Italians, but the differences were adjusted by the intervention of Queen Victoria in October, 1887. A war which broke out between the Abyssinians and the Dervishes in 1889 resulted in the death of the King, and the project of capturing Khartum, which had brought it about, was abandoned.

In the meantime Egypt remained in a most unsettled condition as a consequence of Great Britain not having declared a protectorate of the country after the defeat of Arabi in 1882. The French, who had refused to assist in that enterprise, did all they could to impede the results of victory. Other European Powers, from jealousy of Great Britain, aided and abetted France, while Abdul Hamid used to the full his opportunities of fomenting disorder, by proposing that Tewfik should be deposed and the hold of Turkey over Egypt strengthened. The cause of this trouble was the weakness of Gladstone and Granville, who shrank

from assuming the responsibilities which their policy had imposed upon them, and talked of retiring from Egypt, as if the interests of civilisation or a proper regard for moral considerations would admit of such a course. Feeble attempts were made to improve the situation with very little success. Clifford Lloyd did what he could for a few months in 1883 and 1884 in this direction, but found that serious reforms were impossible in the face of Mohammedan prejudice, nor was the mission of Lord Northbrook in 1884 productive of better results.

When Salisbury succeeded Gladstone in 1885 he sent Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, who was supposed to have a special knowledge of Eastern affairs and to be popular with the Turks, to arrange matters. But he was met by the invincible jealousy of France, supported by Russia, and under their combined influence the Sultan refused to ratify the Convention, and the only result was that a permanent Turkish Commissioner was placed as an additional thorn in the side of Great Britain. However, notwithstanding these difficulties, which might have been removed by a firmer and more vigorous policy, some progress was made. The use of the *kurbash*, a whip of hippopotamus hide, in driving the fellahin, or peasants, to forced labour in clearing the canals, was abolished; the *corvée* ceased to exist, and a small wage was paid, in spite of the opposition of France, out of the interest due to Great Britain on account of the Suez Canal shares. But it took many years to effect a permanent settlement of the question.

The whole of this period had been one of great financial difficulties. The release of Egypt from debt and the placing of the Egyptian budget on a secure footing were due, more than to anyone else, to Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer). He had been appointed in 1877 British Commissioner to the Public Debt of Egypt by Goschen, to whom the Khedive had applied for a suitable official. He next undertook the office of Agent and Consul-General, and began his duties in Cairo on September 11th, 1883. In 1885 he proposed to the Powers to raise a loan of £9,000,000 for the purpose of paying off the war indemnities in connection with the bombardment of Alexandria, of wiping off the deficit which had accumulated since 1882, and of providing a surplus of £1,000,000 for the purposes of irrigation. The careful expenditure of this sum brought about a condition of equilibrium in 1888, and in time raised Egyptian credit to a level only a little below that of the richest European Powers. The outlay on railways, roads and public buildings has been provided out of

annual revenue, and the only increase in taxation has been in the tobacco duty. The administration has been essentially honest. Natives have been encouraged to become proprietors of small holdings of land, the traditional industry of the peasants has been stimulated and rewarded, and in a quarter of a century a transformation has been accomplished which is unique in history.

Egypt was now completely civilised under British rule; the roads had been cleansed and extended; drainage of the land, which is as important as its irrigation, had been introduced; and the great barrage, situated a short distance below Cairo, had been repaired and rendered serviceable. The result of this was that in ten years the cotton and sugar crops were both trebled and the country was covered by a network of light railways and agricultural roads. In 1898 a dam was established at Assuan, which, though it partially submerged the beautiful temple of Philæ, has rendered infinite service to the prosperity of the country. The only dangers are that more water should be supplied than the cultivators are able to utilise, and that the truth should be forgotten that the flooding of land for crops is useless, and, indeed, mischievous, unless accompanied by a system of carrying off the superfluous waters, a process almost as costly as irrigation itself. Another great step in advance has been the creation of a serviceable Egyptian army. In old days conscripts, chained together like convicts, were torn from their homes and dispatched to distant garrisons, from which they seldom returned. Egyptians, excellent as soldiers, were useless as officers; but Sir Evelyn Wood, the first Sirdar of the Egyptian army, inaugurated a system by which the new soldiers taken from the land, when well fed, well clothed, punctually paid, instructed and officered by British soldiers, became efficient instruments of war. The army was, moreover, strengthened by the enrolment of black volunteers from distant places in the Sudan.

In consequence of all these improvements a desire arose for the reconquest of the Sudan, a measure necessary for the security of civilisation in Egypt; but the stimulus to this effort proceeded from the relations of Italy to Abyssinia, of which we must give some account. Italy had taken no part in the suppression of Arabi; indeed, popular sympathy in that country ran strongly in his favour, but in 1884, when Depretis was Prime Minister, Great Britain suggested to the Italian Government that they should occupy some country on the shore of the Red Sea as a counterpoise to the French. Therefore, early in 1885, Bailul and Massowah were taken by the Italians, although Lord Cromer

was opposed to the policy. The abandonment of the Sudan by the British was an unforeseen blow, and the Italians complained that they had first been instigated to embark upon colonial adventure and then deserted. The Abyssinians resented the Italian occupation, and in January, 1887, a whole battalion of 500 men was cut to pieces by Ras Alula at Dogali, while a force of 20,000 men, sent to retrieve the disaster, had to be recalled. However, in 1890 the suzerainty of Italy over Abyssinia was announced, a coinage was introduced bearing the effigy of King Humbert, and a colonial Eritrea was established. The Dervishes were defeated at Agordat and Kassala; and Crispi, who was Prime Minister, conceived the idea of a vast African Empire. But on March 1st, 1896, the Italians suffered a terrible defeat at Adowa, losing all their artillery. The killed included 254 officers and nearly 4,500 men, and the prisoners 45 officers and 1,500 men. The suzerainty over Abyssinia was abandoned, and by the treaty signed in September, 1900, the Italian possessions were reduced to a territory of 80,000 (?) square miles.

Dismayed by this defeat the Italians turned to Great Britain for assistance. They represented that they had originally undertaken the occupation of a portion of the Red Sea littoral under British advice, and that unless energetic steps were taken the whole of their Eritrean colony was in danger. The matter was brought before the Cabinet, and the request of the Italians appeared to be reasonable. But there was no decision to recover Khartum; the plan was to advance as far as Akasheh and then to await events. Kassala, with the Italian garrison, was threatened by the Dervishes, and was in imminent peril. It was obvious that if it fell into the hands of the Dervishes there was a danger that they would overrun the whole of the Nile valley. It was deemed essential to save Kassala by a diversion towards Dongola, and this could best be done while the Khalifa's forces were occupied.

Other European Powers, however, were contending for the occupation of the Upper Nile. The French were advancing from the south-west, the Belgians from the south, and it was necessary that the British should exhibit similar activity. In March Lord Curzon, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated in the House of Commons that, in view of the forward movements of the Dervishes in different directions, and the threatened attack on Kassala, the Government had ordered an advance to Akasheh in order to avert danger to Italy, Egypt and Great Britain.

The advance, he said, might be extended to Dongola, but that would depend on circumstances. The Dongola expedition was to consist of 9,000 Egyptian troops under the command of the Sirdar, Sir Herbert Kitchener, but some British troops were to advance to Wady Halfa to take the place of the Egyptians stationed there. Although some Liberals approved of the expedition, it was opposed by the party as a whole, and the National Liberal Federation, at a meeting in Huddersfield, condemned it; while Morley, in the House of Commons, proposed a vote of censure against it, which was defeated by 288 votes to 143. Money had to be provided for the expedition, and the British Cabinet thought that Egypt ought to pay for the recovery of her lost territory. She had the money, and was willing to give it, but could not do so without the consent of the six Commissioners of the Debt. Four of them authorised payment and advanced the money, but the French and Russian Commissioners dissented. The mixed tribunal of Cairo ordered the Egyptian Government to refund the money with interest, but Lord Cromer induced the British Government to lend Egypt £800,000 with interest at 2¾ per cent., so that the money was repaid.

On March 21st, 1896, the Sirdar, with Colonel Wingate, and the first battalion of the North Staffordshire Regiment, 917 strong, left Cairo for Assuan and Wady Halfa. Wingate, who was stationed at Wady Halfa, moved forward to Akasheh, which had been for some time the advanced post of the Dervishes, and occupied it without opposition. On June 7th an advance was made to Ferkeh, and the Dervishes were attacked with masterly skill by the Sirdar, who divided his forces into a desert and river column, so that the enemy had no chance of escape. In two hours the Dervishes were completely routed, losing 1,000 killed and wounded and 400 taken prisoners, whereas the Egyptian losses were very slight. By the victory of Ferkeh forty miles of the Nile valley were cleared of Dervishes and the only organised army of the Khalifa over the frontier was destroyed near Suakin, which had been for many years the starting-place for raids against the Nile villages and was now the advanced post of the Sirdar's army.

After the victory of Ferkeh and the occupation of Suakin there was an interval of three months, a time of very hard work. The railway had to be pushed on, stores collected at the front, and steamers tugged up the cataracts, while, to make matters worse, the troops were attacked with cholera, which killed nearly 200 Egyptians and some British. The attack on Dongola was

made on September 3rd, at 7 in the morning. But the Dervishes refused to fight, retiring whenever the Egyptians advanced. The Sudanese garrison of the town surrendered to the Egyptians and at 11 in the morning Dongola was occupied. The inhabitants crowded amongst the troops, seizing the hands of the soldiers and kissing them in their delirious joy at being delivered from oppression. On the same night the army bivouacked in and near Dongola or its ruins. The British troops were sent back to Cairo, having lost seventy-four of their number, chiefly from enteric fever. Every Dervish fled for his life, the horsemen riding across the desert into Omdurman, the foot soldiers following the Nile to Berber, which now became the next objective.

While Dongola was being rebuilt and its government reorganised, news was brought to the Sirdar by Slatin Pasha and other escaped prisoners that the Khalifa's rule was crumbling to dust, and the British Government announced that they contemplated the reconquest of the Sudan. On February 5th, 1897, Hicks Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in asking for a vote of £800,000, declared in the House of Commons that Egypt could never be considered secure so long as hostile Powers were in occupation of Khartum, and that Great Britain, having compelled the Egyptian Government to abandon the Sudan, was now bound in honour to recover it for civilisation. Between Dongola and Berber the Nile makes a large loop to the north and, in order to avoid this, the Sirdar determined to make a railway across the desert, thus saving a distance of 330 miles. In order to make the railway, Abu Hamed had to be captured, and this was effected on August 7th, four-fifths of the Dervishes being killed or taken prisoners, and the rest fleeing to Omdurman, spreading everywhere the news of their defeat. The consequence was that they evacuated Berber, and General Hunter was able to enter it on September 13th. Formerly a large and important town, the centre of a flourishing trade, it had been sacked and destroyed and was only represented by a large Dervish village two miles from the river.

Whilst Hunter was advancing upon Abu Hamed and Berber, Osman Digna had collected a force of 5,000 men at a place on the Atbara, situated about ninety miles from Ed Damer, where the Atbara flows into the Nile above Berber. Hunter determined to attack him, and, leaving Berber on October 23rd, reached Adarana, where Osman Digna had established himself, six days later. They found he had evacuated the town and was in the desert between Omdurman and Kassala. As nothing more could be done,

Adarana was burnt and the expedition returned to Berber. The road between Berber and Suakin, which had been closed for many years, was now open, and plenty of water was obtainable on the way. There was at this time bad feeling between the Mahdist leaders, Mahmoud and Osman Digna, the first, who was at Metammeh on the Nile, halfway between Ed Damer and Khartum, being anxious to advance, Osman being unwilling to help him. The Khalifa at Omdurman could not weaken himself by sending supplies to Mahmoud, who had, therefore, to remain inactive. Demonstrations were made against him, but nothing important was done. The railway from Wady Halfa to Abu Hamed was completed on October 31st and pushed on to Berber. The Italians now arranged that Kassala with its surrounding territory should be handed over to the Egyptians on December 25th, 1897. It will be remembered that the expedition was originally undertaken with the object of preventing Kassala from being taken from the Italians by the Dervishes. The town is situated near the Atbara, and forms the third point of a triangle with Berber and Khartum, the three places being at an equal distance from each other. The Egyptian troops who, under the command of Colonel Parsons, were to occupy Kassala marched through the Italian colony of Eritrea, being received everywhere with the greatest courtesy.

Early in 1898 the military position was somewhat as follows: the Khalifa was at Omdurman with 40,000 men; Mahmoud, who had been joined by Osman Digna, was at Metammeh with 20,000; the Egyptian army had its headquarters at Berber, with an advanced post at Ed Damer, occupying also Abu Hamed, Merawi and Dongola, as well as Kassala and various positions between Berber and Suakin; and the desert railway was well advanced towards completion. It was known that Mahmoud intended to move down the Nile and attack Berber. It having been deemed necessary that British troops should be employed to reinforce the Egyptians, three battalions were sent up from Cairo, and the Seaforth Highlanders were summoned from Malta. General Gatacre was placed in charge of the British brigade.

Mahmoud began to move on February 10th, and it would have been possible to intercept his force and cut it to pieces before it could reach its destination, but probably the Sirdar desired to do nothing which might prevent a general and decisive engagement. Such a conflict was approaching, and troops of both nationalities were rapidly moved up, the Sirdar commanding 13,000 Egyptians and Gatacre four battalions of British

infantry. On March 31st Mahmoud occupied a strong position between Omdurman and Berber, well fortified, but he was in great straits for food, his soldiers being disaffected and anxious to desert. He could not advance to Berber, because the Sirdar stopped him; to come out into the open meant disastrous defeat; to retire to Omdurman would demoralise his followers. He had, therefore, no alternative but to remain where he was and await the Sirdar's attack. At the same time the Sirdar's army was receiving its own supplies with difficulty, and the British troops began to suffer from dysentery and enteric.

At last the attack took place on April 8th. Mahmoud was strongly fortified by a zariba, formed by cut mimosa branches and strengthened by a palisade of palm logs, laid endways on the ground, and an encircling trench. The bombardment, begun at 6.15 in the morning, lasted for an hour and a half, and at 8.15 the advance was sounded. The whole line marched in quick time, inspired by the bagpipes and the bands of the native regiments. The Camerons, Warwicks, Leicesters and Lincolns came up to the zariba, tore down the thorn bushes, gaps were soon made, and the zariba was entered at about 8.30. The trenches were full of crouching Dervishes, who fired as fast as they could load, neither wishing for nor receiving quarter. After half an hour's fighting the Battle of the Atbara was won, and orders were given to cease firing. The troops indulged in mutual congratulations, and the Sudanese soldiers danced with joy, waving their rifles in the air and shaking hands with every British soldier they came across. When they met the Sirdar they greeted him with enthusiastic cheers. The British brigade had 5 officers and 21 men killed, with 99 officers and men wounded. The Egyptian loss was more severe, 57 men being killed and 386 wounded, including 10 British officers. Osman Digna escaped with the cavalry, but Mahmoud was taken prisoner. His force had numbered 14,000, and of these only 8,000 remained. On April 14th the Sirdar made a triumphal entry into Berber and a review was held, at which Mahmoud, a tall, majestic figure, with his hands tied behind his back, was a conspicuous object. He was afterwards sent down to Wady Halfa.

In May, 1898, preparations were made for the advance to Omdurman; the railway had now reached El Abeidieh, only twelve miles north of Berber, but military operations were suspended for a time and the Sirdar went to England. However, by the middle of August the Nile had risen sufficiently and a start was made, the force being only six miles from Omdurman on

September 1st. When they reached this place they found the whole Dervish army drawn up in battle array in the desert outside of the city. They were in five divisions, and numbered between 40,000 and 50,000 men. On the night of September 1st everyone in the Sirdar's camp was anxious. The two opposing armies were only five miles distant; a report had come that the Khalifa intended to make a night attack, and the men lay down on the sand, fully dressed, with arms and accoutrements beside them. The night was cloudy and the enemy could only be looked for with the help of the searchlight from the gunboats. By a ruse the Khalifa was led to suppose that the British intended an attack, and he kept quiet and the night passed in peace. But he missed a grand opportunity, as no one could foretell what a night assault might have produced, for though victory would doubtless have waited on British prowess the loss of life would have been terrible.

However, the decisive battle was to take place next day, September 2nd. The Sirdar had under his command a force of 22,000 men, naval and military. His camp formed a kind of horseshoe, the ends resting on the side protected by the gunboats. The order of the brigades was as follows, counting from the left: Lyttelton's, with the Rifles and the Grenadiers; Wauchope's, with the Seaforths and the Camerons; Maxwell's, with the Egyptians and the Sudanese; then came Macdonald's, Lewis's, and Collinson's—all black troops. Along the British line was a rampart of bushes, which proved afterwards a hindrance rather than a help, while the Egyptians were defended by a shallow trench. The buglers sounded the réveillé at 3.30, and all the troops stood to their arms. When after an hour's waiting there seemed to be no sign of an advance, the Sirdar determined to march out against the Dervish forces.

At 5.30 in the morning the booming of guns announced the bombardment of Omdurman, but the cannonade had hardly begun when the patrols announced that the enemy were in motion. According to George Steevens, the brilliant and gifted war correspondent, who by his death at Ladysmith robbed England of a great literary name, "an electric whisper came running down the line, 'They are coming.' The noise of something began to creep in upon us; it advanced and divided into the tap of drums and the far-away surf of raucous war cries; a shiver of expectancy ran along our army, and then a sigh of content. They were coming on. Allah help them! they were coming on! It was now 6.30. The flags seemed still very distant, the roar very faint, and the thud of our first gun was almost startling. It

may have startled them, but it startled them into life. The line of flags swung forward, and a mass of white, flying linen swung forward with it too. They came very fast, and they came very straight, and then presently they came no farther. The crash of bullets leapt out of the British rifles."

The courage of the Dervishes was without parallel. They advanced in an immense mass, marching with military regularity and well-kept ranks, shouting the defiant cry of "There is one God, and Mohammed is His Prophet." Emirs and sheikhs led the way, and Baggara horsemen trotted abreast of the men on foot. From one end to the other of the British line there was a continual blaze of flame, the men firing both in volleys and independently. Through the smokeless air the Dervishes were seen falling in heaps. As whole ranks dropped others rushed in to supply their places. When the Dervishes were within 800 yards of the British line their advance was practically arrested. Yet even then individuals attempted to rush on. One old man with a white flag started with five comrades; all fell but he, and by himself he came bounding forwards to within 200 yards of the Sudanese. Then he folded his arms across his face, his limbs loosened, and he dropped to the earth beside his flag. As Steevens says, "it was the last day of Mahdism and the greatest."

The ground was white with dead men's drapery, for it was not a battle, but a battue. At first the British loss had been slight, the Dervishes not halting to fire, but discharging their weapons into the air; careless of aim, their bullets fell short; when they got closer their fire began to tell, and casualties became frequent. But this was as nothing compared with the awful slaughter of the Dervishes. They were not driven back; they were simply killed as they came on. Just before the British fire ceased a last Dervish effort was made, taking the form of a cavalry attack. A party of Baggara horsemen, 200 in number, gallantly charged Maxwell's white brigade. Shot down by rifle and Maxim, the undaunted remnant repeatedly dashed on until there was nothing to be seen but a struggling heap of men and horses lying on the ground. At 8 the grand attack was finished and the main body of the enemy was in retreat to the hills three miles distant.

At 8.30 the bugle sounded for the advance to Omdurman. As the soldiers passed over the field of battle they saw the slaughter they had done. The bodies—nearly all of Arabs—were not in masses, but spread evenly over acres and acres. Some lay very composedly, with their slippers placed under their heads for a pillow; some were kneeling, killed in the midst of a

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last prayer; some were torn to pieces; others, not dead yet, sprang up as the soldiers approached and rushed savagely, hurling spears. These were bayoneted or shot. The losses of the Dervishes were immense. No fewer than 10,800 bodies were counted on the field, and the wounded numbered at least 16,000, making a total of 27,000 out of a force of 52,000. Besides these, 4,000 black troops surrendered, and three of Gordon's steamers were captured. The Sirdar's losses were only nominal—48 killed and 382 wounded.

Steevens pays a magnificent tribute to the Dervishes. He says that "the British were perfect," but that "the Dervishes were superb beyond perfection."

"It was the largest, best and bravest army which ever fought against us for Mahdism, and it died worthily of the huge Empire which Mahdism won and kept so long. Their riflemen, mangled by every kind of death and torment which man can devise, clung round the black flag and the green, emptying their poor, rotten, home-made cartridges dauntlessly. Their spearmen charged death at every minute hopelessly. Their horsemen led each attack, riding into the bullets till nothing was left but their horses trotting up to our lines. It was over; the avenging squadrons of the Egyptian cavalry swept over the field. Now, under the black flag, in a ring of bodies, stood only three men, facing the 3,000 of the British brigade. They folded their arms about their staff and gazed steadily forward. Two fell. The last Dervish stood up and filled his chest; he shouted the name of his God and hurled his spear, then he stood quite still, waiting. It took him full; he quivered, gave at the knees, and toppled with his head on his arms and his face towards the legions of his conquerors."

In the afternoon, when the fight was over, the Sirdar rode forward to occupy Omdurman. When the surrender of the fighting men was accepted, the inhabitants swarmed out of their houses and cheered the troops. The victorious army marched down the broad street leading to the Khalifa's house and the Mahdi's tomb. Finding that the Khalifa's house was barred, the gunboats proceeded to shell it from the river, and in doing this nearly killed the Sirdar and did kill Herbert Howard, the son of Lord Carlisle, a newspaper correspondent. The Khalifa had run away after a vain attempt to organise renewed resistance. The prisoners were released, the chief of them being Charles Neufeld, a German subject (who had been for eleven years in captivity and was kept in chains), two Italians, and thirty Greeks. In the arsenal were found large stores of ammunition.

It was necessary to crush the feeling of fanatical reverence which had grown up around the Mahdi, by destroying his tomb and throwing his burnt ashes into the Nile, and those who criticised this action can have little idea of the requirements of statesmanship in dealing with ignorant and superstitious natives. Lord Crewe declared the deed to be a practical necessity. Duty demanded a visit to Gordon's grave at Khartum, and a memorial service was held in the remains of his palace. This accomplished, the British army left as soon as possible, as it began to feel the inevitable reaction from fatigue, and fever also had set in. By the end of September nearly the whole of the British division had left for the north. The Khalifa fled from Omdurman into the wilds of Kordofan, wandered about for a year, and was there killed by Sir Reginald Wingate, who succeeded Kitchener as Sirdar of the Egyptian army. The Khartum expedition was not only a thorough success, but owing to the Sirdar's excellent management cost only £1,000,000, besides the £1,200,000 spent on permanent improvements on railways and telegraphs.

The taking of Khartum was followed by a surprising incident which nearly brought about war between Great Britain and France. On September 7th one of Gordon's old steamers, which had been sent up the White Nile by the Khalifa, returned to Omdurman to find the place in the hands of the British. The captain reported that at Fashoda he had been fired at by some white men, and produced bullets of European manufacture in support of his statement. It was evident that some European expedition had reached Fashoda, and Kitchener determined to ascertain what it was. Having, with characteristic caution, sent all the newspaper correspondents to Cairo, he left Omdurman on September 10th with a small fleet of vessels. On September 18th he reached a point ten miles from Fashoda, and, after five miles' further journey, was met by a boat bearing the French flag, and learned that Lieut. Marchand, a French explorer, had occupied Fashoda since July 10th. When Fashoda was reached the French flag was seen flying, with Marchand's fleet close to the old Egyptian fort. The Sirdar told him that the presence of a French force in Egyptian territory was inadmissible, and Marchand replied that he was acting under orders from the French Government. Kitchener landed his troops and posted the Egyptian flag about 500 yards from the French flag. The Sirdar returned to Cairo, but the relations between the French and Egyptian Governments assumed a serious aspect, and for twenty-four hours war between the two countries seemed probable. The French held that Fashoda,

although formerly belonging to Egypt, had, by abandonment, ceased to belong to anyone and might be legally claimed by either France or Belgium; the British, on the other hand, claimed the whole valley of the Nile for Egypt. Eventually the French withdrew from an untenable position, and on November 4th, when the Sirdar was entertained by the Lord Mayor of London, Lord Salisbury was able to announce that the incident was closed.

In the final settlement of the Sudan some of the mistakes made in Egypt in 1882 were avoided. The agreement of January, 1899, gave the Queen of Great Britain sovereign rights in the Sudan in conjunction with the Khedive, based upon the right of conquest. The frontier of the Sudan towards the south was left undefined. The supreme military and civil command was vested in a Governor-General appointed by the Khedive on British recommendation, and no foreign consuls were allowed to reside in the Sudan without the previous consent of Great Britain. It was also decided that in all matters concerning trade, with a residence in the Sudan, no special privileges would be accorded to the subjects of any one Power. Consequently, in the following years the Sudan advanced greatly in prosperity, and the population increased. Port Sudan, on the Red Sea, was made into a well-equipped harbour; the White Nile was rendered navigable by the removal of 400 miles of *sudd*; and Gordon University at Khartum provided for the enlightenment of one of the darkest spots in the Dark Continent.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR OF 1898

THE war between the United States and Spain in 1898 was of such importance in the history and development of the great Republic that some account of it is inevitable, although it did not produce much effect upon Europe, excepting that it put the finishing touch to the course of humiliation to which Spain had exposed herself ever since the era of her grandeur in the Middle Ages. The war, which had been impending for a considerable period, was due to an accumulation of causes. The Americans, for one thing, could not suffer a small country at their very doors, closely connected by commerce with themselves, to remain in a condition of maladministration which was a perpetual menace to good government in their own country. For another, controlling, as it did, the approaches to the Gulf of Mexico and the Panama Canal, it was felt undesirable that Cuba should be in the hands of a Power that might possibly become hostile. Relations had grown so strained and feeling was so tense that it only required a spark to fire the magazine.

In 1898 the Cubans were in revolt against Spain, and the United States had been urged to give them assistance. Nevertheless, there was a strong party, not only in the United States, but even in the Government, which was opposed to interference in the affairs of Spain or of any other country, and there is every probability that nothing would have been done had not an event occurred which changed the whole situation. The United States battleship *Maine* was blown up in the harbour of Havana on February 15th in a mysterious manner, with a loss of 266 lives. The general belief was that the ship had been destroyed by the Spaniards or by Cuban sympathisers to force the hands of the United States, and the testimony of the survivors confirmed this opinion. The whole country was in a state of excitement, the newspapers clamoured that the outrage on the *Maine* should be revenged, and, although a large number of cool-headed people, including President McKinley himself, were against hostilities, the President was compelled to declare war upon Spain on April 21st, 1898.

The news was received with great joy in New York. The Stars and Stripes were hung across the streets and from the windows of

towns and cities, and everywhere was seen the motto, "Remember the *Maine*." Steps were immediately taken to meet the crisis. The American army, which on a peace footing consists of 25,000 men, was raised to 71,000, while the President called for a volunteer force of 125,000 men. The first shot was fired on April 23rd at Key West, when the Spanish merchant ship, *Buena Ventura* was captured by the *Nashville*. President McKinley announced a blockade of the northern coast of Cuba between Cardenas and Bahia Honda, as well as of the harbour of Cienfuegos upon the south coast. This was carried out by a squadron of twenty-three men-of-war, under the command of Admiral Sampson, in the *New York*, who started from Key West Islands, which are only a hundred miles distant from Havana, the capital of Cuba.

The American fleet began the bombardment of Castel Morro, one of the defences of Havana, on April 25th, and of Matanzas on the two following days. An eyewitness of the first engagement tells us that the shots fell in the ramparts, throwing the earthworks fifty feet in the air and cutting them level with the ground. Only three shots from the enemy's batteries struck the *New York*, and of the others none came closer than a hundred yards, although the engagement lasted fifteen minutes.

Sampson's fleet could not sail out to intercept the fleet of Admiral Cervera, on its way from Spain, because it was difficult, if not impossible, to discover its whereabouts in the broad expanse of the Atlantic, and because two American warships, expected from Brazil, could not be left off the coast of Cuba without protection. On the other hand, if Cervera's fleet were left unmolested, it might attack the east coast of North America without being materially prevented by the flying squadron commanded by Admiral Schley. Consequently, some apprehension was felt in the towns of the United States seaboard, and, as a precautionary measure, mines were laid in the harbour of New York.

Whilst in the West Indies every one was on the tiptoe of expectation with regard to the coming of Cervera's fleet, news of momentous import arrived from the Far East. Admiral Dewey, commanding an American squadron of eight ships-of-war in the harbour of Hong-Kong, sailed on April 25th for the Philippines, with orders to capture or destroy the Spanish fleet lying off the islands. This squadron of thirteen ships, under the command of Admiral Montojo y Pasaron, went out to meet Dewey, but soon returned with the intention of awaiting the attack in the Bay of Canacao, near Cavite, in the Bay of Manila. They would thus be supported by the land batteries, and a bombardment of Manila during the sea-fight would

be impossible. Dewey, who had anchored in Mirs Bay, on the coast of China, left on April 27th, and on May 1st sailed into the Bay of Manila without being stopped by the batteries of the Corregidor Islands which lie at the entrance, and laid his ships alongside of the Spanish fleet at the extremity of the Peninsula of Cavite. His fleet was armed with 122 guns of modern construction, some of enormous size, and in seven hours he completely destroyed the whole of the Spanish ships.

The Spaniards defended themselves with heroic courage, but the combatants were unequally matched. Of the Spanish cruisers, armed with ninety-six guns, only five were fit for battle, while the American ordnance consisted mainly of long eight-inch guns of the newest construction, which had a longer range and never missed their mark. Of course, the Spanish vessels, which had no similar resources, were either at once set on fire or sunk. The Spaniards lost 175 killed and 214 wounded ; the Americans had none killed and only seven wounded. Apparently it had never occurred to the Spanish Government that a number of antiquated vessels, sufficient for the local needs of the far-distant and extensive group of islands and the maintenance of Spanish sovereignty, would be useless against an enemy possessing serviceable vessels of modern type.

Needless to say, tidings of this disaster caused the utmost consternation in Madrid, and Sagasta's Ministry was attacked for the insufficiency of its preparations. On May 2nd a state of siege was proclaimed in the capital, and eventually the Ministry was reconstructed. In the United States the victory of Admiral Dewey on May Day was received with enthusiasm, and when he reported that he had not sufficient men to take possession of Manila, it was determined to dispatch an army to his support.

On May 2nd, the fleet of Admiral Cervera, consisting of four armoured cruisers, three torpedo boats, and three destroyers, was sighted at Fort de France, in the Island of Martinique. It appears to have been Cervera's intention to discover as soon as possible one of the two American squadrons which had not yet been able to unite, to engage with it, and inflict so much damage as to render it incapable of protecting the transports which had left Tampa, in Florida, on May 11th, with the troops destined for action in Cuba.

Cervera, forbidden to land at Martinique, which belonged to the French, proceeded to the harbour of Santiago, on the southern coast of Cuba. The town is situated in a large bay, surrounded by the mountains of the Sierra Maestra, and has ample space for the evolutions of many large ships-of-war. The narrow and difficult

entrance is defended by the castles of Morro and Estrella. Cervera thought that from this basis he would be able to defend the neighbouring coast, and was the more confident of his ability to do so because the squadron of Admiral Sampson, who had been misinformed with regard to Cervera's movements, was crossing to the north of Hayti and proceeding in the direction of Key West, where there happened to be a serious scarcity of fresh water.

Sampson's fleet reached Santiago on May 19th, and was joined here, on the last day of the month, by the flying squadron of Schley. The two admirals then undertook to bombard the forts, whose defective armaments had to be strengthened by cannon from Cervera's ships. The attack was renewed on June 3rd, and on this occasion the American schooner *Merrimac* was sunk in the entrance of the harbour, but not in such a manner as to render the egress impossible, although it increased the difficulties of entrance. A third attempt was made on the following day, June 4th, but an assault on the forts of La Sorapa and Puertegrande was repelled, and it seemed as if Cervera intended to break out and sacrifice his fleet in preventing the arrival of an invading army. He still, however, remained in the vicinity, and on June 6th 5,000 American infantry were landed at Punto Cabrera under the shelter of a heavy bombardment, and on the following day 600 at Carminanera.

The Bay of Santiago is so extensive that Sampson's heavy guns could barely reach the town (which lies at its furthest extremity), or even Cervera's fleet. At the same time the admiral did not feel justified in forcing an entrance. He therefore sent to the American Government, on June 17th, a pressing request for further reinforcements on a considerable scale. Some detachments which had landed at Guantanamo on June 8th, had a few days later serious engagements with the Spanish troops. The Spaniards began to congratulate themselves on their successes, as the American fleet had not been able to effect anything conclusive, and the only loss they had suffered had been the sinking of the torpedo-boat destroyer *Terror* by the American line-of-battle ship *Oregon*.

At length the army which had been so anxiously expected sailed from Tampa on June 8th, under the command of General Shafter, who had served in the War of Secession, and landed on June 23rd at Baiquiri, a harbour half-way between Santiago and Guantanamo, an operation in which two men were drowned. After landing they were assisted by 3,000 insurgents under the command of Calixto Garcia, who speedily united himself with Shafter. But on the following day, June 24th, was fought the battle of Las Guasimas, which, after a vigorous resistance on the part of the Spaniards,

ended in the victory of the Americans. The burden of the fight fell upon the regiment of "Rough Riders" commanded by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. It had been intended, at first, to recruit it mostly from cowboys, picked up from the ranches, but actually there enlisted fashionable young men from New York clubs, undergraduates and graduates from the Universities, and athletes from schools and colleges, and it certainly achieved much distinction. In the battle of Las Guasimas the enemy numbered at least 4,000, whereas the Rough Riders were only 500 and General Young's force 464. Of the former force eight were killed and thirty-four wounded, and of the latter eight killed and eighteen wounded. The Americans had thus attacked and vanquished an enemy over four times their number, entrenched behind rifle-pits and bushes in a mountain pass.

On June 25th fighting began for the possession of Sevilla, south of Santiago, which was captured on June 28th. Then took place the Battle of San Juan, the entrenchments of which were the outer defences of Santiago. The advance began on the afternoon of June 30th, "twelve thousand men, with their eyes fixed on a balloon, treading on each other's heels in three inches of mud." At El Pozo the trail forked, the right-hand road leading to El Caney, the left to Santiago. The troops slept in the mist, seeing the street lamps of Santiago and the moon shining over the hill of San Juan. Before the moon rose again every sixth man who slept in the mist that night had either been killed or wounded.

El Caney, about four miles to the east of Santiago, was held by 500 Spanish soldiers, and it was thought the Americans would take it without difficulty. The idea was that the right division should attack towards the north, and after the capture of El Caney, turn south-westwards and join the left division in the attack on Santiago. But the village was strongly defended, and El Caney was not taken till late in the afternoon, the Americans having lost 377 killed and wounded.

On the left the battle was far more serious. The greatest loss took place at the San Juan River, where the Americans—commanded not to return the fire, but lie still and wait for further orders—were simply fired into. For a whole hour they lay on their rifles while the bullets drove past incessantly, sharpshooters and guerillas being hid in the trees above the stream and above the track. They spared no one, neither wounded, nor surgeons, nor attendants carrying the litters. The balloon, intended as a point of observation, was a complete failure; not only was it of no use, but it directed the fire of the enemy.

At last the division came within sight of the hill on the top of which stood the Spanish blockhouse and fort of San Juan. The troops were intended to take it, although it was almost impregnable. Though it was madness to assault this hill without artillery, it was done. Luckily, the Spanish trenches on the summit were built so far back from the brow that, unless the Spanish soldiers lay on the breastworks or outside of them, they could not depress their rifles sufficiently to fire down the hill. Thus the fire was hotter in the last stage than in the actual assault. At length the Americans flooded the ridges, swarmed into the blockhouse, and carried the crest. Then the invaders halted, gazing at the city beneath them. It is reckoned that the loss on both American wings did not fall short of 2,000 men. On the side of the Spaniards, General Linares was severely wounded, 467 men were killed, and half their force was disabled.

An unexpected incident now supervened. The moment had arrived when Cervera's fleet could be of great service, although up to the present it had been of little good. But, to the surprise of all, at 9.30 a.m. on Sunday, July 3rd, it came out of the harbour under full steam, and, in three-quarters of an hour, was entirely destroyed by the American fleet, three times superior in number, and armed with excellent artillery. The Spanish ships were set on fire and driven on to the coast, where they blew up.

Field-Marshal Blanco had sent Cervera repeated orders to come out, and he had at last obeyed, because his supply of coal was nearly exhausted, and because, seeing that Santiago was closely invested, he did not wish to be caught, like Montojo at Cavite, but preferred to perish in the open sea. Unfortunately, he was misinformed as to the position and number of the American fleet, and sailed in the wrong direction. As the engagement took place at a distance beyond the range of the Spanish guns, not a single shot touched the American ships, although the flagship, the *Vizcaya*, continued to fire after she was in flames, and the *Colon* did not haul down her colours until she had done her utmost to escape. This Spanish fleet was not ten years old, but the armour-plates were thin; it carried 6 heavy, 46 medium, and 96 light guns, whereas the American fleet had 67 heavy, 36 medium, and 196 light guns. Cervera was taken prisoner, and, with his companions, honourably treated.

Before Santiago an armistice was arranged from July 2nd to July 9th, during which period many discussions were held about surrender, although Marshal Blanco talked about making the place a second Saragossa. Both sides were really desirous of peace, for

though the position of the Americans was anything but secure, the garrison of Santiago, which had been reinforced with 18,000 men under General Pondo from Seilobo, was gradually running short of provisions and ammunition. At length, on July 15th, the town and province of Santiago de Cuba was surrendered to the United States, under the condition that the garrison, amounting to 22,780 men, should be sent back to Spain unarmed. Sampson's fleet now entered the harbour, and on July 17th President McKinley issued orders for the Government of the Province.

In the Philippines, Admiral Dewey was still waiting for a force to begin operations on land, but meanwhile the Spanish troops were hardly pressed by the insurgents. At the end of June, the Governor-General, Augusti, proposed to the German Vice-Admiral, Von Diedrichs, who was at Manila for the purpose of protecting German commerce, that the admirals of the neutral Powers should take Manila under their protection. This offer was refused in consequence of the American blockade. On the other side, Emilio Aguinaldo, who commanded the insurgent Filipinos, and who, on June 12th, had proclaimed the independence of the islands, made a declaration to the same admiral that any claim made by the United States was excluded by the convention which had been signed by him and Admiral Dewey on April 24th, and agreed to by President McKinley, Great Britain and Japan, in virtue of which the insurgents should join the Americans in making war upon Spain, with the object of establishing in the Philippines an independent Federal Republic under American protection.

The American land forces were still detained at sea. On their way they had hoisted the American flag in the Ladrone Islands, which belonged to Spain, and carried off the garrison, which had heard nothing of the outbreak of the war. On July 17th they eventually arrived at the island of Luzon, and engaged the Spanish troops on July 31st. This enabled Admiral Dewey to demand the surrender of Manila on the following day. The summons, however, was rejected, and the Americans did not become masters of the city until August 13th, after it had suffered a bombardment.

The capture of the island of Porto Rico forms a striking contrast to the operations in Cuba, the difference being attributed by the Americans to the incompetence of the commanders in the one case, and their competence in the other. General Miles had assumed the command of the American army in Cuba in the latter half of July, and immediately turned his attention to Porto Rico, where the feeling of the inhabitants was strongly anti-Spanish. The island had been declared independent on February 9th, and a Parliament

assembled on July 24th, which protested against the attack of America on the freedom of the country. The invading army marched, it was said, with the precision of a set of chessmen; its moves were carefully considered and followed by corresponding success; its generals, acting independently and yet along routes reconnoitred by Generals Ray and Stone and Major Flagler and selected by General Miles, never missed a point, nor needlessly lost a man, nor retreated from a foot of ground over which they had advanced. Accordingly, eight cities or towns, with 700,000 inhabitants, were won over to the United States at the cost of very few men killed. General Miles landed at Geronimo on July 25th, and the reduction of the island was completed by the surrender of Ponce on July 28th.

Although only a small portion of Cuba had surrendered to the Americans, and the Spaniards still had 80,000 men on the island, the latter could not continue the war, which had cost Spain about 5,000,000,000 pesetas in six months, and was likely to cost 12,000,000 or 15,000,000 a month in the future. Moreover, the destruction of the Spanish fleet made it impossible to raise the blockade. Therefore, on July 27th, through the friendly offices of the French Ambassador, Cambon, in Washington, the Spanish Government avowed itself beaten, and asked for conditions of peace.

On August 12th, preliminaries were signed, in terms of which Spain surrendered all the Antilles, except Cuba, the town, bay, and harbour of Manila, and a coaling station on the Ladrones, to the United States, besides further renouncing its sovereignty over Cuba. The United States, on its side, while declining to take over the debt of Cuba and Porto Rico, made no claim to a war indemnity. A commission to settle the details of the treaty was also appointed on the understanding that Spanish troops should be immediately withdrawn from Porto Rico and the remaining provinces of Cuba.

By the definite treaty, signed at Paris on December 10th, 1898, Spain relinquished her sovereignty and right to possession in respect of Cuba, and made over to the United States Porto Rico and the rest of her West Indian islands, the island of Guam, the most southerly of the Ladrone group, and the Philippine archipelago, on the condition that for ten years Spanish ships should be allowed to have access to them on the same conditions as the ships of the United States. The United States was to pay 20,000,000 dollars to Spain, which thus abandoned every title to be deemed a colonial empire, and stripped herself of the last shred of claim to rank among the Great Powers of the world.

CHAPTER XV

THE BOXERS IN CHINA

ON November 1st, 1897, two German missionaries were murdered in a village near Chining Chow, in the province of Shantung. The country to which they belonged was bound to resent this, as there was no cause for the outrage, and the deed had been executed in cold blood, with special circumstances of barbarity. A German admiral lost no time in avenging the insult. He steamed into Kiaochow, the harbour of the province, and took possession of the island of Tsingtao situated within it. He demanded an indemnity of 200,000 taels of silver (over £6,000), the rebuilding of the mission chapel (which had been destroyed in the riot), the repayment of the expenses incurred by Germany in these operations against Kiaochow, the dismissal of the Governor of Shantung, and the condign punishment of the murderers. The Germans also demanded that the territory which had been seized should be leased to them for ninety-nine years, with rights of mining and making railways, and all these demands were granted.

Shantung province forms a peninsula which lies between the Yellow Sea and the Gulf of Pechili, the Bay of Kiaochow being situated on its southern coast. Shantung has enormous mineral wealth in gold, iron, and coal, and pays the largest land tax of any province in China. The natives possess high physical and moral qualities; from them the Chinese navy draws its best recruits, and the overflow from it has peopled the rich lands of Manchuria. The Germans made full use of the privileges granted to them. They have opened a railway from Tsi-nan-fu, the capital of the province, and have erected a German town at Tsingtao.

The example of Germany was soon followed by other Powers. In 1897 Russia opened negotiations at Peking for permission to anchor her fleet at Port Arthur. This being granted, they demanded that the harbour might be leased to them on the same terms that Kiaochow had been leased to Germany, and this was conceded without demur. Port Arthur, which derives its name from the English captain who discovered it, lies at the extremity of the peninsula of Liaotung, in the very north of which is

situated the town of Mukden. Liaotung is opposite Shantung, and with it helps to close the Gulf of Pechili, and is only 163 miles from Taku, the fort which commands the passage to Peking. It is, therefore, the key to Northern China. The treaty making these concessions was signed on March 15th, 1898.

As Great Britain could not acquiesce in this act of Russian aggression, a convention was signed on July 1st, 1898, by which Wei-hai-Wei, an important area at the extremity of the Shantung peninsula, not far from Chifu, was ceded to Great Britain, so long as Port Arthur remained in the possession of Russia. Not to be behind in the loot, France demanded the port of Kwang-chow-wan, together with an assurance from the Chinese Government that this part of China should be recognised as subject to French influence. Kwang-chow is in the south of China, not far from Canton and Hong-Kong on the one side and the French province of Tonking on the other. To counterbalance this, Great Britain asked for and received an accession of 200 square miles of territory on the mainland opposite to Hong-Kong and an assurance that no other foreign Power should be allowed to acquire territorial rights in the basin of the Yang-tsze-Kiang, the river which passes by Nanking and reaches the sea at Shanghai. The Foreign Office of China was, at this time, administered by Prince Kung, who died in 1898. Next year, when the Italian Minister at Peking asked for a concession to his country similar to that which had been granted to other Powers it was summarily refused.

In 1898 the question of preaching Christianity in China became acute. The European missionaries, who were supported by the diplomatic influence of their own countries, were powerful and determined and the native converts supported them. On the other side was the vast majority of the non-Christian natives, who were encouraged by the mandarins and other Government officials. The dispute was not entirely religious, but social and political also. Missionaries of all kinds, Catholic as well as Protestant, were accused of using influence in favour of Christian converts in the native courts of justice, and the Catholics tried to exert both a political and a religious influence. Notwithstanding this, when the French Legation brought pressure to bear on the Chinese Government, the latter issued, on March 15th, 1899, an Imperial edict granting officially to all missionaries a public *status* of an important character. The privilege was accepted and at once put in force by the Catholic missionaries, but, being declined by the Protestants, it was withdrawn in 1908.

There were other causes of irritation. The French Treaty of 1860 allowed the Catholic missionaries to recover buildings which had been wrested from them during the popular outbreaks of that period; but as many of these buildings had been converted to secular, or even to religious uses, some more than a hundred years before, the resumption caused great resentment. Moreover, the orphanages established by the sisters of mercy were completely misunderstood, and were believed by the Chinese Foreign Office to be instituted solely for the purpose of political propaganda. The disastrous result of the war with Japan also embittered the feeling between the Chinese and the foreigners. Placards issued with the purpose of stirring up hostility between the yellow and the white races warned the British, French and Americans that if in future they wished to preach their doctrines in China, they must drive the Japanese back into their own country. The worst of these documents came from the Tsungli Yamen, and the Chinese Foreign Office refused to take measures for their suppression.

The opium traffic had also its share in increasing this anti-foreign odium, as it was well known that it was favoured by foreigners for their own pecuniary advantage. A strong movement against the smoking of opium had recently taken place in China. One of the principal opponents of this traffic, Chang Chihtung, wrote: "Assuredly it is not foreign intercourse that is ruining China, but this dreadful poison. Opium has spread with frightful rapidity and heartrending results throughout the provinces. Millions upon millions have been struck down by the plague. The ruin of the mind is the most woeful of its many deleterious effects. The poison enfeebles the will, saps the strength of the body, renders the consumer incapable of performing his regular duties. It consumes his substance and reduces the miserable wretch to poverty, barrenness and senility. Unless something is done to arrest this awful scourge in its devastating march, the Chinese people will be transformed into satyrs and devils."

Convinced by these and other opinions to a like effect, energetic steps were taken by the Government. On September 20th, 1906, the following edict was issued by order of the Emperor: "Since the first prohibition of opium almost the whole of China has been flooded by the poison. Smokers of opium have wasted their time, neglected their employments, ruined their constitutions, and impoverished their households. Thus for several decades China has presented a spectacle of increasing poverty

and weakness. The Court is now determined to make China powerful, and it is our duty to urge our people to reformation in this respect. We decree, therefore, that within the limit of ten years this harmful filth be fully and entirely swept away. We therefore command the Council of State to consider means for the strict prohibition both of opium smoking and of poppy growing." There is much to be said for the exclusive attitude of the Chinese against foreigners. The Chinese Empire is self-sufficing, containing within its bounds everything it requires for itself. If foreigners insist upon being admitted to China for their own purposes they are bound to submit to its laws.

Even in the later 'eighties outrages against foreigners had taken place in the valley of the Yang-tsze-Kiang; at Chin-kiang the British consulate was burned to the ground, and similar outrages took place in the west and north. The defeat of China by Japan impressed some statesmen with the imperative necessity of reforming the Empire. But the reactionary party at Peking had recourse to the Dowager Empress, and begged her to resume the reins of power. Therefore, in 1898, she ordered the Emperor to surrender his power into her hands, reversed his edicts, and commanded the punishment of his friends. This increased the hostility to the foreigners, and in many places the Christians were assaulted.

But the most remarkable result was the emergence of a secret society, known in Europe as the "Boxers," in China as the *Ino Chuan*, or the "Patriotic Harmonious Fists." This society received vigorous Imperial support: "The Powers cast looks of tiger-like voracity on the Empire; to resist this, Viceroys and Governors should act together without distinction of jurisdiction; the word 'peace' should be banished from their lips; they should preserve the homes and the graves of their ancestors from desecration at the hands of the invader." The Dowager Empress was the soul of this encouragement.

The foreign Ministers besought the Tsungli Yamen to suppress the Boxer movement, and were told that everything was being done to effect this, and that a large army was at hand for the purpose under the command of Tung Fuhsiang. But he really took the other side, and when he arrived matters became worse, three British officers being pelted with stones by his soldiers in October, 1899. The Boxers now drilled openly and threatened foreigners and their native servants. Throughout winter matters continued in a very grave condition. Christians were massacred and burnt in the neighbourhood of Peking, and the Boxers

destroyed the railway and tore up the track not far from the capital.

The foreign representatives were obliged to send to the ships stationed at Taku for additional guards, and the Legations were protected by 340 men. Prince Tuan, a professed supporter of the Boxers, became President of the Tsungli Yamen, and the Legations could no longer be considered safe. The Boxers now reckoned themselves strong enough to take active steps, and the Legations called on the admirals for protection. On June 10th Admiral Seymour marched from Tientsin with a force of 2,000 men. At Antung he found the railway line destroyed and a large body of Boxers in position. After staying there some days he discovered the railway cut behind him, and determined to retire to Tientsin by water. On June 22nd he seized the Chinese arsenal, finding in it large stores of rice and ammunition, and with some difficulty returned to Tientsin on June 26th. The Boxers being joined by the Imperial troops, the Legations at Peking and the foreign settlements at Tientsin were besieged, and but for the opportune arrival of 1,700 Russian troops a catastrophe would have taken place. The foreigners at Tientsin were in a hopeless plight; they had few works of defence, and their communications with the Taku forts were cut off. On June 15th the Boxers, who had sixty guns at their disposal, bombarded the foreign settlements at Tientsin from the walls of the native city. Not until June 24th could a relieving force arrive, but with this the allied commanders were able to act, though the bombardment did not take place until July 13th. On the following day the city was occupied by the allied forces, whose next business was to relieve the Legations at Peking. This was done by a column drawn from the whole of the allied armies. On the night of August 13th the Russians began an attack on the city wall of the capital, and, asking for reinforcements, these were supplied by the Japanese.

The Legations had been besieged for eight weeks. On June 20th Baron von Ketteler, the German Minister, had been shot dead a few hundred yards from his Legation, as he was riding out to pay a visit to the Tsungli Yamen. Peace was no longer possible, and foreigners of all nationalities retired to their Legations; the British Legation, being the largest, accommodated the largest number of fugitives. On the arrival of the relieving columns the Chinese made only a faint-hearted resistance. The Dowager Empress, with the Emperor and the Court, fled to Li-an-fu, the capital of the province of Shensi. Prince Ching and

Li Hung Chang being given full powers to arrange terms, it was decided that the officials connected with the Boxer movement should be punished, an indemnity paid, the Taku forts dismantled, the importation of arms prohibited, the Tsungli Yamen abolished, and a rational system of intercourse with the Emperor established. In pursuance of these terms, Princes Tuang and Tsailan were sentenced to death, three high officials were condemned to commit suicide, and three mandarins were beheaded. Prince Chun proceeded to Berlin to apologise for the murder of Ketteler, and the indemnity was fixed at about £10,000,000. The conditions of peace were signed on September 7th, 1901. Two months later Li Hung Chang, the most powerful statesman whom China at that time possessed, died after a short illness.

The movement of the Boxers, which meant the regeneration of the fighting power of China, was viewed with great suspicion by the Russian Government, which feared they would endeavour to recover some of the territory which China had lost in Manchuria. The town of Blagovestchensk, on the Amur, had grown very rapidly, and a small force of Russians was face to face with a large Chinese population. The Governor, Chichegov, afraid of what might occur, commanded all the Chinese to cross to the south side of the river, and, when they hesitated to obey, the soldiers were ordered to drive them over at the point of the bayonet. The result of this atrocity was that 4,500 people were drowned in the stream, a barbarous outrage on the Mongols which was soon to be avenged.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BOER WAR

THE Cape of Good Hope was so named by John II. of Portugal, who hoped it might prove a place of call on a new and easier route to India. In 1620 Captain Fitzherbert claimed it as British territory, but did nothing to secure its possession, so that in 1652 the Dutch East India Company were able to occupy it in order to assist their trade with India. The Dutch did everything to keep the Cape to themselves and exclude other nations from it. They deposed Governor Quellbergen with dishonour because he showed friendliness to a French ship. The Company forbade all commerce, and the farmers were required to sell their produce to them alone at prices they fixed. Taxes and tithes were oppressive, all settlers holding their position on sufferance and being thus liable to expulsion at any moment. The French Huguenots, who came to the Cape in 1690 and formed the most valuable part of the population, were forbidden to employ their language in public affairs, and found the oppression of the Dutch Governor just as irksome as that of Louis XIV., from which they had escaped. At the same time the Government was thoroughly corrupt, and all complaints were punishable by death. The colonists possessed freedom only in name, and their condition was such that they would have welcomed at any moment the arrival of a British fleet to rescue them from an intolerable tyranny.

From this discontent arose the system of treks, or wholesale migrations, which have since been so characteristic of the Boer community. In 1795 there was a revolution and the districts of Graaf Reinet and Swellendam declared their independence. In the same year the Prince of Orange was driven out of Holland by the French and fled to England. Having urged the British Government to occupy Cape Colony in order to save it from the French, Admiral Elphinstone was sent to the Cape with a letter from the Prince recommending its surrender. This was arranged, and the British were welcomed as liberators; but in the Peace of Amiens in 1802 the Colony was restored to Holland. During the years 1803 to 1806 the Batavian Republic gave rise to no

complaints, but in 1806 Holland was at war with Great Britain and the Cape was conquered without difficulty. After the fall of Napoleon and the return of the Orange family to Holland the Cape was ceded to Great Britain on October 29th, 1814, for £6,000,000, the price being heavier because the Cape lay on the then direct sea road to India. The little house in which the treaty for the cession of the Cape was signed still exists; but in 1906 Great Britain's position in the country was not such as to enable her to celebrate the centenary of its acquisition.

Having become master of the Cape, Great Britain gave the Dutch two occasions of offence—one, that she insisted upon the use of the English language; the other, that she interfered with their treatment of the natives. This made them anxious to withdraw to territories where they might do as they pleased. They first moved to Natal. When Natalia, as it was called, became important, the British annexed it, on the ground that its Boer inhabitants were British subjects. But they had a better reason, because in 1842 a Dutch ship had made its appearance on the coast and the skipper had advised the Natal Boers to adopt the Dutch flag and to place themselves under the suzerainty of Holland. In search of liberty, the Boers travelled to the country which afterwards became the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and founded there independent communities. The Orange Free State was temporarily occupied by Great Britain from 1848 to 1854, but was voluntarily given up, and at the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 was as little connected with Great Britain as Switzerland. In 1852 the Sand River Convention recognised the independence of the Boer community on the other side of the Vaal.

The Dutch of the Transvaal were at first organised in separate communities, and in 1852 there were four of these—Potchefstroom, Utrecht, Lydenburg and Zoutpansberg—bound together in a loose confederation. In 1857 the Boers of Potchefstroom, attempting to conquer the Orange Free State, desisted when they saw that the latter could defend itself, but in 1862 civil war broke out. This was put an end to in 1864 by Pretorius, who founded the Transvaal Republic. In 1872 Pretorius was succeeded by Burgers, who was too liberal both in politics and religion to please his fellow countrymen, and the condition of the country deteriorated. The disorganisation became gradually worse and worse, the Government was nearly bankrupt, and money was scarcely to be had. In 1876, in the north-east, the Boers were at war with Sikukuni, whom they were not able to conquer; while

Cetewayo, then at the height of his power, was pressing them from the south.

The condition of the Transvaal being regarded as a danger to Natal, the country was, on April 12th, 1877, annexed to Great Britain, Burgers, the President, receiving a pension. It was believed at the time that this met with the approval of the Boer inhabitants, but, as a fact, only 2,500 out of 8,000 Boers had given their consent in writing. This arbitrary proceeding led to the rebellion which has been already described, and this in turn was succeeded by the Treaty of Pretoria, signed in 1881, by which independence was restored to the Transvaal, the suzerainty of Great Britain, however, being directly acknowledged. This was modified by the Treaty of London in 1884, in which the term "suzerainty" was expressly deleted, and an article substituted which provided that the Transvaal should not contract any agreement with any country, excepting the Orange Free State and the native States to the east and west of the Republic, without the consent of the British Crown. The Boers might make a treaty with Germany, but it would have no validity unless the consent of Great Britain had been previously given to its provisions. Article 2, a repetition of Article 19 of the superseded treaty, provided that the Transvaal should confine itself to its own territory, and not permit its subjects to cross the frontiers. The situation was, however, altered by the discovery of gold in 1886 and also by the development of the spirit of colonial expansion which had seized upon all European nations since 1880.

The discovery of gold especially produced important effects. In 1885 the whole revenue of the Transvaal Republic amounted to £177,876; in 1897 it had increased to £4,480,217. All nations flocked to the new source of wealth, millions of capital had been attracted to the country, roads constructed, and the economic foundations of a modern State laid. A change on this scale could not have been brought about by the Boers themselves. The progress was due to the foreign settlers—the Uitlanders, as they were called—Dutch, German, French and British. Out of this mixed community arose a conflict, not so much racial as economic in character. The Boers, essentially farmers, were wedded to a country life; the new settlers, essentially a town population, lived together in one area for the purpose of making money. Another cause of difference was the attitude of the Boers and the British towards the natives. The Boers regarded them as animals, hardly distinguishable from the wild creatures they had been

obliged to get rid of in order to secure their safety. The British detested slavery, and approved of missionary efforts to convert and instruct the natives.

From these differences arose two ideals, both of them extreme, held only by an advanced section of either people—the driving out of the British from South Africa with the help of the Dutch and the Germans on the one hand, and the constitution of South Africa as a British community under the British Crown on the other. The necessity for expansion tended in the same direction. South Africa, with only 500,000 of white population, was divided into seven different provinces, each with different laws and different economical and political ideals. Both Kruger, the President of the Transvaal Republic, and Cecil John Rhodes, the most powerful of the British settlers, looked forward to a united South Africa, but they were divided as to the flag under which the union should take place. The desire of the British and the Boers for expansion was likely to bring about a conflict unless pains were taken to avoid it. There is no doubt also that the Transvaal had broken the contract, adopted in 1881 and 1884, which forbade the Republic to extend its frontiers. It had advanced its influence in every direction, from Bechuanaland in the west to Mashonaland in the north, to Swaziland in the east, and to Zululand in the south. The British opposed a barrier to this expansion in all directions. Bechuanaland was placed under British protection, the Republic of Goshen was conquered by the Crown, the Boers were cut off from the sea to the east, and the territory of Lobengula was secured by Rhodes to the north. Kruger saw that Rhodes' energy was gradually surrounding him by a wall which he could not pass. The irritation thus produced brought about an economic struggle of a petty but vexatious kind. The British tried to prevent direct communication between Cape Colony and the Transvaal, forcing it thus to the circuitous route by Delagoa Bay. Kruger, for his part, gave an advantage to Dutch and Germans in granting concessions and monopolies, hoping to secure their co-operation in case of a war with Great Britain.

The main cause of dissension was formed by the so-called grievances of the Uitlanders. No doubt the miners had, in the first instance, been welcomed and even invited by the Boers. When the Transvaal was an agricultural settlement efforts were made to encourage colonists, and rights of naturalisation were virtually, if not legally, promised. But the advance of a stream of undesirable adventurers attracted by the gold modified the

condition of things and induced the Boers to alter their naturalisation law so as to make it difficult or impossible for new-comers to become complete citizens of the Republic. There was much excuse for this; agricultural settlers were welcome so long as they were likely to assume the conditions of Boer life; but it was reasonable that the Boers should take precautions against being swamped by a motley influx of men who would stifle and eventually destroy their national character, and who had not—most of them at least—the remotest intention of settling permanently in the country. These so-called grievances were exaggerated by the jingo Press in England, just as the British nationality claimed by a mass of speculators of Jewish origin with German names seemed to be of a very shadowy description. Yet the Uitlanders had some rights, and their desire to be admitted to a share in the government had a real and reasonable basis, as was shown by the National Union, founded in 1892, though it was not until 1895 that capitalists, by the advice of Rhodes, began to take part in it. Even then Barney Barnato stood aloof, while J. B. Robinson was directly opposed to it.

The condition of the Transvaal was indeed very peculiar, hardly paralleled by that of any other State known to history. The number of foreign settlers was double, or nearly double, that of the Boers, and they paid nineteen-twentieths of the taxes. Their principal grievances were that the taxes were too high, amounting to £4,000,000 in a country inhabited by scarcely 250,000 whites, the larger proportion, too, being paid by Uitlanders; the absence of any proper budget or other statement as to how the money was spent; the absence of English schools supported by the State; the commandeering of British subjects for military service; the exclusive use of Dutch in the law courts; the bad municipal rule of Johannesburg; and the corrupt character of the Government. The Boers, viewing the British as enemies to their freedom and independence, were not disposed to place them in a position of influence; on the other hand, the Dutch whom they imported from Holland to supply their own deficiencies were corrupt and tyrannical, and not qualified to improve the relations between the rival peoples, but rather to embitter them.

Of all the grievances the most serious was the question of naturalisation—the admission of Uitlanders to the franchise, the right to elect and to be elected. A Boer received full political franchise at the age of sixteen, but a Briton could not be fully enfranchised until he had been fourteen years in the

country and was forty years of age, and even then he had no vote for the office of President or Commander-in-Chief. These restrictions were felt more deeply because, up to 1883, citizenship had been obtained after a single year's residence, and, up to 1890, after five years' residence; while the Orange Free State asked for only two years' residence, and Cape Colony for none at all. The reformers set themselves to obtain, in the first instance, a more generous law of naturalisation; but they forgot that a man cannot be a citizen of two countries at the same time, that an Englishman cannot become a Boer without ceasing to be an Englishman, and it was doubtful whether any of those who complained most loudly of their grievances would have accepted relief on such a condition.

A spark fell into this mass of explosive matter when Dr. L. S. Jameson made a raid into the Transvaal on December 29th, 1895, with a view to entering Johannesburg, joining there with the Uitlanders who, he believed, were ready to rise, and establishing a reformed government under the Dutch flag. The enterprise was insane; it was undertaken against the wishes of Rhodes and with the strong disapproval of the British Government. A few Boer commandos were hastily summoned together, and the raiders ignominiously surrendered to them at Krugersdorp. Kruger behaved magnanimously. He might justifiably have tried the raiders by court-martial and shot them; but he gave them up to the British Government, which, when the first passion of indignation had passed, treated them with undue leniency. The part played by Chamberlain, the Secretary for the Colonies, in the matter has never been adequately explained. Kruger now recognised the necessity of arming if he wished to preserve his independence. In 1897 more than 147,000 rifles were imported into the Transvaal by way of Delagoa Bay, whereas the number of fighting citizens was only 29,500, and a close alliance was formed with the Orange Free State. The idea of a Dutch South Africa came again into prominence. There was no organised conspiracy against British rule, as has sometimes been asserted, but the most violent spirits amongst the Boers cherished the hope of independence, and this was stimulated by Dr. Leyds, an able Dutch lawyer, who had a pernicious influence over Kruger's administration.

In February, 1897, Sir Alfred Milner was sent out to succeed Lord Rosmead, formerly Sir Hercules Robinson, as Governor of Cape Colony, and there is no doubt that he set himself to make a fair and unprejudiced examination of the situation. He was

well disposed to the Boers, learnt their language, and made speeches in it, but, being more of an administrator than a statesman, was soon drawn into close communion with, and strong support of, the Uitlander party. He seems to have come to the conclusion that war was inevitable, which he believed would be short and decisive, and that any attempt at conciliation was only putting off the evil day. In the spring of 1899 he sent to England a petition of the Uitlanders with 23,000 signatures, demanding a redress of grievances. To this Chamberlain replied, on May 10th, that a conference should take place between Milner and Kruger at which all matters in dispute should be fairly discussed. The conference took place at Bloemfontein, but it was foredoomed to failure. Milner had made up his mind that it could not succeed, and did not wish that Kruger should make concessions which could only be illusory and would hinder the only settlement possible—that of the sword. He was therefore relieved when the conference came to nothing. At the same time Chamberlain embittered the relations between the Transvaal Government and himself by the revival of the term "suzerainty," which had appeared in the Convention of 1881, but had been expressly omitted from that of 1884. The Transvaal was not an absolutely free government in the sense in which the Orange Free State was, because its power of making treaties with other countries was limited. But it had complete independence in the management of its own affairs, and could not be said to be under the suzerainty of the British Crown. The abuse of this title drove the Transvaal to declare itself to be a "sovereign independent State," rather a strained expression.

After the Bloemfontein conference was over, a Bill submitted by Kruger was passed by the Raad, granting the suffrage after seven years' residence upon certain conditions of registration. This being only partially accepted by the British Government, a further step was taken, which conceded everything which Milner had asked at Bloemfontein, and more. This proposal, made on August 12th, gave a five years' retrospective franchise, as had been proposed, eight new seats in the First Chamber, and more, if necessary, in the Second. The new citizens would have equal rights with the old, and friendly suggestions from the British Government would be considered. To this Chamberlain gave, on August 30th, what he called a qualified acceptance, but expressed in an ambiguous manner and in language which would be certain to be offensive to the Boers.

It is possible that this so-called acceptance, although indirect,

qualified and excluding finality, might have been accepted at Pretoria. But two days before it reached the Boer Government Chamberlain had made at Highbury, his residence near Birmingham, a speech of an irritating character, in which he implied that concessions had been squeezed out of Kruger as out of a sponge, and that the time was running out during which a peaceful solution was possible. This speech was immediately cabled to Pretoria and produced the most disastrous effect. Up to that time the better-disposed Boers hoped for a peaceful settlement, believing that the Boer Government, if pressed, was ready to give a liberal franchise and representation, and submit all other disputes to conference or arbitration. The speech at Highbury, however, shattered these hopes, for they felt that it meant war, being a direct denial of finality to all British demands. The consequence was that Chamberlain's dispatch was regarded, not as a qualified acceptance, but as a virtual refusal.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that both Chamberlain and Milner had made up their minds that war was inevitable. Probably these two responsible public men believed that the war would be short and would entail only a moderate expenditure. Following, however, the best precedents of British government, Lord Salisbury should, as soon as the danger of war became imminent, have taken the negotiations into his own hands, as he would certainly have done had it been a European complication, in which event war might have been avoided. But it was the long vacation; Salisbury was at Dieppe, and undoubtedly did not realise the calamity which was impending.

On September 8th Chamberlain sent an ambiguous dispatch, which was regarded by the Boers as an ultimatum, and at the same time large bodies of troops were sent out from England, in addition to those previously ordered from India. The dispatch spoke of the British Government formulating proposals for a final settlement, but it has never been revealed what these proposals were, nor is there any ground for supposing that they really existed. At the end of September the Transvaal Government asked for information, but were told that the proposals would not be ready for some days. In the meantime Parliament had been summoned, the reserves called out, troops landed at the Cape and moved towards the frontier, and during the whole of these events no further dispatch arrived from the Colonial Office. Consequently, on October 9th, the Boers sent a request that all points of mutual difference should be relegated to friendly arbitration, and that the British Government should withdraw its troops

from the frontier and cease to land and send forward other troops. To this Chamberlain replied that the conditions imposed made discussion impossible. The result of this was war.

As a counter-move to the British massing of troops the Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State took a number of farmers from their homes and set them on the frontier awaiting the final proposals of Great Britain. Days and weeks passed and the proposals did not come. The burghers, stationed on the veldt in days and nights of heavy rain, mostly without tents, began to grow restive. They thought of their neglected farms, where ploughing and sowing were beginning, and of their wives and children. Grumbling led to open discontent, and they refused to remain idle while Great Britain strengthened her artillery and brought up her armies. They threatened to return to their homes unless those in command took action. No one can blame them for refusing to wait until the forces of the British Empire had assembled ready to crush them before they struck a blow in their own defence.

The justification of the war, which was at first sought in the grievances of the Uitlanders, was afterwards based upon the belief that there was a conspiracy among the Boers to drive the British out of South Africa. There is not the slightest proof that any such conspiracy ever existed, and no papers supporting this opinion have been published, although all the documents which might lend it colour and support afterwards came into the hands of the British. There were some, indeed, who thought that a favourable moment had arrived for achieving the independence of South Africa, and they were as anxious as Chamberlain and Milner that the war should not be avoided. In fact, there is little doubt that, could the Boers have compelled the British garrisons to surrender before reinforcements arrived from England, the Boers might in a few days have been in Cape Town and Durban, that the Dutch residents in British territory would have joined them, and that South Africa would have been free, united, and Dutch. This, however, was not to be; the British were too vigorous and the Dutch too indolent.

The outbreak of the war found Great Britain unprepared. She had failed to realise the seriousness of the conflict, although Sir William Butler had warned the Government on this point. The public feeling of the world was strongly against her, and reasonably so, for in contradiction to the lessons of her history she was unjustly oppressing a small nation, depriving it of liberty and coveting valuable territory which did not belong to her. She had

exceptional difficulties to contend with owing to the enormous extent of territory over which the war was spread, and the contrast between the lightly equipped, easily moving Boers and the lumbering transport of a regular army. Every burgher between the ages of sixteen and sixty had to be prepared to fight for his country at any moment. If required for active service he must provide himself with a riding horse, saddle and bridle, a rifle and thirty cartridges, or, if unable to obtain a rifle, thirty bullets, thirty caps, and ½lb. of powder, together with provisions for eight days. The provisions consisted of meat cut into strips, salted, peppered and dried, or sausages and Boer biscuits. When meat was served out the British received theirs cooked, the burghers theirs raw and had to cook it themselves. The Boer ultimatum to the British expired on October 11th, 1899, and war had broken out. The British Parliament met a few days afterwards and voted £10,000,000 for the conduct of the war. It is believed that if at that time the operations of the Boers had not already begun, Parliament would have taken a peaceful line and the South African War would have been averted.

When Milner and Chamberlain entered upon this struggle with the Boers they had no idea of the kind of resistance their enemies were likely to offer; they thought the conflict would be over in a few months and would cost only a moderate amount of money, which would be easily repaid out of the profit of the gold mines. On the other hand, a different view was taken by some in Great Britain. They regarded the South African conflict as a parallel to the attempt to reduce the North American colonies in the eighteenth century, foresaw the costly nature of the struggle, recognised the difficulty of vanquishing the Boers, and doubted whether they would be conquered at all.

Moreover, as we have said, the public opinion of Europe was opposed to Great Britain's war policy. At this time two questions were agitating the Continent—the trial of Dreyfus in France and the treatment of the Boers by Great Britain. France was made so unpopular by the one that she was almost ostracised by her sister communities, and in consequence of the other British travellers were so rudely treated on the Continent that few ventured to go abroad for pleasure. In the efforts of other countries to obtain liberty Great Britain had hitherto borne an honourable part. She had always been on the side of the weak, even lately supporting struggling Finland against the encroachments of Russia, and it appeared incredible that she should now employ her immense resources to crush a small

community of farmers, whose only crime was a determination to live under their own laws and their own flag.

Germany took full advantage of the opportunity which Great Britain afforded her. While the German Press teemed with exasperating insults and insinuations, their Government set themselves to extend their commerce and develop their fleet. The Boer War not only laid upon Great Britain an expenditure of £270,000,000, but it left her burdened with the task of recovering her lost position and of contending against fresh advantages which her absorption in war had enabled her rivals to consolidate. It is providential that no other nation took the opportunity of attacking Great Britain or assisting the Boers; her neighbours thought it better to use her extremity for their own advantage rather than imperil their chances by attacking her. In India the masterly diplomacy and wise government of the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, prevented any movement on the part of Russia to profit by the occasion. That Great Britain rose superior to these misfortunes was due to the admirable qualities of King Edward VII., who, by his personal popularity, wide knowledge of European affairs, and diplomatic skill, succeeded, within the ten short years of his reign, in leaving his country as powerful and as much respected in Europe as she had ever been.

The period fixed by the Boer ultimatum came to an end at 5 in the afternoon of Wednesday, October 11th, 1899, and next morning, amid cold and mist, their camps were broken up and the Boers rode to the war. Twelve thousand mounted burghers and two batteries of eight Krupp guns each invaded Natal from the north, hoping to be joined later by contingents from the Free State and the Transvaal. An eyewitness tells us that their faces wore an expression of determination and bull-dog pertinacity, with no sign of fear or wavering. They were evidently no cowards, nor unworthy antagonists of British valour. They were commanded by Piet Joubert, a Boer of Huguenot extraction.

The British troops in North Natal had been under the command of General Sir William Penn Symons, who had been superseded only a few days before the declaration of war by Sir George White. Their main position was at Ladysmith, but there was a force of 4,000 men at Glencoe, which was five miles from the railway station at Dundee, and forty miles from Ladysmith. The garrison of the place was 8,000 to 10,000 strong, and was commanded under White by Archibald Hunter, John French and Ian Hamilton. The first contest took place on October 20th, at Talana Hill. In the attack Symons was shot in the stomach and

fell mortally wounded. The British won the hill, but with a serious loss, mainly of officers, so that the affair was a tactical victory but an actual defeat. It was a crude front attack without any attempt at flanking, and was carried through by the dogged valour of the British troops. This, for some time to come, was to be the characteristic note of the British operations. The conflict involved retreat to Ladysmith, which was reached on October 26th, leaving 200 sick and wounded, together with Symons, in the hospital at Dundee. The Battle of Elandslaagte was fought on October 21st, with a view to enabling the Dundee column to retire to Ladysmith. It was a brilliant action and disengaged the railway, but had no permanent results. At the end of the first week the Boers had made the position of the British in Dundee untenable and had forced them back to Ladysmith; they had thus the northern quarter of the country in their possession. They had killed or wounded between 600 and 700 of their foes, and were so insistent that the British had to leave considerable stores as well as their wounded behind at Dundee.

George White now commanded at Ladysmith an army of 12,000 men. His best policy was to remain on the defensive and await reinforcements from England. But his chivalrous feeling led him to court actions which would have better been avoided. The Battle of Ladysmith was fought on October 30th, but resulted in defeat. At the end of a fortnight 100 miles of railway line were in the hands of the enemy; out of five actions only one was a victory, and one a positive disaster. The Boers had lost two guns and 300 prisoners, the British had lost 1,200 prisoners and a battery of small guns. Besides, 12,000 British troops were shut up in Ladysmith, and there was no reason why the invaders should not reach the sea.

Two other important towns were invested by the Boers—Mafeking and Kimberley. Kimberley, the seat of the diamond mines, was defended by Kekewich; but Cecil Rhodes, the founder and director of the De Beers mines, had thrown himself into the town. Mafeking was defended by the genius and resource of Baden Powell, and, although it was of no great importance in itself, the attempt to capture it kept Boers employed who might have been doing mischief in other directions. The Boers appeared before Mafeking on October 13th; after three days the siege began in earnest, and a week later a bombardment began which lasted with intermissions for seven months. The successes of the Boers continued. The burghers of the Orange Free State seized

the railway junctions of Naauwpoort and Stormberg, and threatened De Aar, where, if they had persevered in their attack, they would have found large quantities of provisions and supplies. But great as their opportunities were, and great as their advance had been, the invaders were lacking in energy, definiteness of purpose and initiative. They allowed Kimberley and Ladysmith to hold out until such reinforcements should arrive as would crush all resistance.

The war entered into a second stage by the arrival of Sir Redvers Buller from England in November. Strenuous efforts were made to relieve both Kimberley and Ladysmith, but they were not successful, mainly for two reasons. In the first place, the British had not realised that they required a much larger force to subdue an enemy fighting on interior lines, with an intimate knowledge of the country and possessed of extreme mobility; and, secondly, they had not learned the proper way of fighting against them. The British attacked in the open an enemy who had the art of concealing themselves behind every stone and every tussock, whose firing was admirable, and who used smokeless powder, and the soldiers had the demoralising experience of seeing their comrades killed while lying on the ground by a mysterious foe, whose position and means of offence were equally inscrutable.

Lord Methuen reached the Orange River on November 12th, and ten days later came into touch with the Boers at Belmont. The British gained a victory of a sort, but with little material result, for the enemy galloped away comfortably after the action and pursuit was impossible. The Battle of Enslin was fought on November 25th, and in it the Naval Brigade behaved splendidly; but little advantage was derived from it because, as Conan Doyle says, if the British won the kopjes they lost the men. They had 200 killed and wounded and the Boers less than 100. The British had set out from the Orange River on Wednesday; on Thursday they fought at Belmont, on Saturday at Enslin; on Monday the column set out again, and on Tuesday reached the Modder River, defended by the famous Cronje, on November 28th. Here was fought a desperate battle, which ended in victory for the British, because the Boers retired and left the former masters of the field. But it was a Pyrrhic triumph, for the British losses were enormous. Cronje sullenly retired to new defences, while the British slept exhausted upon the stricken field.

But disaster overtook Methuen at Magersfontein, when he attempted to force his way across the hills which separated him

from Kimberley. His force moved out on Sunday, December 10th, in pouring rain and bivouacked on the cold, soaked ground. In the middle of the night they started in a dense mass, but before they could deploy a hail of Boer bullets dashed against them, which slew them by hundreds. Their leader, General Wauchope, was killed, and the rest of the Highland Brigade broke. The Highland regiments re-formed next morning and advanced, but nothing could be done against Cronje's trenches. After remaining all day under a burning sun without food or water, they were compelled to retire, and the whole force returned with bitter humiliation to the place from which they had started. The British lost nearly 1,000 men killed, wounded and missing, of whom 700 were Highlanders, and 57 officers of the Highland Brigade had fallen.

Similar ill-success befell General Gatacre, who on December 9th advanced from Sterkstroom to attack the enemy at Stormberg, to carry out a storm movement which had been minutely described by *The Times* correspondent two days before it was begun. He started with 3,000 men in open railway trucks, detrained at Molteno in the evening, missed his way, and in the dawn of December 10th was entirely defeated by the Boers. Only a few men fell, 26 being killed and 68 wounded, but 600 were taken prisoners and two guns were captured. The losses of the Boers were very slight.

Such was the fate of the efforts to relieve Kimberley, but the mind of the British at home was set upon the beleaguered Ladysmith. White had been driven back into that town on October 30th; a few days afterwards both its railway and telegraph were cut and Ladysmith isolated. Buller now made serious attempts to relieve it. His troops were massed at Chieveley, and on Friday, December 15th, he moved out to attack the Boers at Colenso, with a force of about 21,000 men. The expedition was a complete failure. The British advanced in masses against an invisible enemy, concealed behind every rock and protected by every fold of the ground. At 12 o'clock all the troops were retreating, having lost 1,127 men, killed, wounded and missing, the enemy having lost not more than 100, while the British guns were left as trophies to the Boers. Conan Doyle says that the week between December 10th and December 17th, 1899, was the blackest known for one generation, and the most disastrous to British arms during the century. They had lost in seven days, in three separate actions, 3,000 men and 12 guns, which involved despair to themselves and triumph to their enemies.

At length Great Britain realised the magnitude of the enterprise and the seriousness of the position. Lord Roberts, the best general she possessed, was sent to take command, with Lord Kitchener as Chief of Staff. Volunteers offered themselves with eagerness, crowds of young men in frock coats and top hats waiting to be enlisted, one fashionable club sending 300 of its members to the war. A fact of significance for the whole world was the dispatch by Canada, Australia and New Zealand of voluntary levies in aid of the Mother Country. There was therefore a lull in the operations, Methuen strengthening himself at the Modder, Gatacre at Sterkstroom, and Buller preparing for a final advance on Ladysmith.

In January Buller determined to turn the Boer right flank and gain the hills which overlooked Ladysmith, with an army of 20,000 men. The operations began on January 10th, but the decisive conflict did not take place till twelve days later. On the evening of January 22nd a portion of the British force climbed up a bare hill 2,000 feet high, called Spion Kop (Spy Hill), because from its summit in 1835 the Boers looked down upon the promised land of Natal. But when they reached the summit they found that they only held half of the hill and that the rest was occupied by the Boers, strongly entrenched. They stayed there all the following day, but were in a hopeless position. If they retreated the Boers would rush the summit they occupied; if they held their ground they were exposed to a murderous fire of shells. Reinforcement merely meant adding more victims to the slaughter. The situation was saved for the moment by the advance of some Rifles from Lyttelton's Brigade, who climbed up the precipitous path with an activity and a heroism rarely surpassed in war. At last night came and Colonel Thorneycroft determined to retreat, feeling that he could not face another day such as that through which he had passed. The Boers were probably in as bad a position as himself, and were themselves on the point of retreating; but the sight of 1,300 dead and dying unnerved the commander, and he gave the word to retire on January 24th.

In the morning the hill-top was in the hands of Louis Botha, but it was known that at daybreak he had regarded the affair as hopeless, and that no one was more surprised at the victory than himself—a victory which had been won by the excellence of the Boer guns. It is clear that Buller and his subordinate, Sir Charles Warren, ought to have taken more personal interest in the operations, and should have decided the momentous issue of retreat. Four thousand troops had been crowded into a space which could

only hold 500 in proper cover, and the British losses were very severe, 1,500 being killed, wounded or missing. The Boers lost only 50 killed and 150 wounded. Buller had lost 2,000 men since he passed the Tugela, and on January 27th he retired across the river, unmolested by the Boers. All he had to show for his exertions was the possession of Mount Alice.

Buller having failed in his attacks upon the Boers' centre and their extreme right, now determined to assault the extreme left with the hope of better results. He started on this expedition at daybreak on February 17th, and after three days had established himself fairly along the whole south bank of the Tugela. On the following evening he crossed the river at Colenso, and attacked the formidable post of Pieters Hill. Conan Doyle is of opinion that this direct attack should never have been attempted, and that a flanking movement should have been persisted in from the first. Buller only came to this conclusion after the sad experience of repulse and after terrible losses had been incurred on both sides. The Tugela was recrossed, and another advance was made in a different direction. At last a hill was taken which was known to be the key of the position. A great plain lay before them which extended as far as Bulwhana, a mountain overlooking Ladysmith. The British pushed over the plain until Dundonald's cavalry were met by a picket from Ladysmith, and it was known that the town was saved. Relieved on February 28th, 1900, Ladysmith had held out for 118 days, 16,000 shells having fallen in the town. Buller in his efforts to relieve it had lost over 5,000 men, more than 20 per cent. of the whole army. He entered the rescued city in state on March 3rd, passing between the lines of the defenders, and those who saw that the Dublin Fusiliers, who had suffered most and were placed in the van of honour, were represented only by five officers and a handful of men, sobbed like children.

Kimberley was finally relieved by a body of cavalry—hussars, dragoons and lancers—under the command of General John French, who rode 100 miles in four days with insufficient food and water. On the night of February 15th, 1900, the relieving column camped in the plain two miles from the town, while French and his staff rode in. The relief of Kimberley had really been effected by the operations of Roberts, of which we must now give some account. His second object, besides this relief, was to cut the connection between Cronje and Bloemfontein. Cronje was hidden in most extraordinary entrenchments on the Modder, which, in spite of all remonstrances, he refused to leave. It had

been found by bitter experience impossible to attack him in front, and the only alternative was to advance from each end of his position and reduce the length of river held by him. With the loss of 1,100 men, the length of his position had been shortened from three miles to less than two. The cordon around the Boer lines gradually grew tighter and tighter, and on February 26th it was determined to attack. After a furious onslaught of nine hours a white flag was shown at the trench. A haggard figure appeared and said, "The burghers have had enough; what are they to do?"

At 6 o'clock next morning, Conan Doyle tells us, a white-headed man on a white horse rode up to Lord Roberts' head-quarters. He was of middle age, thickly built, with grizzled hair flowing from under a tall brown felt hat. He was dressed in black broadcloth with a green summer overcoat, and carried in his hands a small whip, looking more like a cattle drover than a famous general. He agreed to unconditional surrender, stipulating that his wife, secretary, adjutant, and servant might accompany him, and on the same evening he was dispatched to Cape Town. His men, a pallid, ragged crew, emerged from their holes and burrows, and delivered up their muskets and rifles. The prisoners consisted of 3,000 from the Transvaal and 1,100 from the Free State. They formed a singular assemblage of people—ragged, patched, grotesque; some with goloshes, some with umbrellas and coffee-pots; all with Bibles, which they always carried with them. They had crouched for six days in deep, narrow trenches, in which a rifleman could lie with little danger from shells and in which the non-combatants remained in absolute safety.

De Wet and Botha made a gallant attempt to rescue Cronje, but it was not successful. With the help of a Krupp gun and a Maxim-Nordenfeldt, a way of escape had been made for him, if he would leave everything and be content with saving his life and the lives of his burghers. His losses would not have been heavy, and some of the burghers did escape and join De Wet. On the night of February 25th De Wet sent Danie Theron to urge Cronje to fly. He crawled past the British lines, tearing his clothes to rags as he did so. When he returned to De Wet, on February 27th, the blood was running from his knees where the skin had been rubbed off. He reported that he had seen Cronje, but that he refused to accept De Wet's advice, because he did not think the attempt would be successful; and that morning, as we have seen, he surrendered. De Wet believed that Cronje was not only wedded to the defensive position he had constructed

with so much care, but that he did not realise the consequences of his capture. He did not see that it would cause a panic in Colesberg, Stormberg and Ladysmith, and throughout all the laagers on the veldt. Cronje could have escaped that night, for the British did not at that time employ Kafirs and Hottentots to guide them in the darkness, and De Wet had a force of 1,600 men, with whom he could have held Roberts back had he attempted to pursue Cronje. De Wet regarded the surrender of Cronje as the most terrible blow which the Boer cause suffered throughout the war.

After Cronje had surrendered, Christian De Wet was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Orange Free State forces, and, as Roberts rested after his exertions from February 27th to March 7th, De Wet spent this interval in fortifying his position at Poplar Grove, ten miles from the scene of Cronje's surrender. Here he received a visit from Kruger, who had made the journey of ninety-six miles from Bloemfontein in a horse wagon. However, the danger of Roberts' advance compelled him to retire immediately. Roberts had made elaborate dispositions for the capture of Poplar Grove, but the Boers did not stop to defend it. Before the assault began they ran away in mad terror, much to De Wet's disgust, until they reached a farm eighteen miles distant. Here they defended their position gallantly during a whole day, but in the evening ran away again, so much had Cronje's surrender demoralised them.

On March 5th Kruger and Steyn, the Presidents of the two Republics, sent proposals for peace to the British Government, saying that they had only fought for their independence and asking that this might be recognised by the Prime Minister. Salisbury replied that he could accept no terms but unconditional surrender. So the war went on. De Wet tried in vain to infuse something of his own courage and enthusiasm into his citizen soldiers, but it was in vain. He had hoped for a vigorous defence of Bloemfontein, and had ridden at nightfall from position to position, haranguing to no purpose both the officers and the privates. Wellbach deserted the key to Bloemfontein, and the British occupied it. After a sleepless night, De Wet found, on March 13th, one post after another abandoned by his commandants, and Bloemfontein fell on that day without a shot having been fired. Roberts rode into the town amid the sympathies of many of the inhabitants, a number of Union Jacks floating from the windows.

After Bloemfontein had fallen, De Wet gave permission to his burghers to return home and remain there till March 25th. He knew that many of them would not come back, but that those

who did would fight hard. On March 20th a council of war was held at Kroonstad, now the capital of the Orange Free State, at which Kruger and Steyn were present. Salisbury's proposal of unconditional surrender had made peace impossible. On the other hand, there were no hopes of ultimate victory against the overwhelming forces of Great Britain. But they felt that, as men, they were bound to fight for their independence, and show that they were worthy to exist as a free nation under a Republican form of government. The meeting decided to continue the war more energetically than ever, to abandon the plan of great wagon laagers, and employ nothing but horse commandos. De Wet tells us that the effect of this council was to introduce a fine spirit into the Boer army, and that the watchword "Forward!" was in the mind and on the tongue of every one.

Whilst Roberts was at Bloemfontein preparing for his advance to Pretoria occurred the disastrous defeat of Sanna's Post, or Koorn Spruit, as it is also called, arranged and carried out by the crafty and courageous De Wet on March 31st. Broadwood, in command of Sanna's Post on the Modder, was retreating to Bloemfontein for greater security, and De Wet was anxious to capture the waterworks in order that he might deprive the garrison of Bloemfontein of their supply of that necessity. De Wet, who had 350 men with him, occupied a ravine which communicated with the Modder, called Koorn Spruit, and he placed his force, concealed in this ravine, on either side of the ford, through which the road from Sanna's Post to Bloemfontein passes. There was another force of Boers, 1,150 strong, to the left of the Modder. The British wagons came first, containing chiefly women and children. As they crossed the Drift they were threatened by De Wet that if they gave the slightest sign the drivers would be shot. The British troops, seeing the wagons pass in safety, thought that everything was secure, and descended into the stream. As they reached it, they were met with the cry, "Hands up!" More troops followed, and 200 were secured before they knew where they were. When the disaster was discovered the British retreated to the railway station, about 1,300 yards distant, a terrific fire being opened upon them as they retreated. The larger force of Boers did not arrive for three hours, and during that time the battle raged severely. Broadwood received, most unaccountably, no help from Bloemfontein, which was only seventeen miles distant. At last, on the arrival of the Boer reinforcements, the British retreated. De Wet had only three killed and five wounded; Broadwood had 330 dead and

wounded, besides the loss of 421 prisoners, seven guns, and 117 wagons.

Four days later another disaster took place at Reddersberg. De Wet had with him a force of over 800 men and three Krupp guns. The British and the Boers marched together towards a ridge, the former getting there first. However, De Wet, finding himself in a superior position, wrote to the commanding officer, calling upon him to surrender to avoid bloodshed, to which the officer replied, "I am damned if I will surrender!" De Wet made it impossible for the British to escape during the night, and began his attack at daylight next morning, April 4th, and at 11 the white flag was hoisted, and they had to surrender, 470 prisoners being taken.

De Wet tells us that, notwithstanding a proclamation of Lord Roberts guaranteeing the property and personal liberty of the burghers who did not fight, they were captured while peacefully working on their farms. This was probably due to accident, but it made the Boers feel that the British were not to be trusted, and justified the message sent by De Wet to Steyn that Roberts was his best recruiting officer.

At this time the enormous forces at the disposal of the British commander began to produce an effect, and all De Wet could do was to hang upon their rear and offer a certain amount of resistance. Kroonstad was taken and, on May 18th, Roberts prepared to advance farther. It was decreed that Louis Botha, who commanded the Transvaal forces, should cross the Vaal, and that the Orange burghers should remain behind in their own country. This division between the two allies was made purely for strategic purposes. The number of 45,000 burghers, with which the campaign had begun, was now reduced to 15,000, partly by Cronje's surrender and partly by the fact that a number of Boers had returned to their farms. It was hopeless for this handful to make a stand against 240,000 men and 350 guns. De Wet says that he was ashamed to retreat, but that if he did so it was because it was impossible for one man to stand against twelve. On May 28th Roberts passed the Klip River without fighting. The country had become more populous, and on the hills were seen high chimneys and iron pumps which made the northern soldiers feel homesick. This was the famous Rand, the cause of the war, the source of untold wealth. A battle was fought at Doornkop by the British left flank, and on May 31st Johannesburg was entered. After two days' halt the army advanced to Pretoria, thirty miles to the north, and in the early morning of

June 5th that beautiful city, the pride of the Boer Government, was entered. The first thought was to release the prisoners, who had been admirably treated. On June 17th Buller had forced his way over the Drakensberg, crossing the mountains between Botha's Pass and Laing's Nek, so that the Boers were surrounded on all sides. Steyn and De Wet were full of anxiety. The burghers were leaving in crowds for their farms, so that there were plenty of officers, but no men. But besides De Wet, Louis Botha and Delarey showed splendid examples of fortitude, and pursued the war with invincible determination. The force of the Orange Free State was reduced to 8,000 men.

After the capture of Bloemfontein and Pretoria and the annexation of the Orange Free State, later called the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal, the war continued for a considerable time, sustained mainly by the genius and energy of Christian de Wet. He has left an account of it in his well-written and amusing memoirs, which give a clear idea of the fight from the inside. The capture near Heilbron of 200 Highlanders and forty heavily-laden wagons was followed by the assault of Roodeval Station. After a furious fire the white flag was hoisted by the British, the defeated body being allowed to retain their personal belongings, but the mail bags remaining a prize of war. The post contained all kinds of articles—underclothing, stockings, oranges, and plum puddings. The Boers, allowed to carry away anything they pleased, almost sank under the weight of the spoil. All that was left was consumed by fire. Shortly afterwards Kitchener had a narrow escape from capture. He was in a train which the Boers stopped, and orders to storm it were not obeyed. The general procured a horse from one of the vans, mounted it, and disappeared into the darkness.

Almost as great a blow to the Boers as the capture of Cronje was the surrender of Prinsloo on July 30th. Towards the end of this month the Boers were being hemmed in on every side by the British, and the pressure was becoming unendurable. Every hill round the Boer position sparkled with heliographs, nor had the Boer generals the spirit of De Wet. They elected Prinsloo irregularly to the chief command, and the first use he made of his authority was to surrender. He sent a message to Hunter asking for an armistice, and when this was refused, hoisted the white flag and surrendered unconditionally with all his men. Such was the independence of the Boers that it was some time before they all came in. Indeed, Olivier, with 1,500 men and several guns, broke away and escaped through the hills.

But the loss to the Boers amounted to more than 4,000 combatants.

De Wet now adopted the policy of dividing the commandos into small parties, so as not to risk any great battles, but to force the British to split up their forces as well. In this way, although the Boers lost many men, their enemies lost more, and the former made a number of prisoners whom they were not able to keep. The habit came into vogue of stripping the prisoners of their clothing, partly with a view to prevent them from immediately taking part again in the struggle, and partly to supply the Boers with garments of which they were sorely in need. The bitterness of the war became accentuated. De Wet's army had no provisions except meat, bread and maize, and even these were scarce. Coffee and sugar were entirely lacking, except when they could be captured from the enemy. The practice was adopted of blowing up trains by placing the barrel and lock of a gun with a dynamite cartridge under a sleeper, so that, when the engine passed it exploded and the train was blown up. Thus it became necessary to guard the railway with soldiers and impossible to run trains by night.

On August 7th, 1901, Kitchener issued a proclamation calling upon all burghers to surrender before September 15th. To this De Wet replied stating that the Boers were still hoping for intervention, and that the moral feeling of the civilised world would protect them against the crime which Great Britain was committing in South Africa, of exterminating a young nation; but that should this not be the case they would exert their utmost strength to defend themselves, firmly trusting in the mercy of God.

There is no doubt, from De Wet's narrative, that the Boers were greatly assisted by the farmers, and that, as they were pursued, they found rest and sometimes sustenance at one farm or another, as was but natural. Roberts, however, determined to burn these farms, which created great resentment amongst the famishing Boers and tended to prolong rather than to shorten the war. The farm-houses were destroyed with everything they contained, and the women and children were collected into concentration camps, where they suffered great hardships. An enormous number of blockhouses were also erected, never more than a thousand paces from each other, joined together with barbed wire, and so placed that one could be seen from the other. De Wet's opinion is that the blockhouses prolonged the war for three months, and it may well be doubted whether they repaid the

cost of building them and of maintaining the garrisons which occupied them. More embarrassing to the Boers were the night attacks, which kept them in continual unrest and led to many disasters.

The last months of the war were spent in efforts to catch De Wet, who not only eluded capture, but inflicted considerable loss on his pursuers. At the end of January, 1902, a drive began with the object of forcing De Wet's army against one of the two lines of blockhouses, but the elusive guerilla general cut through the wire fence close to a blockhouse, and made the other side in safety. So on two or three other occasions De Wet just managed to elude capture.

By this time King Edward had succeeded Queen Victoria, and the Government of the Netherlands made offers of mediation, which were rejected by Great Britain. Lord Lansdowne, however, suggested that Steyn, President of the Orange Free State, and Schalk Burger, Vice-President of the Transvaal, acting in the place of Kruger, who was now in Europe, should communicate with the British Commander-in-Chief and make any proposals which occurred to them. This looked like a suggestion that the Presidents might meet Lord Kitchener with a view to making peace.

Representatives of the two Boer Governments met at Klerksdorp on April 9th, 1902, Schalk Burger, Louis Botha and Delarey appearing with others on behalf of the Transvaal, and Steyn, De Wet and Olivier on behalf of the Free State. After Louis Botha, De Wet and Delarey had given an account of the condition of affairs, Steyn said that unless the British were prepared to grant independence the war must go on. "We would rather submit to unconditional surrender than make terms." After further discussions it was determined to offer terms of peace to Kitchener and suggest a meeting to discuss them, and these were outlined in a letter sent to Kitchener, who was at Pretoria, signed by Steyn and Burger. The letter proposed that the peace should include a customs, post, telegraph, and railway union, the granting of the franchise, equal rights for the English and Dutch languages in schools, and arrangements for arbitration in frontier disputes. The meeting took place at Pretoria on April 12th, but it was found that there was strong divergence on the most vital point, the independence of the two Republics, the Boers declaring that they had no powers to surrender the countries they governed, the British refusing to annul the annexation which had already taken place.

Milner was now nominated to act with Kitchener as representing the British Government. The two plenipotentiaries consented to allow the various commandos to be consulted on the question of independence, and that representatives should be chosen, who should meet at Vereeniging on May 15th, for the purpose of declaring the people's will. Louis Botha, Delarey and De Wet received safe conducts, enabling them to visit the several commandos. They consulted eight commandos, who unanimously decided to maintain their independence, and the commandos consulted by others were of like mind. Representatives were chosen to meet at Vereeniging on the day appointed, each accompanied by one man.

Steyn was very ill, and his doctor positively forbade him to attend the meeting. His absence was a very serious loss. De Wet says that he was a statesman in the best sense of the word, that he had gained the respect and affection of all, and that no task was too heavy for him, no burden too great if he could serve his people. He never complained; he fought for Boer independence until he could fight no longer and he was worn out, as weak as a child, although his mind was still strong. The Commission that discussed the terms of peace with Kitchener at Pretoria were Louis Botha, De Wet, Delarey, Hertzog and Smuts. The negotiations continued from May 18th to May 29th, and on May 31st the proposals of the British Government were accepted, and the independence of the two Republics was at an end. The representatives agreed that nothing else could be done. The Boers still had 20,000 soldiers—10,000 from the Transvaal, 6,000 from the Free State, and 4,000 from Cape Colony—but further resistance was felt to be impossible. The plenipotentiaries met on the evening of May 31st, 1902, at Kitchener's house at Pretoria and signed the treaty. The burghers in the commandos laid down their arms and by June 16th the war was over and the Dutch farmers had submitted to their fate.

De Wet, giving an account of this event six months after it had happened, addressed a last word to his countrymen: "Be loyal to the new Government. Loyalty pays best in the end; loyalty alone is worthy of a nation which has done its best and shed its blood for freedom." Happily this advice was followed, and the loyalty of the Boers to their new masters was met by generosity on the part of Great Britain. The Government which made the war proceeded with cautious steps, but the advent of the Liberal Government in 1905 hastened matters. Full self-government was granted to the Transvaal in 1906, and to

the Orange River Colony in 1907. A convention, sitting from October, 1908, to February, 1909, first at Durban and then at Cape Town, drafted a Constitution for South Africa which was ratified by Act of Parliament in September, 1909.

Under this Constitution, at the head of the Union is a Governor-General, appointed by the Crown, and there is a Parliament of two Houses—a Senate and a House of Assembly. The Senate contains forty members holding office for ten years, eight nominated by the Governor-General, and thirty-two representing equally the four provinces. The members of the Lower House are elected according to population. Members of both Houses must be British subjects of European descent. The Senate has no power to originate or to amend money Bills, and in case of a dispute there is to be a joint session of both Chambers. The Governments of the four provinces are administrative bodies, free from party politics. They are governed by an administrator appointed by the Governor-General, a council elected for three years, and an executive of four chosen by the council to act with the administrator. The councils control local institutions, works, and other matters referred to them by Parliament. Lord Gladstone, the son of the great Minister, was appropriately appointed the first Governor-General.

The coronation of George V. was the occasion of a Colonial Conference, in which the unity of the British Empire was consolidated on the wise principles of trust and confidence. No colonial representative was acclaimed more loyally or greeted more affectionately than Louis Botha, the general who had fought so bravely against the British. There seemed every hope that the close of a bitter war would ensure a lasting peace, just as the richest harvest grows on the field of battle on which human slaughter has been most severe.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

THE Treaty of Shimonoseki, which closed the war between China and Japan, was signed in the spring of 1895. On October 8th in the same year the Queen of Korea was murdered. She was a woman of great strength of character and intellectual ability. She had lofty ambitions, both for herself and her country, founded on association with China and enthusiasm for Chinese civilisation. But the result of the war of 1894 had been to substitute the influence of Japan for that of China in the affairs of Korea. On the day mentioned a sudden attack was made on the palace by a crowd composed mainly of Japanese. They forced an entry into the Queen's apartments, where she and some of her ladies were ruthlessly murdered with every circumstance of cruelty and indignity. The Japanese Government strongly disapproved of this crime, and all who had taken part in the outrage were recalled from Korea; but the result was to destroy Japanese influence in the peninsula. The King took refuge in the Russian Legation at Seoul and did not move out of it for two years. The influence of Japan was entirely annihilated, and that of Russia prevailed in its stead. Korea was gradually becoming a possession of Russia.

This was one of the ultimate causes of the Russo-Japanese War. Another cause lay in the struggle for the possession of the island of Sakhalin. This island, which had belonged to Japan from the eighteenth century, was ceded to Russia in the Treaty of St. Petersburg, 1875. But, as time went on, the value of Sakhalin as a field of Japanese extension was discovered, and the increase of her population made it essential to find further territory for her surplus people. Japan took an important share in the suppression of the Boxer movement, which was effected by the concert of Europe, and before relief had come from the West had landed an army of 21,000 excellent soldiers, fully equipped in every particular, at Taku, and fought side by side with the British and the Americans. On January 30th, 1902, Great Britain signed a defensive treaty with Japan, which made the two countries guarantors of peace in the Far East. The

former was relieved from the burden of maintaining a powerful fleet in Eastern waters, and the Japanese obtained recognition as a great civilising Power.

A few months after this, on April 8th, 1902, a treaty was signed between China and Russia by which Russia promised to respect the integrity of China and to evacuate Manchuria. These, coupled with other events, seemed to open up a prospect of peace in the Far East. Russia had obtained an ice-free port in the Pacific, Japan had come to an arrangement with Russia about Korea, and Manchuria, which had been occupied by Russia, was to be gradually evacuated. This operation was to be effected in three periods of six months each, a definite section being restored to China at the close of each period. At the end of the first period, which ended in October, 1902, the money was duly paid and the section evacuated; but at the end of the second, in April, 1903, Russia declined to fulfil her engagements unless some new arrangements, not mentioned in the original treaty, were made with regard to Manchuria. This China, supported by Great Britain, America and Japan, refused to do. There was also evidence of Russian encroachment in Korea, while the memory of the cession of Sakhalin in 1875 and of Port Arthur at a more recent date rankled in the minds of the Japanese. They, therefore, protested, asking Russia to fulfil her engagements with regard to Manchuria and refrain from agitation in Korea. The rest of the year was spent in diplomatic negotiations, during which time Russia took the opportunity of strengthening her military position. At last in January, 1904, Japan agreed to withdraw from the advocacy of Chinese interests in Manchuria, but pressed her claims with regard to Korea.

As no answer was received to her ultimatum, Japan practically declared war on February 5th, 1904. It was a strange position. A small Asiatic Power, only a short time ago a stranger to European affairs, challenged the Colossus of whose encroachments all the world was afraid, who had her feet in the East and the West and seemed to bestride the habitable globe. But Japan had well calculated her task, and knew what she was about.

What forces could Russia bring against Japan in the Far East? She had at the moment a comparatively small number of available troops east of Lake Baikal, and these were scattered over a large area of nearly 1,000 miles in extent. Reinforcements could only be brought up by the Eastern Siberian Railway, and the road was interrupted by Lake Baikal, the railway round the lake not having been at that time completed. This necessitated

a journey of thirty miles over an inland sea. In the winter the lake was frozen, in the spring the ice was breaking up, and not until May could the steamers get to work. Japan, therefore, knew that in the most favourable circumstances Russia could only place 80,000 men in the field at the beginning of the campaign. On the other hand, Japan could mobilise 150,000 men immediately, and had plenty more in reserve. She had also national enthusiasm and self-devotion on her side. Her people were ready to sacrifice blood and treasure in the pursuit of objects they believed essential to their existence, and in obedience to the commands of the Emperor, devotion to whom was the mainspring of the national life. Russia dreaded the war which was forced upon her, and went to meet her doom with a sullen determination which presaged the disaster she feared. The sea-power of the two combatants was nearly equal on paper: Japan had seven battleships and thirty-one cruisers, Russia seven battleships and eighteen cruisers. The battle-fleet of Russia was stronger in metal, but the Japanese fleet was the admiration, the Russian the ridicule, of the world.

The first object of the Japanese was to capture Port Arthur, which they had wrested from China in their war with that country, but had been compelled to surrender in 1895, and which had become Russian in 1897. Japan determined, therefore, to attack at once the Russian fleet at Port Arthur and Chemulpo, and to force Korea into a position of benevolent neutrality in order that she might be able to march through that country to the Yalu. On February 6th a body of troops, escorted by a small squadron, sailed for Chemulpo, while the main fleet, under the famous Admiral Togo, set out for Port Arthur. On February 9th Seoul, the capital of Korea, was occupied by the Japanese, and on the same day Togo inflicted a severe defeat on the Russian ships at Port Arthur. By April 20th the Japanese had marched through Korea and were concentrated behind the Yalu, while Togo exhibited ceaseless activity before Port Arthur. The Russian admiral, Makarov, had arrived from Europe early in March, and for a time stimulated the activity of the Russian fleet; but on April 13th his flagship, the *Petropavlovsk*, was sunk by a mine with himself and 600 men on board, and the *Pobieda*, another battleship, was severely injured.

In March, 1905, Kouropatkin appeared on the scene, having been appointed Russian Commander-in-Chief in the Far East. He had gained his reputation by being Skobelev's right-hand man in the Russo-Turkish War in 1877, and had been for some years

head of the War Ministry at St. Petersburg. He determined to concentrate his army at Liaoyang, the point at which the roads from Korea and the southern and western coasts of Manchuria meet, and not assume the offensive until he had amassed a sufficient number of troops to be able to act with effect. But the carrying out of this project required more resolution and endurance than the Russians possessed. Admiral Alexeiev, the Viceroy of Manchuria, was extremely anxious to secure Port Arthur, not realising that it must fall into the hands of the final victors, and that it mattered little whether it was held for a time by Russia or Japan, so long as the eventual triumph was secured for the Russian arms. He therefore strongly opposed the Fabian policy of Kouropatkin and did his best to undermine his influence with the Russian Court.

At the end of April the Russian military forces east of Lake Baikal were divided into four sections. Kouropatkin had about 45,000 men in the neighbourhood of Liaoyang, Stoessel 19,000 in Port Arthur, Linevich 16,000 near Vladivostok, and Zasulich 9,000 on the Korean frontier. On May 1st the Japanese general, Kuroki, made a scientific attack upon Zasulich's position; this was a complete success, and after two hours the Japanese found themselves on the north of the Yalu. This was the first battle which had been fought with equal conditions of weapons and other matters between white and yellow troops, and the yellow race gained a signal victory. The Russians lost 1,800 killed and wounded, 600 prisoners, and 29 guns, the Japanese only 1,021 killed and wounded. This victory produced a great moral effect, and showed how fruitful had been the pains taken by Japan in the training of her army under German instructions. The soldiers were steady, cleanly and abstemious; the officers trained up to the highest level of modern military science. This theoretical training now received the consecration of practical advantage, and produced a powerful effect not only in Japan, but on the world at large. The Russian troops were very different. The men were dogged, determined and patient, but lacking in initiative; the officers were deficient in scientific training, and the colonels were given over to jealousy and intrigue. The cumbrous, inert, but passively powerful Russian troops were ill-matched against the alert, vigorous and resourceful enemies to whom they were opposed, and the contrast became more prominent as the war proceeded.

The next efforts of the Japanese were directed to cutting off Port Arthur from any prospect of help by land from the interior

of Russia. This was effected by the second army under Baron Oku, which had gradually been collected at Chinampo. On May 3rd Togo reported that he had so far succeeded in blocking the mouth of the harbour of Port Arthur, that battleships and large cruisers were no longer able to come out to hinder Japanese operations. So, on the evening of May 4th, some of the second army appeared off the mouth of the Huaguan, where they had landed in the previous war in 1894, and began to disembark on the following morning under cover of fire from the gunboats. As the tide was low the soldiers had to wade breast-deep 1,000 yards, but the Japanese flag was hoisted on the heights of the Liaotung Peninsula. Indeed, 10,000 men were landed before nightfall. On May 6th the railway was severed, and a few days later the Japanese were established securely across the peninsula and Port Arthur was cut off from communication with the world. The scheme had been admirably conceived and was perfectly executed.

The Japanese kept the number and nature of the troops which were being disembarked in Manchuria secret, and the Russians had to rely on native rumours. Kouropatkin, under the impression that the Japanese force was much larger than it really was, delayed the attack, and when, at the end of the month, he endeavoured, by means of cavalry, to recover his connection with the coast, he found this was impossible. On May 19th, 10,000 men, under General Kamamura, landed at Takushan, and thus connected the forces of Kuroki and Oku. The Russians were entirely in the dark as to the number of this army, which they greatly exaggerated, and Kouropatkin's ignorance of his adversary's strength continued throughout the war, and was a serious hindrance to his strategy.

Oku now began to advance against Port Arthur, while a Japanese naval squadron demonstrated along the coast, deterring Kouropatkin from sending reinforcements for fear of a landing on his flank. The position in Port Arthur itself was by no means satisfactory. Stoessel had the chief command, but Smirnov had been sent from Europe to take control of the fortress, so that the place was exposed to all the difficulties of a divided command. Kouropatkin foreseeing the consequences, had ordered Stoessel to leave, but the latter suppressed the order and remained until the place was so closely invested that it was impossible for him to depart.

Oku proceeded to attack the strong position of Nanshan, situated on the Kuantung Peninsula, between the Bay of Kinchow on one side and Hamid Bay on the other. The place

itself was defended by General Fock. The assault was made on May 26th, Oku being assisted by gunboats and torpedo boats, vessels of a deeper draught being unable to operate in the shallow waters of Kinchow. But Nanshan was extremely strong, and the vigorous assaults of the Japanese infantry were for a long time repulsed. Russian ammunition ran short, but Fock might have gained a victory with his immense superiority of position. At last the Japanese concentrated their efforts on a fresh bombardment, and under this the Russians began to give way, and at 7 in the evening, after sixteen hours' incessant fighting, the Japanese infantry, wading through the shoal water on the Russian left, penetrated into the works and became masters of the entire position. Stoessel ordered Fock to retire, and consequently eighty-two cannon fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Japanese lost the enormous number of 4,192 men, the Russians perhaps over 2,000. On the following day the Russians were pursued to Port Arthur and the terminus of the Siberian Railway was occupied. This brilliant and complete victory was achieved by the marvellous dash and persistence of the Japanese, and the effective co-operation of the army and fleet.

On May 30th Dalny passed into the hands of the Japanese without opposition, and with it 290 railway wagons. Its possession gave the Japanese an ice-free port for the next winter, whether Port Arthur stood or fell. On the other hand, the Japanese suffered a serious loss by the destruction of the two battleships *Hatsuse* and *Yashima*, by mines, on May 15th. The loss of the *Hatsuse* produced a sensation in Europe, but that of the *Yashima* was not known until months afterwards. The crew of the latter were saved and drafted into other ships.

At the beginning of June the Japanese were free to engage in direct operations against Port Arthur. A third army under Baron Noghi was to conduct the siege; the second army, under Oku, advanced along the railway up to Yingkow; and the first army, under Kuroki, had advanced as far as Fenghwangcheng. Kuroki proceeded into the valley of the Liao by the Motien Pass, the tenth division through the Fenshui Pass, and Oku, as has been already said, by the railway. Kouropatkin, who had received considerable reinforcements, opposed Kuroki with 21,000 men, under the command of Keller; Mistchenko commanded 3,000 Cossack cavalry attached to the tenth division; and Stackelberg had 35,000 men at Yingkow. The reserve consisted of 35,000 men, which extended as far as Mukden.

Kouropatkin's design was to hold two of the Japanese divisions

in check and devote the whole of his energies to crushing the third; but he had no transport to enable him to attack with success the Japanese in the mountain passes, and if he were to concentrate upon Oku the enemy in the mountains would cut off his communications. He therefore determined to evacuate Liao-yang and to concentrate upon Harbin, but the Government intervened and demanded that an effort should be made to relieve Port Arthur. This led to the Battle of Telissu on June 14th and 15th, between Stackelberg with 25,000 men and Oku with 37,000. The victory of the Japanese was complete; the position of Stackelberg was turned and exposed to an effective fire from front, flanks, and rear, and the Russians gave way. The Japanese lost 1,190 killed and wounded, and the Russians more than 4,000, with sixteen guns. Bad weather and other reasons prevented the Japanese from pursuing Stackelberg.

The scene of interest now shifts to the first army. On June 24th Kuroki advanced from Fenghwangcheng, and on June 30th secured possession of the Motien Pass, which the Japanese held against the assaults of Keller, and on June 27th the tenth division occupied the Fenshui Pass. A fourth army was formed under Count Nodzu, so that there were now three Japanese armies advancing towards the Liao Valley. The Russians, setting out from Vladivostok, gained a temporary superiority at sea, which hindered the dispatch of reinforcements and supplies, the consequence being that the operations of all four armies were hindered. Togo, on his side, made torpedo-boat attacks on the harbour, and drew the blockade closer, while Noghi obtained advantages against Stoessel. The chief command of all the Japanese armies was now given to Marshal Oyama, who left Japan on July 6th. Shortly afterwards the Battle of Ta-shih-chias was fought between Zarutieiev, with 36,000 men, and Oku, with 55,000, and ended in the retreat of the Russians. The harbour of Yingkow fell into the hands of the Japanese and supplied them with a valuable base for future operations.

On August 1st Nodzu, in command of the fourth army, joined hands with Oku at Haicheng, and at the same time Keller was slowly collecting forces to attack the Motien Pass, which had been occupied by the Japanese. But the Japanese took the offensive and occupied the whole valley of the Liao. Keller was struck by the bursting of a shrapnel in the afternoon of July 31st, and fell, covered with many wounds. In these operations the Japanese first army lost 946 killed and wounded, the Russians 2,000 men, 2 guns, 5,300 rifles, and 157 prisoners. After these

defeats Kouropatkin collected his forces at Liaoyang on August 3rd, and on the same day Oku occupied Haicheng and Nuichwang. Kouropatkin might have united his forces at Liaoyang a month earlier, and would thus have been spared the loss of 6,000 men and a great diminution of prestige. Since the campaign opened on land the Japanese had lost 12,000 men, and the Russians about three times the number. Kouropatkin was now about sixteen miles distant from each of the divisions of the Japanese force, but he was in no mind to attack them, although superior in numbers. The Japanese had, therefore, about a fortnight's respite.

During this interval Noghi pressed the attack on Port Arthur, now defended by about 50,000 soldiers, besides sailors and civilians. He began operations on the night of July 26th, and by August 8th had taken two small forts with a loss of 2,200 killed and wounded. He had not done much, but he had had an unexpected stroke of good fortune in the destruction of the Russian fleet. Admiral Witthoft, alarmed for the safety of his ships, determined to break out of the harbour and endeavour to reach Vladivostok. At the very beginning of the action Witthoft was killed by a chance shot and his flagship disabled. The result of the affair was the virtual annihilation of the Port Arthur fleet. Ten days later, on August 20th, Noghi began the assault. The result must be told in the vivid words of Major-General Maurice :—

" Then was seen the curious and horrible spectacle of chivalrous devotion and absolute contempt of death at grips with every engine of destruction which modern science has devised. For two days and nights this wonderful infantry flung itself against powerful works, crammed with stubborn and unyielding foes. Small remnants, left by the waves of assault, clung desperately to such positions as they had won, till they were forced back at last, human endurance being capable of no more, with a loss of more than 15,000 killed and wounded ; but a lesson was needed to teach these brave soldiers that there were limits to the power of their valour. So the siege settled down to the business of sap, mine and countermine, while the main armies returned to the business of attack and defence."

We now come to the great Battle of Liaoyang, fought by Kuroki against Kouropatkin, which lasted for nine days. When Kuroki began operations on August 23rd the Russians held a chain of advanced positions to the south and east of Liaoyang forty miles in length. Kouropatkin had in all about 140,000 men and was expecting more from Mukden. The Japanese, numbering about 135,000, were slightly inferior to the Russians

in number, and during the battle Kouropatkin received an addition of 10,000 men. The town of Liaoyang was the military capital of southern Manchuria, being a large city with 60,000 inhabitants. It lies on the railway at the junction of the main roads, one leading to Korea and the other to Port Arthur. It was full of stores, supplies, and munitions of war of every kind necessary for the maintenance of an army in the field. It was, therefore, worth a deadly struggle to the Japanese, and its loss would be irreparable to Kouropatkin. The armies of Oku, Nodzu and Kunshi all advanced to the attack. The three armies of the Japanese came in touch with each other on August 29th, and the main attack began on the following day. On September 3rd Kouropatkin retreated in good order, so that the victory was by no means decisive for the Japanese. They had lost 23,615 killed and wounded, and were too weak to pursue, whereas the loss of the Russians, who had been on the defensive, was only 16,500.

Both sides now prepared for more serious efforts. A law was passed in Japan which enabled the troops intended only for home service to be sent abroad, and in St. Petersburg reinforcements were prepared for Kouropatkin with like energy. After the abandonment of Liaoyang the Russians retired to Mukden, and Oyama was following slowly in the same direction. During September the forces under Kouropatkin were raised to the number of 220,000, and those under Oyama to 160,000. They were extended over a front ninety miles in extent, a distance from the Commander-in-Chief which would have been impossible but for the telegraph and heliograph.

The next great event in this momentous conflict was the Battle of the Shaho from October 9th to October 17th, 1905. It is a peculiarity of this wonderful war that the land battles lasted for days and the sea battles only a few hours. The former feature was due to the extreme tenacity of the Japanese, who never knew when they were beaten, fighting against a nation as stubborn and as valiant as themselves, but led with far less intelligence and skill; and the latter to the facts that science had taken the place of personal valour, and that the Russian ships could not stand against the concentration of intelligence of which the Japanese navy was the embodiment.

Kouropatkin having received important reinforcements, became convinced that it was his duty to attack. On October 2nd he issued a proclamation to the army announcing this, and declaring that his first object was the relief of Port Arthur. His plan was as follows: On the Japanese side Kuroki occupied the

right, Nodzu the centre, and Oku the left. Kouropatkin's object was to keep Nodzu and Oku in their places and to throw his force against Kuroki. The attack against Kuroki was committed to Stackelberg; but whereas Kuroki was quite able to hold his ground against Stackelberg, Bilderling, whose business it was to hold back Nodzu and Oku, found that he could not do so. During the whole of October 10th and 11th the battle raged along the front, and on the night between October 12th and 13th the Russian army was driven back to the Shaho. On the evening of October 13th the position of the Russians was extremely serious. They had been driven back in every part of the field and had lost heavily in men, along with thirty-eight guns. It was necessary to retreat, but extremely difficult to do so. Stackelberg, who was far in advance of the rest of the Russian line, must be withdrawn first. Zarubaiev, who was in the centre and in advance of the Russian right, must follow, and for the success of the operations, Bilderling, in command of the Russian right, must stand firm. Bilderling held his ground by the skin of his teeth. On October 13th Oku's impetuous advance broke the Russian centre, and if that advantage had been maintained the Russian army must have been destroyed. But they brought up their last reserve and recaptured what had been lost.

For thirty-six hours the battle raged at the central point, and at the end the centre and the left were saved. On the south bank of the Shaho was an elevation known as Solitary Tree Hill, with the village of Sha-ho-pu at its foot. On October 14th this was taken by the Russians and regained twice, fourteen Japanese guns remaining as the prize of victory. On October 15th the Japanese again reconquered the hill, but it was recovered by General Putilov, who held it against all assaults and gave it his name. On Sunday, October 16th, the Russians attacked Oku seven times, but were always driven back with loss. At length, by October 20th, after ten days' fighting, the armies were facing each other on either side of the Shaho, a line fifteen miles north of that which the Japanese had occupied during the engagement. The Russians had lost 32,300 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Japanese 20,300.

In the meantime the siege of Port Arthur continued, with the usual apparatus of such operations—the building of batteries, the opening of parallels, the final bombardment. On October 26th a general attack was made, which lasted five days; but it ended in comparative failure, the Japanese losing 151 officers and 1,970 men.

Then occurred the extraordinary incident of the Baltic fleet in the North Sea. On the calm night of October 21st, 1904, a division of the fleet of Admiral Rozhdeshtvensky, which had for months been anxiously expected for the relief of Port Arthur, in crossing the Dogger Bank passed through a fleet of Hull trawlers. The Russians opened fire upon them, with the result that one vessel was sunk and two fishermen were killed and eighteen wounded. When, two days later, the matter became public, a wave of indignation swept over Great Britain, and had it not been for the patriotism and courage of Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne, war might have resulted. But, on October 28th, the Prime Minister announced that the Tsar had expressed his regret and had promised compensation. The matter was referred to arbitration, and a Committee of Admirals met in Paris in January, 1905. There is no doubt that the Russian admiral really believed he had Japanese torpedo boats in front of him, but the fact that he did so made the whole situation supremely ridiculous. The commission awarded an adequate compensation, while contriving to save Rozhdeshtvensky's face. The Russian fleet continued its voyage, and at length arrived in Eastern waters.

Whilst it was on its way the Japanese continued to attack Port Arthur with stubborn persistence. On December 5th Noghi captured an eminence known as the "Two hundred and three Metre Hill." In the attack the Japanese lost 13,000 men, 9,000 of whom had fallen round the hill itself, and under the works the corpses of 400 Russians were discovered. On December 15th General Kondranshenko died, an officer of high rank, whom it was impossible to replace. The generals conducting the defence began to lose heart. On December 28th Stoessel reported to his Government that the position of the fortress was becoming very painful, that scurvy was mowing down the men, and that there were only a few who had not been attacked by it. The next day he said, "We can only hold out a few days longer; we have hardly any ammunition left. I have now only 10,000 men under arms. They are all ill."

On January 1st, 1905, Stoessel sent a flag of truce to Noghi without the knowledge of his council, and on the same evening the capitulation was signed. The Japanese had gained the first great object of the war. At the same time Stoessel telegraphed to the Emperor: "Great Sovereign, forgive. We have done all that was humanly possible. Judge us, but be merciful. Eleven months of ceaseless fighting have exhausted our strength; the

men are reduced to shadows." Stoessel's policy can scarcely be justified, as the means of defence had not been exhausted. The prisoners of war who marched out comprised 878 officers and 23,491 men, while provisions for three months and 2,500,000 cartridges were found. Had the Russian commanders not quarrelled with each other the defence might have been prolonged until the arrival of the Baltic fleet. The Russian soldiers behaved splendidly. They lost 28,200 killed and wounded during the siege, the Japanese sacrificing 57,780 killed and wounded, besides many who died from sickness.

The fall of Port Arthur made it possible for Noghi to join Oyama, but before he could do so it was necessary to reinforce him and make up the terrible losses he had suffered, and this would consume much time. But as the weather grew more wintry the supply of troops to Kouropatkin became more difficult. At the beginning of January Kouropatkin had control of 250,000 men, Oyama of 185,000. The Russians made several attempts to interrupt Noghi's movements and delay his arrival, but they were not successful, and at the close of January both armies were in their positions, except that they had each lost about 10,000 men in the struggle. Eventually Noghi brought an auxiliary force of 100,000 men to the assistance of Oyama.

The interest of the war now centred round Mukden. In the month of February, 1905, the Russians occupied the position on the Shaho and round Mukden which they had held during the preceding five months. Mukden had been transformed into the advanced base of operations for the intended march on Liaoyang, important reinforcements had arrived, and confidence had been restored. The first Manchurian army was commanded by Linevich, the second by Kaulbars, and the third by Bilderling. Remenkamp commanded the cavalry. The whole front of the army measured forty-four miles and the depth four to six miles. The Japanese had five armies, numbering altogether about 300,000 men, concentrated within striking distance of the enemy. They prepared to strike at the moment when the severity of winter had passed, but before the thaw, which usually set in in the second week of March, and which rendered the rivers impassable owing to the melting of the ice, and the country difficult for the movement of guns.

The first, fourth, and second armies retained their relative positions from right to left. A fifth army was moved through the mountains and placed on the right of Kuroki. Noghi's army was situated in a position which concealed it from observation, and

there was a reserve of 20,000 men under Oyama. On the Russian side Linevich was on the left, Bilderling in the centre, and Kaulbars on the right. Kouropatkin occupied Mukden with the reserve, his army amounting to about 310,000. Thus the numbers of the two armies were about equal, the Japanese being stronger in infantry, the Russians in cavalry, while the two artilleries were nearly of the same strength, although the Russians were superior in quality.

The series of operations which may be called the Battle of Mukden lasted fourteen days. The first move was taken by Kamamura, who advanced in two columns on February 19th, driving in the Russians. On February 23rd heavy snow fell and obscured the view, while the ice on the Taitse began to melt. Operations became difficult and progress slow from the precipitous nature of the ground. Nevertheless, Kamamura boldly attacked Alexeiev, and in the evening of February 24th the Russians finally broke and retired northwards in disorder, having lost about 1,000 men. Kuroki moved out on February 24th. On March 1st he was able to operate with Kamamura, and the general effect of these combined operations was to drive in the Russian left and to place the Japanese in a favourable position, north of the Shaho, to co-operate in a general northward advance. Nodzu's army did not begin to take a serious part in the action till February 27th. After two days the Russians who opposed him were driven across the Shaho. The next river to deal with was the Hun. On February 27th Oku advanced between the Shaho and this river, and then along its banks, and proceeded victoriously till March 6th, when he was stopped by superior forces. Noghi advanced rapidly and was soon in touch with Oku's left. The effect of these successes was that Kaulbars was forced to evacuate his position and send his siege guns by railway to the north. The loss of these guns left Kouropatkin at a great disadvantage.

Kouropatkin did not discover the real nature of the Japanese plan until March 1st. He was concentrating his defences on his left, whereas his real danger was on his right, where he was threatened by Noghi and Oku. He was now obliged to withdraw from his southern front to the line of the Hun and take up a firm position round Mukden. Bilderling and Linevich received these orders with dismay. For ten days or more they had resisted the attack of the Japanese armies, but the army obeyed the order with anger and terror in their eyes. They, however, performed the movement steadily, and at dawn on March 8th the third

army reached the entrenched camp at Mukden. Any idea which Kouropatkin may have held for making a general attack upon the Japanese had to be given up, and he was obliged to remain entirely on the defensive. The retreating Russians were vigorously pursued by the Japanese, Oku, Nodzu and Noghi all defeating the forces opposed to them.

On March 9th, in spite of a violent storm, with icy blasts and clouds of dust, Nodzu crossed the Hun, and the sounds of firing to the east of Mukden electrified the Russian headquarters and sounded the knell of the Russian hopes. Kouropatkin had no further hope of victory, and gave the order for a general retreat. By the activity of the Japanese this was effected with confusion, and much booty fell into the pursuers' hands. The third Russian army was intending to make an attack upon the enemy on March 10th, but at 10 on the previous night it was ordered to retreat. It did so in great disorder, being fired into by the Japanese marching parallel on its flank. The condition of the second army was even worse; they were scattered about the hills like sheep without a shepherd. Companies, battalions, regiments and brigades were all mixed up in inextricable confusion, Linevich alone preserving some semblance of order. The Japanese occupied Mukden at 10 on the morning of March 10th, but resistance was not wholly quelled until the following day.

By March 12th the Russians were twenty-six miles distant on the road to Tieling. Even then they pressed on, and Linevich was unable to halt till March 20th, his rearguard on that day being seventy miles to the north of Tieling. Oyama occupied Tieling on March 16th and fixed his headquarters there, pushing his outposts to within twelve miles of the Russian advanced posts. Both armies were exhausted and stood in position facing each other until the end of the war, both commanders being unwilling to undertake active operations. The Japanese had lost 71,014 killed and wounded, the Russians about 60,000 and 25,000 prisoners, together with immense quantities of munitions of war. Kouropatkin, feeling that he had no longer the confidence of the army, tendered his resignation, but was anxious to be employed in a subordinate capacity. Linevich was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and Kouropatkin took command of the first army.

We must now follow the fortunes of Rozhdeshtvensky, whose operations began with the tragic comedy on the Dogger Bank. As Port Arthur had fallen, there was no need for him to hurry, so he made a long halt at Madagascar to train his crews, and,

after coaling and furnishing his fleet in a masterly manner, got his squadron together in the China Sea on May 9th. He had eight battleships, twelve cruisers, nine destroyers, and a number of auxiliary ships. But many of his vessels were antiquated, and their efficiency was impaired by their long voyage. Togo commanded a squadron somewhat similar in size, but thoroughly up to date. In making for Vladivostok the Russian admiral had to pass through the Strait of Korea. Togo, who was always supplied with the most accurate information, heard of this by wireless telegraphy at 5 a.m. on May 27th.

The battle began at 2 in the afternoon to the east of the Island of Tsushima. The Japanese engaged the enemy at 7,000 yards, which was the most favourable distance for their artillery. They steered across the Russian fleet, so as to bring every possible gun to bear, and thus developed a crushing force, whereas the Russian fire was comparatively ineffective. Rozhdeshtvensky advanced in three long columns, with his unarmed auxiliary ships in the centre. In less than three-quarters of an hour from the beginning of the engagement the battleships of the two main columns were out of action and the admiral himself was severely wounded. By nightfall every attempt of the Russian ships to break through to Vladivostok had been frustrated, and all cohesion in the fleet had been destroyed. During the night the Japanese torpedo boats continued the work of destruction, and the pursuit was followed up on the next day. The Russian fleet was annihilated. Four battleships, seven cruisers, five destroyers, and five auxiliary ships were sunk, and the rest completely disabled. Only four ships out of the whole fleet reached Vladivostok.

The supreme victory of Togo decided the fortunes of the contest. The war was unpopular in Russia, and Japan was on the verge of exhaustion; but there was no opportunity of a decisive Japanese victory on land. Vladivostok could not be taken as Port Arthur had been, but the crushing Battle of Tsushima paved the way for negotiations. Theodore Roosevelt, the President of the United States, put himself forward as a mediator, and in June both belligerents agreed to nominate plenipotentiaries to consider terms. But the fighting went on. The Russians were driven out of north-eastern Korea, Sakhalin and the north of the Amur being occupied without opposition. The negotiations for peace were held at Portsmouth, N.H., Count Komura representing Japan and de Witte Russia. The negotiations continued throughout August, de Witte, on behalf of Russia, refusing to pay an indemnity. At length Komura agreed to

waive the indemnity, and the offer to surrender half of Sakhalin was also accepted.

The Treaty of Portsmouth gave to Japan most of the objects for which she had entered upon the war. It gained for her a preponderating influence in Korea, secured the evacuation of Manchuria, gave her the Liaotung Peninsula, including Port Arthur and Dalny, and the southern portion of the Island of Sakhalin. The Japanese negotiators showed themselves extremely moderate; indeed, the conditions of the treaty gave rise to serious riots in Japan. But they were certainly wise, for to have inflicted further humiliation on Russia would have been disastrous to Japan. The war cost each nation £100,000,000; each had mobilised about 1,000,000 men, of whom 230,000 Japanese and 220,000 Russians had died.

Japan's victory offered a great surprise, but also a great lesson, to the world. She owed her success to the patriotic devotion with which statesman, diplomat, soldier and sailor had worked harmoniously together to achieve a common result; whereas the Russians had been inspired by no enthusiasm, nor had unity of purpose and action possessed her leaders. At the back of the extraordinary heroism of Japan lay the deep-seated sense of the obligation of personal honour, generally spoken of as *Bushido*. *Bushi* is the hero, *Bushido* is the heroism. *Bushido* offers the idea of poverty instead of wealth, humility in place of ostentation, reserve instead of self-assertion, self-sacrifice instead of selfishness, the interest of the State before that of the individual. It inspires courage and looks death in the face, preferring it to dishonour. It enjoins a strict physical and mental discipline, develops a martial spirit, and enjoins the virtues of courage, fortitude, faithfulness and self-restraint. It trains the man as well as the warrior, the woman as well as the man, and is as useful in times of peace as in times of war. It was to the constant presence of this ideal standard of morality and conduct that Japan owed her success, and those who would be her rivals must educate themselves in a similar school.

CHAPTER XVIII

EDWARD THE PEACEMAKER

ON September 23rd, 1896, Queen Victoria achieved the distinction of having reigned longer than any other English sovereign. She had worn the crown nearly twice as long as any other contemporary monarch in the world, excepting only the Emperor of Austria, and he ascended his throne eleven years after her accession. Hitherto George III.'s reign of fifty-nine years and ninety-six days had been the longest known to English history. There had been a Jubilee celebration of her reign in 1887, and it was now determined that there should be another in 1897—a Diamond Jubilee.

As in the first Jubilee the sovereigns and princes of Europe and Asia were the most conspicuous figures in the pageant, so now the Imperial position of Great Britain was to be signalised by the presence of representatives of the Colonies and of British settlements in all parts of the world. These representatives were entertained with regal munificence. The streets of London were thronged with Royal carriages, with servants in scarlet liveries seated on the box, carrying Colonial ministers or dusky potentates, subjects of the British Crown.

On June 22nd there was a State procession through London, when the Queen made almost a circuit of her capital, attended by her family, by envoys from foreign lands, Indian and Colonial officials, and a great body of Imperial troops, Indian native levies, mounted riflemen from Canada, Australia and South Africa, Colonial soldiers from the West Coast of Africa, Cyprus, Hong-Kong and Borneo. The procession traversed a space of six miles from Buckingham Palace to St. Paul's, then over London Bridge and through the poorer districts of the City on the southern side of the Thames. As the Queen set out from the Palace she sent a telegraphic dispatch to all parts of the Empire, "From my heart I thank my beloved people. May God bless them!" At night all cities were illuminated, and every headland from Cornwall to Caithness was ablaze with beacon fires. A great naval review was held at Spithead, in which 173 war vessels were drawn up in four lines, stretching over a course of four miles. These Jubilee cele-

brations, indeed, constituted the high-water mark of Colonial loyalty and of the manifestation of the qualities and the unity of the Empire.

But it was also an object-lesson in Home Rule. It was expressed by the Colonial Premiers, and felt by every reflecting observer, that the tie which bound this great organism together derived its strength not from force, or self-interest, or jealousy of other nations, but from the spirit of liberty and self-government which made every part of the great political body vibrate with a like intensity of life to that which animated the heart of the free Mother Country herself, and that neglect or ignorance of this would mean ruin and decay.

On May 19th, 1898, Mr. Gladstone died. During his closing days he suffered intense pain, nervous exhaustion, and the weakening of his physical, but not of his intellectual faculties. He died at Hawarden, the favourite home of his happiest hours, with the porch commemorating the welcome of his home-coming with his wife; the study—the Temple of Peace, with its two tables, one for home and one for public affairs, proclaiming his keenness of literary interest and his spirit of untiring labour up to the very last. His illness was soothed by his wife, who had been throughout these many years his faithful confidante and companion. He was a truly great statesman, one of the greatest known to modern times, greater than Bismarck, whose death closely followed his own. His departure marked the close of one epoch and the beginning of another. He entered Parliament immediately after the Reform Bill of 1832, and his career may be described as the bringing of the principles embodied in that measure to a successful conclusion in all departments. His passing also, perhaps, marked the close of a distinct era in Parliamentary oratory.

In the Upper House Lord Salisbury said that Gladstone had always sought the achievement of great ideals, which could only have proceeded from the highest and purest aspirations, and would leave behind him the memory of a great Christian statesman, whose character, motives, and purposes could not fail to impress the whole world. In the House of Commons Mr. Balfour described him as the greatest member of the greatest deliberative assembly the world had ever seen, and proposed that he should have a public funeral in Westminster Abbey. The funeral took place on May 28th, and a more impressive sight was never witnessed in that historic church, which has been the scene of so many solemn spectacles. Both Houses of Parliament met at 10 o'clock in the morning and marched in procession through

Westminster Hall to the Abbey. The majestic appearance of the Speaker, Gully, as he led the Commons of the realm to their places will never be forgotten. The pall-bearers represented the Sovereign, the Lords and the Commons, and nothing was more deeply touching than the sight of Mrs. Gladstone kneeling at the head of the grave and gazing into the vault which held the mortal shell of so much glory and so much greatness—the vault into which she was, in God's own time, to follow him.

On Gladstone's resignation in 1894, the Queen, of her own authority and without seeking advice, chose Rosebery as his successor; but it was a relief to her when, after a short interval, he was succeeded by Salisbury. She played a very active part in the government of the country, an important fact of which the people generally were in ignorance, regarding the Sovereign rather as a figure-head than an important political force. She required all papers to be regularly sent to her, found fault at any sign of slackness in public business, and insisted on full time being given her for the consideration of important questions. She took a personal interest in her Ministers' speeches, and an active share in political appointments. She flinched from no exertion to fulfil her duties. Sir Sidney Lee tells us that she often travelled to Osborne or Balmoral with hundreds of boxes filled with documents which required her sign-manual, that she would work at these continuously for two or three hours a day, and sign two or three hundred papers at a sitting.

One effect of Gladstone's death was the resignation by Sir William Harcourt of the leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. He had never worked harmoniously with Lord Rosebery, of whose appointment as Prime Minister he disapproved. It is said that when he led the House of Commons under Rosebery's premiership, he never consulted his chief on anything which had to be done, and Rosebery himself declared that the position was intolerable.

Harcourt was succeeded by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, a singularly modest man of very remarkable qualities; he always distrusted his own capacity for exercising the duties of high office, but his speeches were admirable, his common sense unusual, his devotion to the cause of Liberalism without a flaw. In his conduct as Leader of the House he had to suffer from the jealousy of those who were anxious to bring others prematurely to the front, but his unfailing good temper always prevented an explosion. As Prime Minister he invited the goodwill and secured the admiration of his country, the Colonies, and the world. His

industry was untiring, but his strength was greatly impaired by the demands made upon him by the weak health of his wife, to whom he was passionately devoted and to whom he owed so much in the conduct of his public career. He died in 1908. He was not buried in Westminster Abbey, but the memorial service in that place has seldom been equalled in intensity of public respect and private sorrow.

An important event of the year 1898 was the appointment of George Nathaniel Curzon to be Viceroy of India, a country which he administered for nearly seven years with skill and judgment, leaving a mark upon its development which will last as long as that dependency is a portion of the British Empire. A trained speaker and writer, a man of unwearied industry and business-like intelligence, he had already won his spurs as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in which capacity Salisbury, who knew and trusted him, committed much of the administration of that department to his hands. When he arrived in India, he determined to review personally the action of every part of the public service, and leave nothing to subordinate officials which he could do himself. His predecessor, Lord Elgin, had pursued a different course, and Curzon's conduct met with some resistance. Hints were conveyed to him that if he persisted in this policy resignations would probably ensue. He answered by letting them know that if their resignations were tendered they would be immediately accepted, and he heard no more of the matter. He paid particular attention to education, literature and archæology, matters which his predecessors had so often neglected, appointing general administrators of education, archæology and libraries, and these departments have gained much in consequence, with the result that the lace-like fretwork of the East is no longer stained by the uniform blue wash of the P.W.D., nor the Taj Mahal, the paragon of royal tombs, profaned by picnics and dances. He gave to the world the spectacle of a dignified, pure, and majestic Court, and in all his actions he was seconded by his noble-hearted wife, whose beauty made her the cynosure of Indian society, and did not prevent her kindness of heart and well-considered charities from making her beloved by her own sex.

With regard to the Boer War, Sir Sidney Lee says that, though the Queen was profoundly anxious for peace, she was not altogether averse to the course which Chamberlain took. He had impressed her by his lofty, but, in the eyes of many, mistaken and unstatesmanlike views as to the right manner of welding together a Colonial empire; and from the opening of active

operations until her death in 1901 the conflict occupied the chief place in her thoughts. Throughout 1900 the Queen showed untiring energy in inspecting troops intended for the seat of war, sending encouraging messages to the field of battle, and writing letters of condolence to the families of those who had lost relations during the struggle. Touched by the devotion of the Irish regiments in South Africa, she accorded to them the privilege of wearing the shamrock on St. Patrick's Day, hitherto denied them. A similar feeling constrained her to visit Ireland in 1900 instead of going abroad, as had been her custom. As a memorial of her visit, she established the regiment of Irish Guards. But her life was saddened by the casualties of the war, especially by the death of her grandson, Prince Christian Victor of Schleswig-Holstein, the son of Princess Helena, her third daughter, who died on October 29th, 1900. It is said that she never recovered from this blow. She spent the autumn at Windsor and left on December 18th for Osborne, the last journey of her life.

The vital powers of the Queen had, indeed, been gradually failing. Rheumatism compelled her to use a stick in walking, and to be wheeled about in a bath chair. Her eyes began to fail, and she was scarcely able to read. She began to lose her memory, which had been phenomenally strong, and suffered a little from difficulty in speech. She lost in weight and ability to sleep. She received Lord Roberts, however, on his return from South Africa, although the exertion of talking to him produced a collapse, and her last interview with a Minister was with Mr. Chamberlain on October 11th. On January 15th, 1901, she drove out for the last time, and her physicians knew that her condition was hopeless. The brain was failing, and life slowly ebbing. Her critical state, which had been kept secret, was made public on January 19th, and she died at 6.30 in the evening of Friday, January 22nd, being eighty-one years of age and having reigned for sixty-three years seven months and two days.

The effect produced by her death all over the world is almost indescribable. In India the grief was most intense. There the Queen was regarded not only as a Sovereign, but almost as an object of worship. She was reverenced as a just and beneficent ruler, but still more as a fruitful mother of Sovereigns and Princes, for she exhibited in their most striking form those virtues of maternity which impress the imagination of the East with singular effect. To every child in that vast country it seemed as if a shadow had fallen upon the land and the sun had been darkened in the heavens. Monarchy appeared to have come to an end, and

it was difficult to believe that any successor could wield the sovereignty and gain the respect which had attached to the person of the departed Queen. The Queen's funeral was deeply impressive. All the details, even the music to be performed at it, had been previously ordained by the Queen herself. No one who witnessed it will ever forget the scene as the Queen's coffin was conveyed across London from Victoria to Paddington amidst the silence and tears of mourning millions. The long procession of soldiers was broken by the little casket, which was borne, by her wishes, on a gun-carriage, and decorated with robes and the Crown, shining like a precious jewel in the midst of the funeral gloom, followed by her son and grandson, the new King and the Emperor of Germany. As the coffin passed, the crowds in the Parks and the streets felt as if they had suffered a personal loss, and many of those who viewed it from the windows fell instinctively on their knees and breathed a prayer for the departed spirit.

There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the Queen had no influence in politics. She was a voluminous letter-writer, studied every detail of public business, and formed opinions of her own, which she boldly expressed; but, strong as her views were, she always yielded to any manifestation of the popular will. Any letter written by her to the Prime Minister was the first business considered at the next meeting of the Cabinet. Her opinions had naturally great weight. She had known intimately every public man in England during the whole of her reign, and most of those on the Continent. She had discussed with them every detail of policy from different points of view; she had a most retentive memory and an admirable judgment. Some thought that she had no commanding strength of intellect, but it may be doubted whether this was the case. As has been before remarked, it is questionable whether, in her intercourse with her husband, she was not the genius and he the well-educated scholar. One thing is certain: she possessed the most guileless simplicity of mind, the utmost piety of heart, and instinctively recoiled from all falseness and insincerity. The character of her counsellors showed this.

Gerald Wellesley, Dean of Windsor, and Frederick Ponsonby, her private secretary, both her trusted advisers, were men of the most conspicuous honesty. The position of the two towards her was very different. Wellesley never hesitated to give her advice, however unpalatable. When Gladstone came to stay at the Windsor Deanery in 1876, the Queen objected to his long visit, and suggested that his prolonged sojourn in the neighbour-

hood of the Castle, when other advisers were at her side and other parties predominant, might produce an unfavourable impression. The Dean was indignant with this interference with his private friendships and hospitalities, and said afterwards, "Didn't I write her a tickler?" On the other hand, when Ponsonby was appointed, she expressly stipulated that he should give her no advice. "I am older than you," she said, "and I know more; I want assistance, but no advice." If she occasionally fell under the influence of some whose honesty and unselfishness were less generally acknowledged, it may be that she discovered in them qualities of excellence which were not so apparent to the world as they were to herself.

In spite of her many cares and the gloom of mourning for her husband which enveloped her for so many years, she was full of good spirits and merriment, and was given to hearty and even exuberant laughter. She was, perhaps, take her all in all, the greatest of English Sovereigns—greater even than Queen Elizabeth, but with far less taste and appreciation of literature and art. Every noble personality after death enters into a penumbra, and is partly obscured; but when the shadow moves away it shines more brightly than ever, and the lustre becomes more vivid the farther the presence is removed. So, as ages move on, the reign of Queen Victoria will be regarded as a high-water mark in the history of Great Britain—not, we may hope, to be illuminated by contrast with any decadence or misfortune.

At his first Privy Council, held upon January 23rd, 1901, the day following Queen Victoria's death, the new King said: "In undertaking the heavy load which now devolves upon me, I am determined to be a Constitutional sovereign in the strictest sense of the word, and as long as there is strength in my body to work for the good and amelioration of my people. I have resolved to be known by the name of Edward, which has been held by many of my ancestors. In doing this, I do not undervalue the name of Albert, which I have inherited from my ever-to-be-lamented, great, and wise father, who by universal consent is, I think, known by the name of Albert the Good, and I desire that his name should stand alone."

The new King found himself, at his accession, in a very difficult position. He was now advanced in years, and nearly forty years had passed since his father's death; yet he had never been admitted to any share in the government; indeed, had been carefully excluded. Fond of excitement, full of energy and the enjoyment of life, he had sought in amusement the outlet denied him

in serious occupations, and became surrounded by many friends, male and female, who were unworthy of him. His extreme good temper and remarkable power of sympathy were frequently abused, even at times to the harm of his reputation. All this had to be altered, and he proved every inch a King, gifted with dignity of mind and character, worthy to maintain the record of the best of his ancestors.

He found his country in a most unfortunate position. The Boer War, like the American War of Independence, had left Great Britain, as we have seen, without a friend in Europe. The feeling against her was so strong that it was difficult for Englishmen to travel abroad, so palpable were the insults to which they had to submit, and in 1900 even the Queen, instead of taking her accustomed holiday on the Continent, sought change of air and scene in Ireland. It was not only necessary that the Boer War should come to an end before the Coronation, but after that had been accomplished the prestige of Great Britain had to be reasserted. It was the King's glory that he achieved this, for it was apparent to every one that at the crowning of his successor, George V., the nation stood in popularity and power inferior to none.

After the Accession came the Coronation. It had been fixed for June 26th, 1902, peace with the Boers having been signed on May 31st. The interest manifested in this solemnity was beyond all precedent. London was concealed under picturesque and variegated decorations, every little street in the lowest slum displaying its flag or bit of bunting. The curiosity and interest of country folk seemed insatiable. Day after day, hour after hour, streams of village wagons, adorned with ornaments and filled with yokels, their wives and children, passed through Pall Mall and up St. James's Street in endless procession. Few living persons had ever been present at a Coronation at all. Windows were let at fabulous prices, and every one was in a fever of excitement for the great day.

Suddenly, on June 24th, the shock came that the Coronation would not take place. The King had an attack of perityphlitis, against which he had fought with heroic courage; but he had now to undergo an operation, the postponement of which would endanger his life. He said, "Will my people ever forgive me?" But there was no talk of forgiveness, all feeling being absorbed in anxiety for his health and prayers for his recovery. The King rapidly recovered, and the Coronation took place, though with diminished interest, on August 9th. Temple, the aged Primate,

crowned the King, who had to guide the trembling hands of the Archbishop in the solemn function.

Lord Salisbury had hoped to be present at the ceremony in the capacity of Prime Minister; but his nerves had been for some time failing, and he was obliged to resign his office in July, his place being taken by his nephew, Arthur Balfour, a paragon of knightly virtue, whom to know was to love and to love to admire. In no other country could a man of such spotless integrity, devoid of all the mean arts of political intrigue, have obtained such a position, with a career unsmirched by any of the artifices by which such eminence is too often reached. Throughout his career he never failed to raise the tone of political controversy and to prefer patriotism to party.

Balfour's first task was to deal with the question of education, one of unrivalled importance but of much difficulty, which has proved the grave of many political reputations. It is difficult in England to have educational questions settled on their merits. They are usually discussed, often with much heat, from the point of view of religious controversy, the disputes having no existence in the schools and not being shared by those engaged in teaching. Balfour took a bold line. Following Sir John Gorst, he established a single authority for primary, secondary, and technical education—the county councils in the counties, and the borough councils in county boroughs, working through education committees chosen by the councils. The important change, however, consisted in placing voluntary schools on the rates —an entirely new departure. The Act of 1890 had provided that undenominational schools should be supported by public funds, but that denominational, or, as they were called, voluntary, schools had largely to be paid for by private contributions. As the standard of education increased, the expense of keeping the voluntary schools up to the level of Board schools became, as Balfour said, "an intolerable strain," and the subscriptions were not sufficient to meet it. Only two courses were possible —to make all schools undenominational or place the denominational schools on a similar footing with the others with regard to public maintenance.

Balfour chose the statesmanlike, but dangerous course of taking the second alternative. He knew that public opinion on the whole was in favour of religious and opposed to secular education, and he thought that the education which the people preferred should be supported out of public funds. This, of course, produced an outcry, and a national Passive Resistance

Committee was formed to encourage individuals to refuse to pay rates for the maintenance of denominational schools. But the common sense of the more reasonable and less political Dissenters supported Balfour's policy, and Quintin Hogg, a Radical and a Nonconformist, whose statue stands in Regent Street, in London, close to the Polytechnic which he founded, said, a few days before his death, that he supported the Bill, but that he never thought he could have brought himself to approve of a Tory educational measure.

The amendment of the Education Bill formed a prominent plank in the Liberal platform at the next general election, and Mr. Birrell had the ungrateful task of presenting an alternative measure, which was rejected by the House of Lords. Balfour's Act, however, created secondary education in England, before non-existent, stimulated a wholesome rivalry between counties as to which should possess the best system of education, extended and developed national education in England in a manner which is gradually transforming the character of our people, and will bear comparison with any other system of national education in the world.

On August 22nd, 1903, Lord Salisbury died, his death showing that his resignation could not have been delayed longer. He was a man of great ability and dignity of character, but his Conservatism was often too much influenced by prejudice and passion to be the outcome of philosophical inquiry, or of reverence for the past as the only progenitor of a sound and secure future. He was a worthy member of that distinguished Cecil family which had been the advisers of Sovereigns for more than 300 years, and had inspired many of the weightiest pages of the national history.

A revolution was suddenly introduced into Imperial politics when Joseph Chamberlain avowed himself in favour of Protection, or, as it was now called, Tariff Reform. It had been supposed that since the great struggle of the 'forties, Protection was dead in British politics, and that Free Trade, the open door, was accepted as the corner-stone of her prosperity. Now, however, for what reason can only be conjectured, Chamberlain lent the force of his will and his great influence over the masses to attempt to reverse this policy. He had recently paid a visit to South Africa, during which he must have become convinced that the Boer War, for which he was ready to assume the responsibility, was a blunder, if not a crime ; and the idea of inaugurating a new policy with which his name might be connected may have occurred

to him in his solitary broodings, either on the illimitable veldt or on the voyage home. The truth seems to be that Free Trade has not produced all the good effects which were anticipated, and has brought with it some evils which were not foreseen. This is probably the case with all legislative measures.

If a wholly wise and truly honest Prime Minister were entrusted with the duty of imposing and remitting taxes on his own responsibility, a state of things might be brought about more satisfactory than absolute Free Trade or absolute Protection. But this is impossible. Financial matters must be left to the judgment of the House of Commons, and arranged in accordance with discussion. Protection, even of a limited and restricted nature, would be liable to similar evils to those of Free Trade, only of a more serious kind; and it is impossible to predict with any approach to accuracy the good it might produce or the harm it might cause. Therefore, the almost unanimous verdict of scientific political economists is in favour of Free Trade for the United Kingdom, although it is admitted that a limited Protection may sometimes be of advantage to young countries, in order to foster nascent industries. At the same time, Protection appeals to the lower instincts of business men. Each man feels the spur of competition in his own case, and thinks that if his particular trade or industry could be protected he would be better off. It is the coward's refuge. All cannot be benefited, but each trader, nevertheless, thinks he will gain in the lottery.

Happily the danger has been averted. It was seen that Protection could not be introduced without taxes on food, and to tax food in the British Isles, which must draw so much of their subsistence from foreign parts, would be a calamity of which the least instructed can comprehend the danger. The nation has come to see that its economical safety lies in producing good work, and that it can leave to neighbours, far or near, the task of supplying the cheap commodities which may give grace and comfort to our lives, but which it cannot produce itself. A healthy preference for British products has grown up, and these have been stimulated, but the additional revenue required under modern conditions can better and more justly be obtained by taxing the rich than by laying fresh burdens on the poor.

This pronouncement of Chamberlain was a serious act of insubordination. A Cabinet Minister has no right to announce a policy unless it has received the approval of his colleagues or, at least, of his chief. Balfour should have informed Chamberlain that his new departure made it impossible for him to remain in

the Cabinet, and should have demanded his resignation. It is, indeed, possible that he intended at first to take this course, but deemed it wiser to temporise than adopt a measure which might dislocate the party. Chamberlain, however, left the Cabinet in order to carry out his propaganda of Protection without the restrictions of office. Ritchie, who objected to a tax on wheat, and Lord George Hamilton resigned their portfolios, Austen Chamberlain became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Alfred Lyttelton, a man of vigorous and independent intellect, Colonial Secretary. Balfour steadily refused to declare his opinions, which, though philosophically correct, were necessarily of a nature too subtle and complicated to lend themselves to a proposition intelligible to the masses or capable of embodiment in a cry. But later fiscal developments have made Tariff Reform a question of secondary importance.

The government of King Edward was essentially a government of peace, by whatever Ministry he was served. His first act after his accession was to make a treaty between Great Britain and the Boers, and he speedily obtained the name, which he amply deserved, of "The Peacemaker." His policy was to come to a friendly understanding with other nations, when there were disputes which in untoward circumstances might bring about a war. After the adjustment of the South African difficulties, the first country to which he turned was France, a land in which he had spent many happy hours, and where he possessed many devoted friends. In 1904 an Anglo-French agreement was drawn up which settled many points in debate. France was given a free hand in Morocco, and in return Great Britain was allowed to consolidate and extend her power in Egypt. The vexed question of the Newfoundland Fisheries, the despair of diplomatists since the Treaty of Utrecht, was placed on a secure basis. The French rights of drying fish and securing passports on the coast of Newfoundland were abandoned. France obtained access to the Gambia, the Los Islands, off the west coast of Africa, opposite Konakry, and a rectification of the frontier of Nigeria, which gave a more direct route into her territory from the Niger to Lake Chad. With regard to Siam, French influence was recognised as predominant in the valley of the Mekong, British in the valley of the Menam. Great Britain abandoned her protest against the French Customs regime in Madagascar, and the disputes which existed between Great Britain and France with regard to the New Hebrides were to be settled by a Joint Commission. The King continued to pay visits to

Paris and to receive the President of France in London. This happy friendship between the two neighbouring peoples became known as the *Entente cordiale*.

In 1905 the Conservative Ministry came to an end, and the Liberals accepted office with Campbell-Bannerman at their head. He was supported by Herbert Gladstone at the Home Office, Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office, Lloyd George at the Board of Trade, Asquith at the Exchequer, and John Burns at the Local Government Board. This was followed in 1906 by a general election, which placed the Liberals in power by an enormous majority. It was almost impossible for a Liberal to stand without being elected. Many found themselves in Parliament who were much embarrassed at being elected, and the Liberal preponderance in the House was a cause of weakness, and even of danger. Three hundred and seventy-four Liberals, fifty-four Labour members, and eight-four Nationalists gave their support to the Ministry, whereas the Opposition could only rely on the votes of a hundred and thirty-one Conservatives and twenty-seven Liberal Unionists. On a division the Government would have a majority of 354. Various reasons were assigned for this remarkable veering of public opinion. The Tories put it down to the calumnies alleged to have been circulated by Liberals with regard to Chinese labour in the Transvaal mines. It is more reasonable to consider it as a vote condemnatory of the Boer War, the hollowness of which had become apparent, while the victory of the "Khaki" election held during the progress of the struggle was now regarded rather as a disgrace than a triumph. The strength of the Government was unhappily wasted by an attempt, led by Birrell, to amend Balfour's Education Bill, which caused acrimonious discussion and produced no practical result, as the amendments introduced by the House of Lords were rejected by the House of Commons.

The year 1906 witnessed the passing of some useful measures. The Agricultural Holdings Act gave the tenant-farmer compensation for improvements he had made and for the termination of his lease without sufficient cause. An Act was passed allowing local authorities to provide meals for school children, and a new Workmen's Compensation Act included domestic servants in its scope. In 1907 perhaps the most important part in domestic affairs was borne by Haldane, who, with admirable self-sacrifice, had undertaken the office of Minister of War. A man of consummate ability and rare intellectual force, he had gained the highest reputation at the Bar, and had deserved to be placed at

the head of his profession; but he elected to devote his patient acuteness and phenomenal power of work to the task of reorganising the British Army, a labour which had brought failure to many patriotic and devoted Ministers. He established what is called a Territorial army as a reserve to the regular army. The regular army at home was to consist of a first line of six infantry divisions, of four cavalry brigades of twelve regiments each, making in all 160,000 men. The second line was composed of a Territorial army, consisting of militia, yeomanry, and volunteers. The country was divided into fourteen regimental districts, and in each county an association was to be formed under the Lord Lieutenant for organising the force. The strength of the Territorial army was to be made up to 300,000 men. Service in the Territorial army was to last four years, terminable at three months' notice on the payment of £5.

The most important event of the year 1907 was the signing of a Convention between Great Britain and Russia, which defined the spheres of influence of the two countries in Persia, and agreed, among other things, that neither should send representatives to Lhassa, the sacred city of Tibet. The rivalry between Russia and Great Britain had been one of the most momentous facts, and certainly the most disastrous, in British foreign politics since the fall of Napoleon. It is difficult to see how it originated, or on what reasons it was based. Nicholas I., one of the greatest of the Tsars, was devotedly attached to Great Britain and was received with the most friendly hospitality by the British Court in the 'forties. Great Britain was led into the Crimean War by the intrigues of Napoleon III., and into unfriendly relations with Alexander II. by the partisanship of Beaconsfield and the necessity of finding a cry to support him in power. Madame de Novikov worked hard to improve the relations between the two Courts and make them understand each other, and she influenced Gladstone in the same direction. But the unreasoning predilection of the British for Turkey, one of the mysteries of our policy, prevented the nation from following a new lead, and the suspicion of Russia still remained. A section of British Radicals detested Russian systems of government, not knowing what they really are, not realising how difficult it is to alter them, and not understanding that the Tsar Nicholas II. is one of the best, the most enlightened, the most peace-loving, monarchs in Europe, and had set himself to inaugurate a system of constitutional government in his country, so far as was possible under the peculiar conditions.

That an agreement should at last be effected between these two nations was like sun in winter. It was due to the wisdom of Sir Edward Grey, the statesmanship of Asquith, the sagacious counsel of Sir Arthur Nicholson (the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, who then happened to be in London), the determined enthusiasm of John Morley, and, above all, the encouraging courtesy and sympathy of the Russian Foreign Office. Great Britain's relations with France and Russia thus became smooth, the prudent course being taken of removing out of the path all controversies which might produce a serious quarrel. The quasi-alliance, which never became a real alliance, between Great Britain, France and Russia, caused suspicion and irritation in Germany, which began to feel isolated; but Campbell-Bannerman assured the German Foreign Office that these agreements were not hostile to its interests, and that the only reason why a similar arrangement was not made with Germany was because no similar causes of quarrel existed at the moment between it and Great Britain.

We have seen that one of the clauses in the Anglo-Russian Convention provided that neither country should interfere with Lhassa. Lord Curzon, as Viceroy of India, had found it imperative to send a military expedition to Tibet to conquer Lhassa, the mysterious city, the home of the Dalai Lama. This expedition, commanded by Younghusband, was eminently successful, and led to a treaty which was afterwards, unfortunately, disregarded. When the expedition was sent Russia had not been conquered by Japan. There is now less chance of her advance in this direction; but it may be doubted whether it was wise to leave Tibet in the hands of China, a country permeated with spirituality, to be controlled by a material and irreligious horde.

During these years dislike of Great Britain had been gradually fading away, owing, as we have seen, more than anything else, to the personal popularity and tact of Edward VII. He was acquainted with, indeed more or less related to, all European sovereigns, and worked hard in strengthening these ties. He was in the habit of paying a yearly visit to Marienbad to drink the waters, a custom which, under the care of Dr. Ott, undoubtedly extended his life. Nothing could exceed the affectionate enthusiasm with which he was received in that health resort, Russians, French, Austrians, and above all Germans, who had been most embittered against England and against him personally during the Boer War, thronging to do him honour. Embarrassing as their attentions must sometimes have

been, he valued them as evidence that the cloud which had hung over his country was passing, and he was becoming a potent factor in the counsels of Europe as the ambassador of peace. The effect produced by his ten years of rule in this respect—the difference between the isolation, the ostracism, of Great Britain in 1901 and her commanding influence in 1911—is only comparable with the first ten years of the younger Pitt, which saw Great Britain in 1783 the pariah of the world, and in 1793 the dominating Power in Europe.

Early in 1908 Campbell-Bannerman, worn out by political labour, intensified by the calamity of his wife's death and the heroic efforts he had made to prolong her life, was obliged to resign office, and, indeed, shortly afterwards died. His was succeeded by a Ministry which was destined to leave a great mark on the history of the country, in respect of the progress of democracy and the preservation of peace. Campbell-Bannerman had worked hard for both objects and left a name honoured on both counts. In the new Cabinet, Asquith became Prime Minister, an office now for the first time recognised by the Constitution; and Lloyd George, a man of consummate genius and the highest character, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The summer saw the Franco-British Exhibition in London, which did much to consolidate the friendship between Great Britain and France, and, at the same place, the celebration of the so-called Olympic games in the Stadium, where the youth of the world competed together in honourable rivalry in almost every branch of athletic exercise and sport. Lord Desborough, to whose energy and statesmanlike wisdom the success of this enterprise was due, said that nothing pleased him more in this experience than having to preside, night after night, at banquets of young men of all countries, singing their national songs, meeting in peace and harmony, and establishing thereby the solidarity of nations, and making war impossible. Kings and statesmen may do what they please, but when nations meet together in athletic sport, or friendly intercourse, in Olympic games or in Esperanto congresses, to enjoy the same amusements and speak the same language, war must gradually become impossible. Olympia was regarded as the strongest bond of Greek unity in ancient times; there is no reason why a similar association in these times, embracing, not a nation, but the whole world, should not achieve as much for us.

In the same year a Pan-Anglican Congress brought together every section of the English Church throughout the world.

The King made visits of amity and peace to the President of the French Republic, the Tsar—an admirable action, much resented by intemperate Radicals—the Emperors of Austria and Germany, while the Prince of Wales strengthened the bond of union with Canada. In the political sphere the rejection of the Licensing Bill by the Lords accentuated the agitation against the Upper House. The Old Age Pensions Act, promised by the Unionists but never given, brought peace and comfort into many a home and diminished the terrible pauperism of the country; the Children's Act, due mainly to Herbert Samuel, tended to make the youngest and most important members of society temperate and moral. All these measures were consummated by Lloyd George's democratic budget, which provided the money necessary for the increased expenses of the country, not in the taxation of food and raw material, which would have pressed heavily upon the poor and upon industry, but in the taxation of the rich. The budget was, by a grave display of unwisdom, which much disturbed the King, rejected by the House of Lords, but was carried after a general election had decided in its favour.

Steps were now taken to carry out what had been promised by Campbell-Bannerman and been discussed long before his time—namely, the making the veto of the Lords suspensive, instead of absolute; but in the very act of this settlement, King Edward died, and the task was left to his successor, George V. Shortly before midnight on Friday, May 6th, 1910, the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's announced that Edward the Peacemaker had passed away.

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